

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

October 6th to 17th, Inclusive

1930



THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1930

R 331.882 A512r

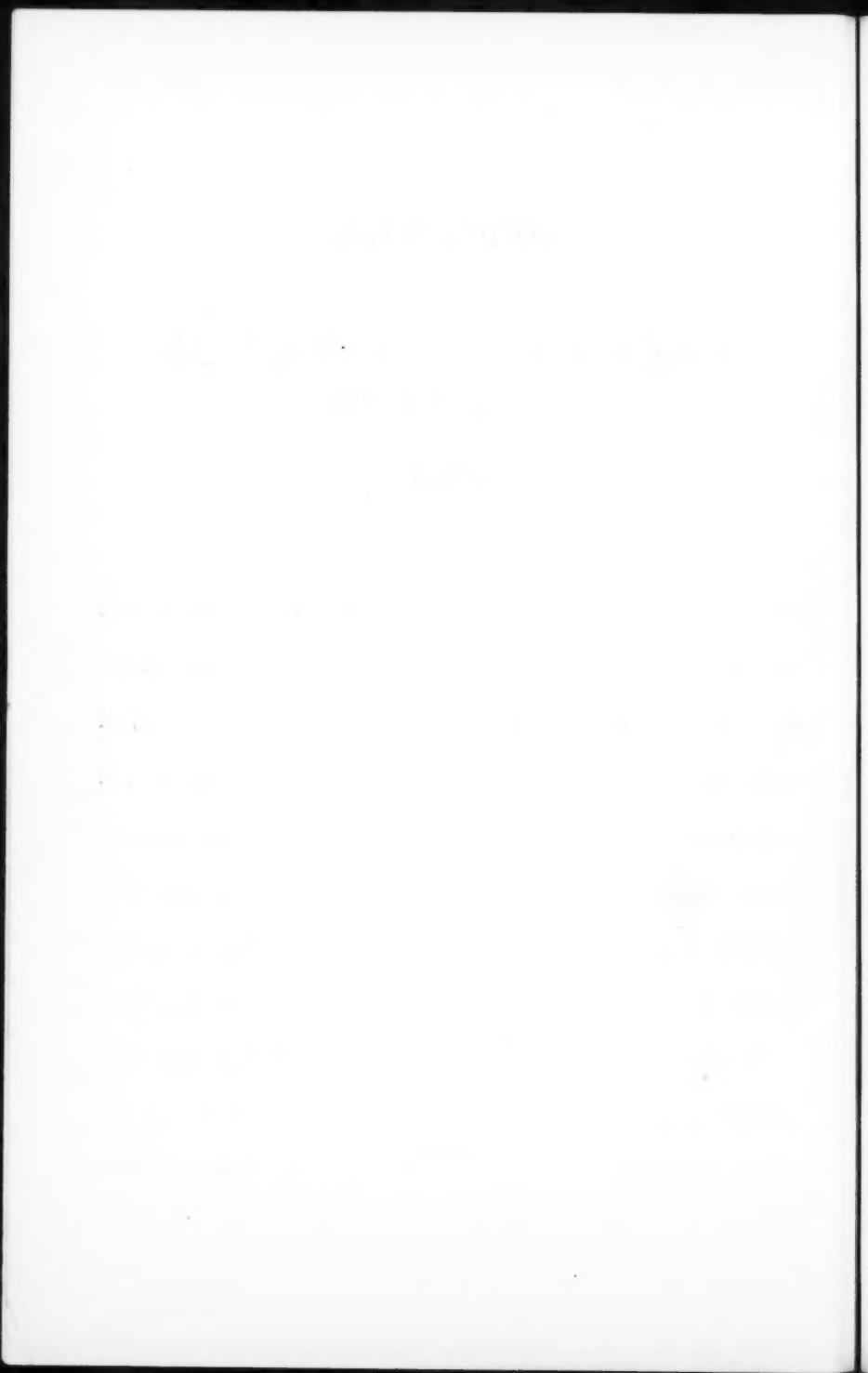
50th-52d 1930-1932
c.1

Civ
g cont

OFFICERS
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR

1931

WILLIAM GREEN	<i>President</i>	Washington, D. C.
FRANK DUFFY	<i>First Vice-President</i>	Indianapolis, Ind.
T. A. RICKERT	<i>Second Vice-President</i>	Chicago, Ill.
MATTHEW WOLL	<i>Third Vice-President</i>	Washington, D. C.
JAMES WILSON	<i>Fourth Vice-President</i>	Cincinnati, Ohio
JOHN COFIELD	<i>Fifth Vice-President</i>	Washington, D. C.
ARTHUR O. WHARTON	<i>Sixth Vice-President</i>	Washington, D. C.
JOSEPH N. WEBER	<i>Seventh Vice-President</i>	New York, N. Y.
G. M. BUGNIAZET	<i>Eighth Vice-President</i>	Washington, D. C.
MARTIN F. RYAN	<i>Treasurer</i>	Kansas City, Mo.
FRANK MORRISON	<i>Secretary</i>	Washington, D. C.



DELEGATES TO THE Fiftieth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	2	56	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York City.
		56	Paul Dullzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York City.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	33	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, L. I., New York.
		67	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	67	J. Goldstone, 1823 Holland Avenue, Bronx, New York.
		66	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Street, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		103	James C. Shanessy, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		103	William C. Birthright, 1102 Buchanan Street, Nashville, Tennessee.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	102	Charles T. Crane,
		102	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward St., Rochester, N. Y.
		102	Leon Worthall, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Â. Thomas Noonan, 206 Tremont St., Boston, Massachusetts.
		25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Wm. G. Powlesland, 29 James Street, Apartment 7, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		49	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	48	Wm. E. Walter 430 Columbia Place, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		48	J. N. Davis, 1211 Gallatin St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		48	Harry Nacey, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		47	John B. Haggerty, Room 307, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	46	Felix J. Belair, 308 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		46	Miss Mary E. Meehan, 726 Old South Building, Boston, Massachusetts.
		65	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		65	C. L. Baine, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	64	Lawrence J. Callanan, 18 Linden Street, Whitman, Massachusetts.
		64	Thomas A. McGann, 23 First Parish Building, Brockton, Massachusetts.
		64	Thomas Morrissey, 191 Liberty Street, Rockland, Massachusetts.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegeate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Station E, Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	Albert J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		53	Adam E. Zusl, 124 Maple Avenue, Irvington (Newark), New Jersey.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	3	300	Wm. J. Bowen, 1417 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		300	George T. Thornton, 1417 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		300	John J. Stretch, 1417 K St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	21	Frank Kasten, Room 440, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		21	William Tracy, Room 440, 323-331 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	53	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		52	W. H. Pope, 40 Standley Ave., Medford, Massachusetts.
		52	Wm. F. Bauers, 351 Broadway, Buffalo, New York.
		52	Edward Ryan, 179 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	4	41	Jerry Horan, 130 N. Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		41	Oscar F. Nelson, 160 N. La Salle Street, Room 1233, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	Chas. F. Wills, 130 N. Wells Street, Room 704, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	Wm. McFetridge, 130 N. Wells Street, Room 407, Chicago, Illinois.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood, Railway.....	4	200	Martin F. Ryan, 107 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
		200	F. H. Knight, 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
		200	John O. Holmgren, 11740 Wenworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		200	L. A. Beaudry, 1828 Desery Street, Montreal, Que., Canada.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	379	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		379	Frank Duffy, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		379	Alex Kelso, 130 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		379	John B. Tierney, 52 Kingston Place, Buffalo, New York.
		379	H. C. Rogers, 522 E. 4th Street, Houston, Texas.
		379	Thos. Flynn, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		379	Joseph Kunz, 509 Joyne Ave., Baltimore, Maryland.
		379	James Feeley, 30 Hanover Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood.....	1	12	Henry E. Richard, 168 Cooper Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	3	52	I. M. Ornburn, 604 Carpenters' Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		52	G. W. Perkins, 720 N. Ridgeland Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
		51	William Collins, 51 Union Park, Boston, Massachusetts.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	5	71	Leo E. George, Room 305, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		71	Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 304, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		70	Sol Cohen, 343 W. Congress Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	John F. O'Connor, P. O. Clerk, Oakland, California.
		70	John A. Kelley, 17 Gorham Road, West Medford, Massachusetts.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

vii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	6	162	Geo. M. Harrison, Room 701, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Bldg., Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		162	Geo. S. Levi, Seventh Floor, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		162	C. J. Woods, 766 N. E. 64th St., Portland, Oregon.
		162	Thos. A. Bannister, 242 Decatur Street, Corning, New York.
		161	Ira F. Thomas, 202 Marquette Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri.
		161	E. H. FitzGerald, 1424 Marion Drive, Glendale, California.
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail	2	50	John B. Schulte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
		50	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union	2	30	Max Zaritsky, 621 Broadway, New York City.
		30	Max Zuckerman, 621 Broadway, New York City.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	1	23	Arthur E. Treadwell, 256 Lowell Avenue, Newtonville, Mass.
Coopers' International Union of North America	1	7	James J. Doyle, 615 South Street, Roslindale, Massachusetts.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	1	4	Andreas Meyer, 132 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and	1	12	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	6	237	H. H. Broach, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		237	G. M. Bugnizet, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		237	Edward Bieretz, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		237	Charles M. Paulsen, 4919 North Cuyler Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		236	M. T. Joyce, 412 Tremont Building, Boston, Massachusetts.
		236	Emil Preiss, 130 East 16 Street, New York City.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	3	34	Frank Feeney, Room 1505, Fox Building, 1612 Market St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont St., Room 10, Corner Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts.
		34	Thomas O'Brien, 159 N. State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Engineers, International Union of Operating	5	68	Arthur M. Hudell, Room 202, 1003 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		68	Dave Evans, Room 203, 1003 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		68	John Possehl, 216 High Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		68	Jos. S. Fay, 6 Flemming Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		68	James H. Fitzpatrick, Room 601, 25 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	3	30	Edward J. Volz, 292 Madison Ave., Room 1110, New York City.
		30	Matthew Woll, 105 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		29	Frank H. Glenn, 6241 N. 21st Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Federal Employees, National Federation of.....	4	84	Luther C. Steward, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		84	Gertrude M. McNally, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		84	John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphia St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		83	John W. Ross, 2853 Keller Ave., Norfolk, Virginia.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	90	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		90	Edward F. Looney, 15 Marney Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	30	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		30	Joseph W. Morton, 2922 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		30	James B. Conroy, 3613 Park Ave., St. Louis, Missouri.
Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International.....	1	70	Morris Kaufman, 1192 Nelson Avenue, Bronx, New York City.
		95	T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		95	J. L. Wines, Room 621, Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	94	F. Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		94	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.
		94	Mrs. D. A. Houck, Room 226, Western Mutual Life Bldg., 321 West 3rd Street, Los Angeles, California.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	5	102	Benjamin Schlesinger, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
		102	Max Cohen, 60 West 35th Street, New York City.
		102	Abraham Katovsky, 207 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		101	Benjamin Moser, 127 West 33rd Street, New York City.
		101	Basilio Desti, 33 Second Avenue, Cloak Makers' Union, New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	30	James Maloney, 1006-1008 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		30	Clarence L. Essex, 712 East 41st Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	25	William P. Clarke, 200 American Bank Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	1	24	M. G. Bilz, 114 Zane Avenue, Wheeling, West Virginia.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	85	Samuel Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		39	Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		38	Martin Lawlor, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		38	Edward Gordon, 10 Liberty Street, Danbury, Connecticut.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	6	172	Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		171	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
		171	Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
		171	J. B. Etchison, 230 East Pratt St., Apartment 207, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		171	A. C. D'Andrea, 814 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Illinois.
		171	Daniel J. Sullivan, 512 Cambridge St., Brighton, Boston, Massachusetts.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	1	7	Hubert S. Marshall, 9th and Main Sts., Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.....	5	73	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, New York.
		73	Robt. B. Hesketh, 528 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		73	Emmanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, New York.
		73	Mrs. Agnes Quinn McInnis, Room 303, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
		73	Conrad Schott, Room 201, 406 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	1	79	M. F. Tighe, 500 South Main Street, W. E., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International.....	1	8	Samuel E. Beardsley, 612 Bible House, New York City.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	4	42	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	2	41	George Thomas Moore, 2510 North Harding Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	2	41	Charles James Case, 917 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	41	Harry J. Hagen, 4005 Lexington Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
		28	Harry L. Morrison, 817 Second Street, Troy, New York.
		27	M. J. O'Leary, 19 Estrella Street, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Massachusetts.
		25	W. E. Bryan, 610 Walsix Bldg., Kansas City, Missouri.
		25	Barnett Wolff, 53-55 West 21st Street, New York City.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	102	Edward J. Gainor, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		102	Michael T. Finnian, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		102	Charles D. Duffy, 834 South Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
		101	John T. Mugavin, Provident Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		101	Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	2	28	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York City.
		28	Robert Bruck, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		174	Joseph P. Ryan, 256 W. 31st Street, New York City.
		173	John D. Welch, 383 West Avenue, New York City.
		130	A. O. Wharton, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	130	Fred Hewitt, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		130	Chas. Fry, Machinists Building, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		130	C. B. Cline, 2754 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		130	R. A. Henning, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		130	Daniel P. Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	4	100	F. H. Fijozdal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		100	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		100	J. F. Towle, 21 Bromley Park, Roxbury, Massachusetts.
		100	J. H. Myers, 608 Metropolitan Building, Akron, Ohio.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers, International Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	2	39	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th Street, New York City.
		38	Louis E. Rode, 406 East 149th Street, New York City.
	1	30	John J. Scully, 24 Moore Street, New York City.
		42	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	42	Dennis Lane, 160 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		41	John J. Walsh, 160 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.
		63	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		63	Thomas Redding, 4941 West End Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		62	William J. Rooney, 1517 North Austin Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		62	John Reul, 162 East 23rd Street, New York City.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	40	Thos. Reilly, 115 10th Street, South, Great Falls, Montana.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	1	500	John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		500	Philip J. Murray, 1114 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		500	Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		500	Lee Hall, Room 75, 22 East Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio.
		500	William Green, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		500	Frank Hughes, 407 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		500	P. T. Fagan, 407 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		500	John Boylan, 512 Miller Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
		55	Michael J. Keough, 528-530 Walnut Street, Edwards Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		55	Robert T. McCoy, P. O. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		54	John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		54	W. D. Reeves, 3001 N Street S. E., Washington, D. C.
		167	Jos. N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
		167	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
		167	John W. Parks, 2009½ Main Street, Dallas, Texas.
		167	Chas. L. Bagley, 403 California Bldg., Los Angeles, California.
		166	Edward Canavan, 210 E. 86th St., New York City.
		166	W. Ralph Fetterman, Room 11, Burlington Block, Lincoln, Nebraska.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	11	Harvey C. Fremming, City Hall Annex, Long Beach, California.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1		

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America, Brotherhood of.	6	177	L. P. Lindelof, Painters' Bldg., Lafayette, Indiana.
			Clarence E. Swick, Painters Bldg., Lafayette, Indiana.
			Christian M. Madsen, 1320 N. Kedzie Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
			James P. Meehan, 54 Olive Ave., Lawrence, Massachusetts.
			Edward Ackerley, 23 John Street, Tarrytown, New York.
			Harry Kauffman, 734 Canton Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.	2	20	Matthew J. Burns, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.
			Frank P. Barry, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.	1	70	James Wilson, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pavers, Rammersmen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 819 Third Ave., New York City.
Painting Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.	1	24	Albert M. Anderson, Box 130, Rockport, Massachusetts.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.	5	77	M. J. Colleran, 401 W. 263rd Street, Riverside, Bronx, New York.
			J. E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
			W. A. O'Keefe, 4031 Scanlon Place, St. Louis, Missouri.
			Duncan Payne, 330 South Marshfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
			Henry Biehl, 36 South Peoria St., Chicago, Illinois.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.	5	76	John Coefield, 502 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
			Thomas E. Burke, 506 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
			Chas. M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt St., Chicago, Illinois.
			Charles Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
			William Fallon, 583 Summitt Ave., Jersey City, New Jersey.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.	1	60	W. W. Britton, 602 2nd National Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
			James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.	2	29	James Turner, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.	1	11	Andrew Fallon, 409 Varnum Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
			George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
			D. J. McDonald, 406 Old South Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts.
			John Badaracco, 324 Old South Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts.
			Joseph A. Dart, 324 Old South Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.	5	80	Anthony J. De Andrade, 324 Old South Building, Boston, Massachusetts.
			John P. Burke, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.
			Herbert W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.	2	25	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vermont.
Quarry Workers International Union of North America.	1	30	

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Voices for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5		W. D. Mahon, 260 Vernor Highway, East, Detroit, Michigan. Jeremiah Dinneen, 1106 South Park Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
Railway Mail Association.....	2		Timothy J. Regan, 320 Kimball Bldg., 18 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. M. J. Murray, 3815 Ferdinand St., Seattle, Washington.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....	2		Neil McLellan, 906 Lawyers' Building, Detroit, Michigan. W. M. Collins, 507 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	3		H. W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio. Fred Gausman, 4015 N. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4		Andrew Furuseth, 409-10 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Victor A. Olander, 623 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois. Percy J. Pryor, 14 Lewis Street, Boston, Massachusetts. William F. Canavan, Suite 1352, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2		Fred J. Dempsey, Suite 1352, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2		Thomas E. Maloy, 506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1		James F. Burke, 116 Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	3		Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln Street, Jersey City, New Jersey. Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri. P. J. Cullen, 179 West Washington Street, Room 614, Chicago, Illinois. Edw. W. Kaiser, 6466 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Tailors' Union of America, Journey-men.....	1		Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo, New York.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1		James B. Conners, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo, New York.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6		John Lundergan, Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stoney Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Florence Curtis Hanson, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Room 526, Chicago, Illinois. Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. John M. Gillespie, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California. L. G. Goudie, 220 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. J. J. McKenna, 1947 Broadway, New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate ^s	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	82	E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.
		82	H. B. Perham, 3673 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.
		82	R. R. McInroy, Middlebury Center, Pennsylvania.
		82	R. M. Burr, 320 S. 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
		82	F. J. Ellison, 1740 North Avenue 53, Los Angeles, California.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	38	Percy Thomas, 1125 Chicago Temple, care S. J. Konenkamp, Chicago, Illinois.
		75	Thomas F. McMahon, 12 Denver Avenue, Edgewood, Rhode Island.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	4	75	James Starr, 603-605 Bible House, New York City.
		75	William Smith, 2530 North Fourth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		75	Francis J. Gorman, 237 Laban Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
		24	E. Lewis Evans, 50-52 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	130	Charles P. Howard, 2820 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		130	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		129	William K. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		129	William J. Robinson, 1719 Parkview Avenue, Bronx, New York City.
		129	William M. Reilly, care, Craftsmen Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
		54	Frank X. Martel, care, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	54	William Kohm, 230 East 58th Street, New York City.
		53	James H. Hatch, 142 East 80th Street, New York City.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	1	M. J. McDonough, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 402, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Railroad Employees Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	Charles S. Child, 22 College Terrace, San Francisco, California.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Earl R. Hoage, Box 1408, Denver, Colorado.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Egan, 16-17 Center Realty Building, 59 Cannon Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred W. Sterle, 6 East Summit Ave., Richardson Park, Wilmington, Delaware.
Delaware State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. B. Gramling, R. F. D. 5, Box 308, Bolton, Georgia.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Aug. Rosqvist, 1246 N. Grant Street, Pocatello, Idaho.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 728 Ill. Mine Workers Bldg., Springfield, Illinois.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. E. Sherman, 806 Observatory Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William E. Huisbeck, 1721 Race Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1		

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Maine State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Howard C. Woodside, 44 C St., South Portland, Maine.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph J. Cabral, 200 Elm St., Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Samuel P. Tobin, 1220 Francis Palms Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Holt E. J. Ross, Box 1044, Laurel, Mississippi.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Samuel R. Victor, 106 N. Chelsea Ave., Kansas City, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, P. O. Box 1152, Helena, Montana.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry J. Gill, Labor Temple, Omaha, Nebraska.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant St., Manchester, New Hampshire.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph V. Egan, 201 Easton Ave., New Brunswick, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Sullivan, 2268 Hampden Place, Bronx, New York City.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. A. Wilson, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 320-22 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joe C. Campbell, Rooms 1 and 2, Labor Temple, 516 West California Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John B. Gallagher, 60 Spruce Street, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John T. Burns, 95 Fountain St., Providence, Rhode Island.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. W. Tracy, 2505 Yupon Street, Houston, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. I. Thompson, 239 Atlas Bldg., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. T. Bowden, 621 Hazelhurst Ave., Richmond, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Rowland Watson, Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Martin Cahill, 303 East Loucks St., Sheridan, Wyoming.
Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Clarence J. Moser, 1147 Turner Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	George F. Haney, 760 Greenwood Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia.
Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jeremiah Ryan, 78 State St., Binghamton, New York.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Nathan Sidd, 987 Washington St., Boston, Massachusetts.
Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Karl Lang, c/o John J. O'Neill, 649 Wayne St., Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James O'Connell, 198 Forest St., Brockton, Massachusetts.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council.	1	1	John C. Johnston, 51 East Eagle St., Buffalo, New York.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Herman Koster, 185 Hancock St., Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. Thomas Polston, 2828 Barry Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Adolf Kummer, 1311 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James F. Malley, 1355 Central Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clinton, Ia., Tri-City Labor Congress of Clinton, Ia., and Fulton, Ill.....	1	1	Geo. C. Campbell, 1309 Camanche Ave., Clinton, Iowa.
Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Gilbert W. Belt, 91 Hanford Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Walter Laude, 1466 Galipigo Street, Denver, Colorado.
Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly.....	1	1	W. E. McKwen, 701 Palladio Building, Duluth, Minnesota.
Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John R. Machado, P. O. Box 291, Fall River, Massachusetts.
Fitchburg, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles F. Sweeney, 19 Fulton Street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Gus Mueller, c/o Richard Adler, 2021 Maryland St., Flint, Michigan.
Gloucester, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John E. Carrigan, 18 Pearl St., Gloucester, Massachusetts.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. O. Taylor, 325 Ann Street N. E., Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Hammond, Ind., Lake County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. M. Tucker, 720 Polk St., Gary, Indiana.
Hamilton, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Milton Doll, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	L. F. Becker, 207 Olive St., Hannibal, Missouri.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence J. Katz, P. O. Box 29, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Adolph Fritz, 721 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jacksonville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles E. Sousa, 580 Pine Street, Jacksonville, Illinois.
Joliet, Ill., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, 637 East Jefferson Street, Joliet, Illinois.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. M. J. McSpadden, 751 Stewart Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Max Dyer, Labor Temple, 14th and Woodland Ave., Kansas City, Missouri.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Steve Sumner, 7348 Constance Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clarence D. Long, c/o Chas. O'Brien, Labor Temple, Klamath Falls, Oregon.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	William W. Campbell, care Charles C. Breton, 30 Litchfield Avenue, Depew, New York.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Robert J. Watt, 143 Saratoga St., Lawrence, Massachusetts.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Geo. C. Burton, 2021 Strathmoor Blvd., Louisville, Kentucky.
Lowell, Mass., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Parker F. Murphy, 74 Commonwealth Ave., Lowell, Massachusetts.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	William A. Nealey, 35 Munroe St., Lynn, Massachusetts.
Milford, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	P. J. Dacey, 34 Franklin St., Milford, Massachusetts.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council	1	1	James P. Sheehan, 528 Juneau Ave., Room 302, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Newport, Ky., The Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties	1	1	Louis Distle, 1721 Race St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas A. Slavens, 75 Roseneath Ave., Newport, Rhode Island.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	E. J. Shave, 258 Chapel St., Hampton, Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity	1	1	James C. Quinn, 287 Broadway, New York City.
Oswego, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	A. J. Thompson, 245 East Tenth Street, Oswego, New York.
Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren St., Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Pawtucket, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	James C. Finan, care Wm. Chernside, 34 Larch St., Pawtucket, R. I.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	William Kelly, 6636 Hagerman St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. Scully, 523 Ociola St., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Portland, Me., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank G. McDonald, 48 Gilman St., Portland, Maine.
Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Council	1	1	N. E. Williams, care Gust Anderson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union	1	1	M. J. Donahue, 230 Crescent Way, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Arthur J. Beauregard, 61 Homefield Ave., Providence, Rhode Island.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 North 6th Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Frank J. Hartnett, 113 North Fitzhugh St., Rochester, New York.
Rockland, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Hugh Walls, Liberty St., Rockland, Massachusetts.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Walter Smethurst, Roundup, Montana.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Archie M. Lawrence, 1419 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

xvii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles L. Reed, 145 Essex Street, Salem, Massachusetts.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	William A. Granfield, c/o John A. O'Connell, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, California.
San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Allen 7, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Michel J. Fanning, 1527 Eastern Parkway, Schenectady, New York.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. Dorsey, 134 Cameron Ave., Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	David Levine, care C. W. Doyle, Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph Jacobs, 25 Stone Avenue, Somerville, Massachusetts.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 602 South Glenwood Ave., Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John F. Gatelee, 21 Sanford Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. P. Covert, c/o J. W. Buckley, 167 Church St., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Utica, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Michael Walsh, 1120 Downer Ave., Utica, New York.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Nelson P. Alifas, 303 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James William Fitz Patrick, 13 Wall Street, Waterbury, Connecticut.
Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Cornelius A. Riley, 32 Pierce St., Westerly, Rhode Island.
Wilkes Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Bernard Callahan, 10 Park Ave., Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 415 Shipley St., Wilmingon, Delaware.
Winston Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Ed. L. Crouch, care E. L. Sandifer, Box 1390, Winston Salem, North Carolina.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Samuel J. Donnelly, care Thomas F. Conroy, Box 885, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lytle E. Jones, Labor Temple, 115 East A Street, Yakima, Washington.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William J. McGeory, Box 42, Yonkers, New York.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County.....	1	1	William A. Banks, 209 Pearl St., Youngs- town, Ohio.
Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Local No. 18065.....	1	2	Arthur E. Mack, 350 West 52d St., New York City.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Ernest Bohm, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.
Bridge Tenders' Union No. 12333, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Francis F. Morse, 16 Mystic St., Charles- town, Massachusetts.
City and County Public Service, Union No. 16566, Duluth, Minn.....	1	1	E. C. Clow, 201 Court House, Duluth, Minnesota.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Georgia.	1	2	Louie P. Marquardt, Box 2119, Atlanta, Georgia.
Federal Labor Union No. 15906, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Mrs. Mary Goodwin Murphy, 57 Olney St., Dorchester, Massachusetts.
Federal Labor Union No. 17624, Westfield, Mass.	1	1	James P. Rogers, 15 Princeton Street, Westfield, Massachusetts.
Federal Labor Union No. 17710, Milwaukee, Wisconsin	1	3	Richard D. Cary, 832 31st Ave., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18140, Gadsden, Ala.	1	1	E. B. Clarke, 611 North 9th Street, P. O. Box 51, Gadsden, Alabama.
Freight Handlers' Local No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio.	1	1	Willie Shaw, 2252 East 86th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Freight Handlers' and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.	1	1	Ben F. Oglesby, 616 Garfield Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Myles Connors, 38 Linden St., Dorchester, Massachusetts.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Illinois.	1	9	Thomas A. Keeley, 612 West Garfield Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
Lace Accessory and Finishers' Union No. 15393, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	1	1	Frank Bradley, 32 Darling St., Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.
License Investigators' Local No. 17996, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Michael Carrozzo, Suite 1521, 11 So. La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.
Meter Workers No. 18047, Scranton, Pa.	1	1	Frank E. Walsh, 521 Lackawanna Avenue, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Neckwear Makers' (United) No. 11016, New York, N. Y.	1	1	J. Roberts, No. 7 E. 15th St., New York.
Neckwear Makers' Union, 15200.	1	1	Herbert R. Haffer, 15 Maple Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.
News Carriers' Union No. 17785, Boston, Mass.	1	1	M. Cohen, 93 Webster St., Malden, Massachusetts.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.	1	2	A. Philip Randolph, 239 West 136th Street, New York, New York.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18070, Chicago, Illinois.	1	3	Milton P. Webster, 4231 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18088, Denver, Colorado.	1	1	Oglesvie L. Lawson, 2601 Welton St., Denver, Colorado.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18089, Fort Worth, Tex.	1	1	L. Hampton, 1115 E. Humboldt Street, Fort Worth, Texas.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18097, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Silas M. Taylor, 111-A Hammond St., Boston, Massachusetts.
State Public Service Employees' Association, Local 17931, Columbus, Ohio.	1	1	Dale W. Stump, Hotel Chittenden, Columbus, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif.	1	1	William A. Granfield, 12th and Howard Sts., San Francisco, California.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

xix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Stenographers, Typewriters, Book-keepers, and Assistants' Union No. 14491, Denver, Colo.	1	1	Vern S. Hill, 507 Interstate Trust Building, Denver, Colorado.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Book-keepers and Assistants' Union No. 14965, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Miss Ida Smith, 121 Tremont Street, Room 8, Boston, Massachusetts.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Book-keepers and Assistants' Union No. 17761, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1	1	Mrs. Edna Campbell, 1828 Linwood Boulevard, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Theatrical Agents and Managers' Association No. 18032, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Theodore Mitchell, 226 West 47th Street, New York City.
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770, New York, N. Y.	1	4	Mrs. Isobel Hall Early, Room 801, 156 West 44th Street, New York City.
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17298, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	1	Mrs. Bertha Fearn, 1004 South 60 Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17604, New Haven, Conn.	1	1	Mrs. J. Miller, 855 Congress Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 18059, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1	1	Mrs. Mary Cronin, 135 No. Millvale Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Paul Vaccarelli, 2112 Arthur H., Murphy Square, Bronx, New York, New York.
British Trades Union Congress	2	1	A. A. H. Findlay, 15 Cleve Road, West Hampstead, London, N. W. 6, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	A. Shaw, 84 Godwin Street, Bradford, Yorkshire, England.
Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary		1	William E. Stephenson, 28 Iroquois St., Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada.
National Women's Trade Union League of America			Anna Fitzgerald, Citizens State Bank Bldg., Elwood, Indiana.
			Matilda Lindsay, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
93	National and International Departments	277	29,349
4		4	4
34	State Bodies	34	34
79	Central Labor Unions	79	79
36	Trade and Federal Labor Unions	36	55
4	Fraternal Organizations	5	3
250		435	29,524

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. •1915.	1913 George W. Perkins. •1917.
----------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------------

To British Trades Union Congress

1895 {	Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. J. W. Sullivan.	1907 {	John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky. Andrew Furuseth.	1919 {	Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes. Timothy Healy.
1896	Adolph Strasser.	1908	James J. Creamer.	1920	Mrs. Sarah Conboy. Wm. J. Spencer.
	Martin Fox.	1909	John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1921	James J. Forrester.
1897	Geo. E. McNeill.		W. B. Wilson.	1922	Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.
1898	James Duncan. Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell.	1910	T. V. O'Connor. Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1923	Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek. Peter J. Brady.
1899	Thomas F. Tracy. J. M. Hunter.	1911	Daniel J. Tobin. George L. Berry.	1924	Edward J. Gainor. A. Adamski.
1900	Sidney J. Kent.	1912	John H. Walker.	1925	Edw. J. Evans.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe.	1913	Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1926	†Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1902	Eugene F. O'Rourke.	*1914	Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1927	John Coofield. Michael Casey.
1903	Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	***1915	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1928	Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald.
1904	W. D. Ryan.	1916	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1929	William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.
1905	D. D. Driscoll. John A. Moffitt.	1917	John Golden. James Lord.	1930	John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1906	James Wood. Frank K. Foster.	1918	J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.		

From British Trades Union Congress

1894 {	John Burns. David Holmes. Edward Cowey.	1907 {	David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1919 {	S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1895	James Mawdsley.	1908	John Wadsworth.	1920	J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.
1896	Sam Woods.	1909	H. Skinner.	1921	H. Thomas. James Walker.
1897	John Mallinson. Edward Hartford.	1910	A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1922	E. L. Poulton. R. Smith.
1898	J. Havelock Wilson.	1911	W. Brace. Ben. Turner.	1923	R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.
1899	William Inskip.	1912	G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1924	C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1900	William Thorne.	1913	J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1925	Ben Smith. A. Purcell.
1901	James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	*1914	I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1926	J. Brynley. G. Hicks.
1902	John Weir.	1915	C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1927	Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1903	Pete Curran.	1916	H. Gosling.	1928	John Marcabank. E. Edwards.
1904	Frank Chandler.	1917	W. Whitefield. John Hill.	1929	J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.
1905	Bert Tillett. M. Arrandale.	***1918	Arthur Hayday. F. Hall.	1930	A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1906	E. Edwards.		Miss Margaret Bondfield		
	William Mullin.				
	James O'Grady.				
	William Abraham.				
	James Wignall.				
	William Mosses.				
	David Gilmour..				
	Allen Gee.				
	J. N. Bell.				

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1920 W. G. Shea.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1910 John J. Manning.	1921 John O'Hara.
1900 V. D. Mahon.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.
1901 John R. OBrien.	1912 John T. Smith.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1903 John Coleman.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1925 James Duncan.
1904 John H. Richards.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1926 James B. Connors.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1930 Adolph Kummer*

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1909 F. Bancroft.	1920 J. A. McClellan.
1899 David A. Carey.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1921 U. M. F. Bush.
1900 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1923 James A. Sullivan.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1913 Gus Franco.	1924 John Colbert.
1903 James Simpson.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1925 Donald Dear.
1904 John A. Flett.	1915 Fred Barnsford.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1905 William V. Todd.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1930 William E. Stephenson.

From German Federation of Labor 1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
--	---	---

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. *1915.	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917.
----------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------------

To British Trades Union Congress

1895	Samuel Gompers.	1907	John T. Dempsey.	1919	Wm. L. Hutcheson.
	P. J. McGuire.		W. E. Klapetzky.		John J. Hynes.
1896	J. W. Sullivan.	1908	Andrew Furuseth.	1920	Timothy Healy.
	Adolph Strasser.		James J. Creamer.		Mrs. Sarah Conboy.
1897	Martin Fox.	1909	John P. Frey.	1921	Wm. J. Spencer.
	Geo. E. McNeill.		B. A. Larger.		James J. Forrester.
1898	James Duncan.	1910	W. B. Wilson.	1922	Benjamin Schlesinger.
	Harry Lloyd.		T. V. O'Connor.		E. J. McGivern.
1899	James O'Connell.		Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1923	Peter Shaughnessy.
	Thomas F. Tracy.	1911	Daniel J. Tobin.		Anthony J. Chlopek.
1900	J. M. Hunter.	1912	George L. Berry.	1924	Peter J. Brady.
	Sidney J. Kent.		John H. Walker.		Edward J. Galnor.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe.	1913	Chas. L. Baine.	1925	A. Adamski.
	Eugene F. O'Rourke.		Louis Kemper.		Edw. J. Evans.
1902	Patrick Dolan.	*1914	W. D. Mahon.	1926	Frank Farrington.
	Henry Blackmore.		Matthew Woll.		Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1903	Max S. Hayes.	***1915	W. D. Mahon.	1927	John Coefield.
	Martin Lawlor.		Matthew Woll.		Michael Casey.
1904	W. D. Ryan.	1916	W. D. Mahon.	1928	Michael F. Greene.
	D. D. Driscoll.		Matthew Woll.		William B. Fitzgerald.
1905	John A. Moffit.	1917	John Golden.	1929	William J. Rooney.
	James Wood.		James Lord.		William P. Clarke.
1906	Frank K. Foster.		J. A. Franklin.	1930	John J. Manning.
	James Wilson.	1918	Wm. J. Bowen.		Thomas E. Maloy.

From British Trades Union Congress

1894	John Burns.	1907	David J. Shackleton.	1919	S. Finney.
	David Holmes.		John Hodge.		Miss Margaret Bondfield
1895	Edward Cowey.	1908	John Wadsworth.	1920	J. W. Ogden.
	James Mawdsley.		H. Skinner.		J. Jones.
1896	Sam Woods.	1909	A. H. Gill.	1921	J. H. Thomas.
	John Mallinson.		J. R. Clynes.		James Walker.
1897	Edward Harford.	1910	W. Brace.	1922	E. L. Poulton.
	J. Havelock Wilson.		Ben Turner.		R. Smith.
1898	William Inskip.	1911	G. H. Roberts.	1923	R. B. Walker.
	William Thorne.		J. Crinion.		W. G. Robinson.
1899	James Haslam.	1912	J. A. Seddon.	1924	C. T. Cramp.
	Alexander Wilke.		R. Smillie.		A. B. Swales.
1900	John Weir.	1913	I. H. Gwynne.	1925	Ben Smith.
	Pete Curran.		T. Greenall.		A. J. Purcell.
1901	Frank Chandler.	*1914		1926	J. Bromley.
	Ben Tillett.				G. Hicks.
1902	M. Arrandale.	1915	C. G. Ammon.	1927	Arthur Pugh.
	E. Edwards.		E. Bevin.		W. Sherwood.
1903	William Mullin.	1916	H. Gosling.	1928	John Marckbank.
	James O'Grady.		W. Whitefield.		E. Edwards.
1904	William Abraham.	1917	John Hill.	1929	J. T. Brownlie.
	James Wignall.		Arthur Hayday.		J. Bell.
1905	William Mosses.	***1918	F. Hall.	1930	A. A. H. Findlay.
	David Gilmour.		Miss Margaret Bondfield		A. Shaw.
1906	Allen Gee.				
	J. N. Bell.				

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898	Thomas J. Kidd.	1909	Jerome Jones.	1920	W. G. Shea.
1899	James H. Sullivan.	1910	John J. Manning.	1921	John O'Hara.
1900	W. D. Mahon.	1911	Wm. J. Tracy.	1922	William E. Hulsbeck.
1901	John R. O'Brien.	1912	John T. Smith.	1923	Walter N. Reddick.
1902	D. D. Driscoll.	1913	Wm. J. McSorley.	1924	Walter W. Britton.
1903	John Coleman.	1914	M. M. Donoghue.	1925	James Duncan.
1904	John H. Richards.	1915	H. J. Conway.	1926	James B. Connors.
1905	Frank Feeney.	1916	Harry P. Corcoran.	1927	Thos. J. McQuade.
1906	Thomas A. Rickert.	1917	Emanuel Koveleski.	1928	Joseph W. Morton.
1907	Robert S. Maloney.	1918	Stuart H. Hayward.	1929	John D. Haggerty.
1908	Hugh Frayne.	1919	Sam Griggs.	1930	Adolph Kummer.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898	David A. Carey.	1909	F. Bancroft.	1920	J. A. McClellan.
1899	David A. Carey.	1910	R. P. Pettipiece.	1921	U. M. F. Bush.
1900	David A. Carey.	1911	Wm. Glockling.	1922	Ernest Robinson.
1901	P. M. Draper.	1912	John W. Bruce.	1923	James A. Sullivan.
1902	John H. Kennedy.	1913	Gus Francq.	1924	John Colbert.
1903	James Simpson.	1914	R. A. Rigg.	1925	Donald Dear.
1904	John A. Flett.	1915	Fred Bancroft.	1926	Richard Lynch.
1905	William V. Todd.	1916	Thomas A. Stevenson.	1927	Alfred Farmilo.
1906	Samuel L. Landers.	1917	Wm. Lodge.	1928	Wm. Varley.
1907	W. R. Trotter.	1918	Thos. Moore.	1929	James A. Whitebone.
1908	P. M. Draper.	1919	J. M. Walsh.	1930	William E. Stephenson.

From German Federation of Labor 1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924	{ Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925	{ Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926	{ Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
------	---------------------------------------	------	--	------	--

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend

Conventions
of
American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Michigan.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, California.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Massachusetts.	October 6-17.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1931

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

Sec. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

Sec. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

Sec. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

Sec. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

Sec. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be

in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation

or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, Eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to

furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee and this Finance Committee, with the Treasurer shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest bearing certificates of deposit. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, in interest bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, as directed by the Finance Committee and must be covered by insurance, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President or his authorized agent, and Secretary of the Federation or his authorized agent. The Treas-

urer shall collect the interest on all such certificates, interest-bearing securities, or other deposit at the expiration of each interest payment period and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit, or invested in interest bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President or his authorized agent, and countersigned by the Secretary or his authorized agent, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no endorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be

\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be

set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to another body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Department attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levy declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work

while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officer in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or central body or state branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments. Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the convocations.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the American Federation is to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



Fiftieth Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1930

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts,
October 6, 1930.

Pursuant to the law, the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock in the ball room of the Statler Hotel, by P. Harry Jennings, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, Chairman of the Entertainment Committee, who introduced Nathan Sidd, President of the Boston Central Labor Union.

Prior to the opening of the convention, and at intervals during the morning, musical selections were given by Stone's Orchestra, composed of union musicians.

Chairman Sidd: Ladies and gentlemen, I take the greatest of pleasure in introducing to you His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, who will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston)

My dear Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor—it gives me the greatest pleasure to be here with you this morning especially to offer a prayer to Almighty God, in behalf of the welfare of this great organization, beseeching Him to give us His grace and His blessing. I hope on another occasion, Friday afternoon, I think the time has been set, to come here and address you in a more formal manner, but now I beg of you to raise up your hearts to Almighty God and ask His blessing upon this convention.

Almighty and Eternal Father, Who hast blessed and sanctified labor and the toil of

our hands, we come into Thy sacred presence to adore Thy goodness and to implore Thy help. Grant us to see the justice of Thy eternal laws and give us wisdom and strength to walk in Thy light. Give us counsel to understand Thy holy will and courage and fortitude to say and to do the right, to learn not only what is our duty by law, but what is our duty to Thee, to our neighbor and to our country. This we ask in the name of Thy Divine Son, Who labored and toiled not for Himself but for us and all mankind of every class and race and clime, and Who taught us humbly to say to Thee:

Our Father Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. Amen.

ADDRESS BY MR. NATHAN SIDD (President Boston Central Labor Union)

As President of the Boston Central Labor Union, I consider it a high honor and a proud privilege to be given the opportunity of saying a few words of welcome to this great American Federation of Labor convention in behalf of the trade unionists and all the working people of Greater Boston. The City of Boston is known throughout this great country of ours as the birthplace of our political liberty, so when plans were being made for the celebration of our Tercentenary, the 300th Anniversary of the birth of our city, many of our trade unionists, in fact the trade unionists were unanimous in their desire to have the American Federation of Labor convention held here during this celebration. We thought it most fitting because the great American Federation of Labor is engaged in the great struggle for

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

industrial and economic freedom. We trade unionists want the workers of this great section of our country to see and understand the great work of the American Federation of Labor close at hand. We are satisfied that meeting in convention in our wonderful city under such inspiring circumstances will not only mean added inspiration to your work, but will be also of an inspiring nature to the workers and our friends of Boston and all of New England. We are proud to have you with us. We wish your stay to be most pleasant; and may I express the hope that the work of this convention will outshine all other conventions in the way of bringing enlightenment and material progress to the workers of our country.

The Chairman of our Entertainment Committee will from time to time make his announcements to you as to our plans for entertainment. I hope you will all enjoy our hospitality and go away from Boston with the thought that Boston has tried to do the best we possibly can.

I now take great pleasure in introducing the President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, James T. Moriarty.

ADDRESS BY MR. JAMES T. MORIARTY (President Massachusetts State Federation of Labor)

Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, Mr. President, and Fellow Delegates: In my long service in your movement there is no moment of my life that has given me as great pleasure as that which affords me the opportunity this morning to extend our hospitality here on the occasion of the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of the greatest city in the world, my home city, Boston. It brings me back to one year ago when I had the opportunity, as a delegate from the State Federation of Labor, to invite this wonderful assembly to this city. Boston has more history than any city in this country, and it is my desire that you shall write more history into the archives during this convention. The Building Trades Department has just passed a measure that is going to make it possible to straighten out a jurisdictional matter. I hope every action of this convention will be historic, so that when the people in future times are reading the history of our movement they will have the opportunity to say that this was the best convention the American Federation of Labor ever had, from the standpoint of straightening out matters that are near and dear to us.

As the President of the State Federation of Labor, let me say to all the visitors that our committee will be glad to show you the interesting points in and around Boston, so that when you leave Boston you can truthfully say that you have been treated better than in any other city on the North American continent.

In conclusion, let me express the hope that this convention will go down in history as one that has shown the way to take care of the unemployment situation in a manner that no one else has been able to do up to this present moment.

I thank you.

Chairman Sidd: Ladies and Gentlemen, owing to the fact that the Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of the City of Boston, and Senator Walsh are meeting the President of the United States this morning, they have been somewhat delayed in reaching our convention. I have just received a message that they are on the way and will be here shortly. In order that the convention may not be unduly delayed we have decided to change the order of the program slightly, and we will now have the pleasure of hearing your own President, the well beloved William Green.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT GREEN

Chairman Sidd, Members of the Entertainment Committee, Officers, Delegates and Visitors in attendance at this historic convention: I am indeed happy to respond just briefly to the addresses of welcome delivered by the representatives of the Boston Central Labor Union and the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. Because we are meeting under such unusual circumstances in the City of Boston, the Mayor of the city and the Governor of the Commonwealth have been delayed in making their appearance, so I am sure we can accurately anticipate the very cordial welcome which these distinguished representatives of the city and state will deliver later on. We cannot delay the opening of our convention longer, but we will be privileged to hear from the Mayor and the Governor upon their arrival.

I know we are all very happy this morning because we are privileged to come to this historic city for the purpose of holding the fiftieth consecutive convention of the American Federation of Labor, and as we meet, confronted as we are with serious problems, approaching their analysis in a serious frame of mind, our hearts and minds instinctively turn to the historic record that has been made here.

You will recall that this is the third convention of the American Federation of Labor which has assembled in this city of Boston. In 1889 the Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in this city. There were seventy-four delegates in attendance at that convention. The membership represented was approximately 200,000. The convention remained in session five days. The Governor of this Commonwealth, Governor Ames, and the Mayor of this city, Mayor Hart, welcomed the delegates and officers in attendance at the convention. The officers of the convention and of the American Federation of Labor at that time were my distinguished predecessors, the late Samuel Gompers, President; Edward McLaughlin, First Vice-President; William Martin, Second Vice-President; P. J. McGuire, Secretary, and Henry Emrich, Treasurer.

When these delegates met on that occasion they were thinking about economic, social and industrial problems, just as you are thinking about modern day economic, social and industrial problems. But at that time the purpose, yes, the simple purpose of our movement, was not understood. There was, indeed, no social consciousness at that time, for individualism had been supplanted by collectivism. The ten and eleven hour work day were in effect. The simple, primary, elemental right to organize

was denied the workers. They were even denied the right to cast a free ballot. Free textbooks and compulsory education were unknown. At that time trades unionists were urging the appointment of Federal and state labor departments. Safety and sanitation in industry were unthought of and unknown. Workmen's compensation legislation was classed as visionary and employees were forced to be subjected to the common law when they presented a case for damages because of injury or fatal accident. Economists at that time insisted that wages were set by the law of supply and demand and that high wages increased production costs. At that time we were pleading for the enactment of immigration laws and for the rigid exclusion of Asiatics. The State militia was frequently used to intimidate the workers. The participation of working men in the political affairs of the country was very limited. I refer to these matters so that you may make comparison of the progress that has been made, even under difficult circumstances, since these pioneers of our movement met in this historic city in 1889.

Now, my friends, we are thinking about some most advanced progressive propositions. We realize that we are grappling with problems that are just as vital to the happiness and the well being of the masses of the people of this country as were these men in their day and age. They met each situation courageously, constructively and wisely. It is our duty, fellow delegates, to demonstrate that same degree of wisdom, self-control and self-possession as did our pioneers when they dealt with very serious problems.

I am of the firm opinion that we have arrived at the period in the history of our nation and of our industrial progress when the institution of the five day week in all industries outside of the service industries should be immediately inaugurated. If increase in individual efficiency and collective productivity means anything it ought to mean an increase in leisure, in the opportunity to live and enjoy life. It also ought to mean that the workers of today can produce the commodities that the world needs during the period of a shorter work day and a shorter work week.

Because of this firm conviction in my mind and in my judgment I wish that beginning now it may be the inflexible, irrevocable purpose of the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor to press upon industry our uncompromising demand that the five day work week be immediately established.

There are other problems no less important that will press upon our minds and upon our thoughts for consideration and action in this convention. It is not my purpose to dwell upon these at this time, because all of them will be brought before the convention for consideration and action. I know that you will act upon them wisely, that the traditional record of the American Federation of Labor will be preserved at this convention, and that as a result of our deliberations we will go from here strengthened not only in our efforts, but in our purpose to carry forward the banner of trades unionism until we enjoy a complete victory.

Our minds instinctively turn to the names of men who were associated with our move-

ment when the convention of the American Federation of Labor met in this city forty years ago. Many of you now are thinking of James Duncan, who lived at Quincy, and whose grave is there; John F. Tobin, Horace M. Eaton, Thomas F. Tracy—you remember Thomas Tracy, a loyal trades unionist—Henry Lloyd, George E. McNeil, William H. Fraser, John F. Sullivan, H. J. Skeffington, Frank Foster, Gad Martindale, Hugh McKay, Robert Howard, and others. These are the names of men who associated with our movement in those early days to which I have referred, and who made their contribution to the origination and the success of the American Federation of Labor.

In conclusion, may I refer to the fact that this convention is meeting in a city rich in historic development and historic lore. We are privileged to deliberate within the shadow of Bunker Hill, and in this modern day when distance has been reduced, Plymouth Rock is at the very doors of City Hall, and we are moving in close proximity to the historic battlefields of Lexington and Concord. We recall that in those Revolutionary days when men fought for the realization of what they believed was right and just, the great Burke and Pitt of England were in favor of granting independence to the American colonies.

Meeting as we do in such an environment, breathing such an atmosphere of historic record of such earnest and helpful situations, we ought to be able to carry forward the work of this convention in a most successful way.

I express the hope that each and all of you may enjoy yourselves while in the city, and that when we go from here back to our homes we will carry with us the fondest memories of a delightful visit in the City of Boston.

I thank you.

President Green in the chair.

President Green: It affords me a great deal of pleasure to declare the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session and open for the transaction of business. Chairman Sidd, President of the Boston Central Labor Union and Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, will present to you the Governor of the State of Massachusetts.

Chairman Sidd: Ladies and Gentlemen, it is an extreme pleasure to me to be able to present to you His Excellency, Frank G. Allen, Governor of Massachusetts.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR FRANK G. ALLEN

President Green and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

On behalf of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts I bid you a cordial welcome. It is my sincere hope that your Jubilee Convention, so auspiciously opened this morning, may be the most successful from every standpoint in

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

the long and splendid career of your organization.

It is my understanding that this is the third convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Boston, the previous conventions having convened here in 1889 and in 1903. I believe the citizens of Boston will agree with me when I say that we should be happy to have you with us more often, that here in Massachusetts your organization will find a host of sympathetic friends and, indeed, industrial New England has at all times been closely related with the vast growth of your federation.

There is still another reason why there is a binding tie between Boston and the American Federation of Labor. For a period of a number of years Boston was the home city of that great American, that staunch defender of our Nation's principles, one of the outstanding labor figures of all time and all countries, whose name in fact had become a household word—your first President, the late Samuel Gompers.

Entirely apart from the tremendous service which the American Federation of Labor has rendered to the workers of this Nation, I feel that our people owe to you a deep and lasting debt of gratitude. The American Federation of Labor for fifty years has been one of the staunchest bulwarks in the defence of American ideals and institutions. It has courageously and persistently resisted with remarkable fortitude the onslaughts of those forces which would destroy our government and which have, in vain, attempted to wrest control of your organization by boring from within as well as attacking from without.

The American Federation of Labor, under the late Samuel Gompers, set an example to all other organizations of any and every description in its unwavering loyalty to the Government of the United States. Your organization is to be congratulated today in having a successor to Mr. Gompers, equally fervent and true in his support of the traditions and ideals which have always been ours.—President William Green.

I mentioned a moment ago that the American Federation of Labor had a host of sympathetic friends in Boston and Massachusetts, and that our people have always been closely related with the growth of your organization. We have been proud here in this Commonwealth that a greater breadth of humanity has been written into our statutes, possibly, than in any other State in the Union. We feel that it is both natural and logical that this humanitarianism should be exhibited in the field of labor legislation, the more so since Massachusetts is chiefly an industrial State.

Any review of our labor legislation will find that it walks arm in arm with the humanities, that often pioneer labor legislation has been enacted, that not only have we kept faith with the masses who toil but that we have created a high standard which for years has been a challenge to our sister States.

It is not a history of what Massachusetts has attempted to do, or essayed to do, in humanitarian labor legislation, but a record of what she has done, what statutes she has written into her books, and how constant and faithful has been her response to the humanitarian aspect of labor. And broadly, too, do

we speak of labor, for Massachusetts has included in her progressive program and liberal policy, for scores of years, the protection of womanhood as well as her youth of tender age.

Massachusetts was the first State to enact effective legislation regulating hours of labor for women and children. The first child labor law in this country, requiring a period of school attendance for children under fifteen in factories and penalizing employment in violation thereof, was enacted in 1836—almost a century ago. This statute represented the beginning of all child labor legislation.

In 1867 Massachusetts became the first State to have factory inspectors. The law of that year is generally regarded as the first enactment in this country of the administration of factory legislation. Two years later, in 1869, Massachusetts became the first State to establish a permanent bureau for investigation of labor conditions.

In 1874, the year in which I was born, hy the way—and perhaps it might not be amiss to say to this convention that I doubt if any man within my hearing was born in more humble circumstances than was I. I am proud of the fact that I was born the son of an American laborer, and I want it distinctly understood that while I may have prospered in later life I doubt if any one here before me began his work for a smaller wage than did I. I received the mighty stipend of two dollars per week. I think, therefore, that I ought, and I believe that I do, sympathetically approach the labor problems that come before me for action, and I believe, thanks to my inheritance from my father and good mother, that I still know how to approach those things with justice and with a desire to be fair to all parties concerned.

In 1874 a law was enacted forbidding employment of any women over eighteen in any manufacturing establishment more than ten hours a day, or any minor under eighteen. This statute has been referred to as the first effective law regulating the hours of women anywhere in the United States.

Massachusetts was the first State, in 1877, to pass a law requiring safeguards for machinery in factories. In 1882 an act requiring seating accommodations for women in manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments was written into our laws.

In 1886 this Commonwealth again enacted pioneer labor legislation by requiring a report of accidents in industrial establishments causing death or injuries to an employee. In that same year we became one of the early States to create an agency for the conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes.

In 1887 an Employers' Liability Act was enacted, making employers liable for defective conditions, negligence of superintendents, and of persons controlling railroad signals, switches and engines.

In 1890 Massachusetts became the first State to prohibit the employment of women in factories before 6 a. m. and after 10 p. m., and in 1907 came the act forbidding the employment of women in textile mills after 6 p. m. and before 6 a. m.

In 1910 a special commission was established to draft the Workmen's Compensation Law, and in 1911 the Massachusetts General Court

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

5

formulated into statute the famous Workmen's Compensation Act, which has served as a model for many of our sister states.

In 1912 this Commonwealth enacted the first minimum wage law. In the same year an act created the Board of Labor and Industries, and in the year following this Board, in addition to the enforcement of labor laws, together with the Industrial Accident Board, was charged with developing preventive measures to safeguard the health as well as the bodily safety of those employed.

In 1919 Massachusetts enacted a 48-hour law for women and children in industry. Here was a case of this Commonwealth being progressive to a point where it caused embarrassment, for other States have been slow to follow this lead, with the result that we are placed on an unequal basis with competing States and our textile industries have suffered in consequence.

But we in Massachusetts do not look backward. Our eyes are ever forward. We look to the future with a confident hope that the 48-hour law standard will eventually become general throughout the United States, as its benefits to the workers and through them to the industries themselves become more and more apparent. And furthermore, let me say that I have no quarrel with your most honorable President if that limit is shortened, provided we see to it that we have somewhere near the same kind of basis throughout the country.

In this brief resume of pioneer labor legislation in Massachusetts, only the most important stepping stones toward the best possible working conditions for those who toil have been touched upon. It can safely be said that no State in this country has had more or sounder legislation affecting the workers than the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

We are proud today that in our State the relations between capital and labor are closer than at any previous time in our history. We have always endeavored to maintain that the furtherance of amicable relations between capital and labor is one of the first concerns of government, particularly in a State so predominantly industrialized as is this Commonwealth.

Considerations of justice as well as those of economic welfare have constantly admonished us to remove real grievances and to avoid reasonable grounds for believing that there are grievances.

Just now in Massachusetts, as in other States and in other parts of the world, we are faced with an economic depression with attendant unemployment. Almost from the beginning of time these periods of depression have come to us in cycles. The best minds of our people are today directed toward this problem, and I believe we are nearer a realization of the hope of a solution than at any previous time.

I understand that this is one of the outstanding matters to be considered by the American Federation of Labor during this, its fiftieth convention. Frankly, both the government and capital need your help in finding a proper remedy. Especially is this true in an age during which there has been a constantly increasing tendency to displace man power

through the introduction of modern machinery.

Of one thing we are all certain, there should never be a lowering of the standards of living by the American people. Rather, we should constantly work to maintain the best standards of living for the people of this our country.

As far as the emergency unemployment is concerned, we in Massachusetts have made strong endeavors to ease the situation. Our State government, for instance, this year, without an abandonment of the pay-as-you-go policy by which we are rapidly approaching our goal of a debtless State, has so expanded its building and construction program as to give employment to thousands of men who otherwise would have been without jobs.

In this year alone we are expending \$25,000,000 in State building and highway construction work, which is more than \$7,000,000 in excess of the total ever before expended for this work in a single year.

In conjunction with the plan of President Hoover to stimulate public enterprise in this time as an emergency unemployment measure, it was my privilege to enlist the co-operation of all of the cities and towns of the Commonwealth. From the mayor of Boston, the mayors of other cities, and the selectmen of our towns, came a wonderful response. As a result, a construction program in our municipalities amounting to more than \$100,000,000 for this year alone is now being carried out.

This is only a part of the program which we have put through to meet emergency conditions. But it is indicative of the desire and of the purpose of our government in Massachusetts to leave no stone unturned to help our men, women and children, especially in periods of distress. In pursuance of this policy, the latest piece of progressive humanitarian legislation enacted by our Legislature and signed by me this year is, An Old Age Pension Act.

In closing let me add that it has been a very great pleasure for me to meet with you and to speak to you for these few minutes. Massachusetts is proud to have you within her borders. She hopes your stay will be one of mutual happiness, satisfaction and understanding, and that you won't permit so long a time to again lapse before you come to us once more to hold your convention in our midst. I thank you for this opportunity.

Chairman Sidd: Ladies and gentlemen—I am happy to say at this time that His Honor, the Mayor, has arrived. In introducing the Mayor I want to say that Mayor James M. Curley has been one of the best, if not the best friend of labor Boston has ever had. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Honorable James M. Curley, Mayor of Boston.

ADDRESS BY HONORABLE JAMES M. CURLEY

(Mayor of Boston)

Mr. Presiding Officer, worthy National President, distinguished members of the National Board and delegates to this convention

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

of the American Federation of Labor: I did not write out a speech for this occasion. The boys asked me if I had a copy when I came in. Personally I would rather talk to you in conformity with the dictates of heart and mind, because no single organization, with the possible exception of the American Legion and the Grand Army of the Republic, has done more for the American people and humanity than the American Federation of Labor.

Over in the country of my ancestors it is customary to present some one in whom you are mutually interested with a cane that has thorns on it, and usually a fairly healthy knob, not only as a token of appreciation but as a measure of possible future defense. So I brought one of those canes here to present to the head of this organization. We call it the constitutional big stick. Three of them are to be presented this year—one to the head of the American Legion, one to the head of this splendid organization, and a third to the man who made it possible for the American forces to continue as an independent fighting unit rather than as a tail to the kite of any army, and who made possible the writing of luminous pages of American history for the people of the world—General Pershing. The constitutional big stick was cut from an elm tree that grew on the very spot where the first shot was fired in the movement for American liberty at Lexington—not Concord. And it affords me very great pleasure to present it to a man who, as head of a great organization, has done more than any other solitary individual during his term of service to uphold in its fullest, its purest and its most idealistic sense the Constitution of the United States—President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, sir, having presented you with a most useful weapon for entry into our city, we want to take occasion to assure you that you will never have to use it in Boston, because it is a like pleasure for me to present you, sir, with a key of the City of Boston, emblematic of the love and affection that every worth-while, thoughtful American man has for the character of service that has been rendered the people and the world by the American Federation of Labor. So we present you not only with a key to the city, but with a key to our hearts.

And so, my friends, we are living in a most interesting period in the history of the world, and organized labor celebrates its golden jubilee in the very year that the State of Massachusetts and the City of Boston observe the tercentenary of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Out of the Massachusetts Bay Colony came in the progress of time and with the advent of the courageous and adventurous pioneers, typifying the pure womanhood, and the hardy manhood of every land in the whole world, the development in a pioneering country where the soil was not over friendly, where the climate was not very inviting, and where the natives, the Indians, rather resented, as anybody should resent, the taking of their property and the invasion of their rights. It called for the development of what was developed in America—the de-

velopment of our highest conceivable character of faith—a faith based largely on realization of the knowledge that unless all stuck together in a strange land and under those trying conditions there was no hope for a solitary individual.

We may criticize, as we will and as we do, the weaknesses and the ills and the vicious strains that predominated from time to time in the lives of the Puritans and in the Puritan character, but there is no thoughtful individual that will ever find fault with that which represented the fruition of the development of faith, namely, the establishment of the American Republic and the contribution to the flags of the world of the flag of our own country—the Stars and Stripes.

Now, then, a most unusual feature of our existence as a people is that, notwithstanding the fact that each and every individual under the law is entitled to the same right and privilege in the matter of suffrage, and the majority of the people who work have always in their power sufficient voting strength to repeal any law or to enact any law if they stand united, yet I venture to say that were it not for this great and very necessary potential asset to the life of the American people you would scarcely find one of the humanitarian laws on the statute books of the American nation in which we take a pardonable pride at the present time. Our government was organized with three branches, the executive, the legislative and the judicial, but those three branches needed another necessary branch in order to properly function for the good of humanity, and into the life of the world, out of somewhere, out of the suffering and the want and the woe and the tears and the privation of the people came this God-given contribution to American progress and humanity—the American Federation of Labor.

The whole of America is beginning to wake up and the whole world is waking up. We are awakening at the spectacle of six hundred Communists in Cleveland attempting to storm the train of the President of the United States. Why? Because they find it difficult to understand why the richest nation in the world, with more money in control of the Federal treasury and the trust companies and the banks and financial institutions of the land than any other nation, is unable to solve an economic problem that would guarantee work for the able-bodied, willing workers of America.

We had a meeting, Mr. President, the other day. I called it. I confess I was not very hopeful of co-operation, but I received it. I sent an invitation to the president of every university in Massachusetts, and we have some twenty-five, and to the heads of every economic department of every university in Massachusetts. All attended, and I asked them what? I asked them if it was not about time that we relieve organized labor of the burden of providing a program that would make for safety and sanity and the continued existence of the American Republic, if these questions were not the business of the entire American people rather than the business of organized labor alone. And I said to them what I am going to say to you here now, that we never have fully appreciated, we never have appreciated in any sense just what organized labor has done for

America and humanity—a handful of men with only a limited membership fortunate enough to have enjoyed a college education, limited in finances, limited in numbers, and at one time or another with every hand, even the hand of the workers themselves raised against them and the power of the Federal courts and the power of the Army of the United States, the power of the militia organized from time to time and drawn on to destroy them—and yet they have gone on, and at the end of half a century they have given to America the things in which we rejoice and of which we would be ashamed of ourselves if we did not have—the eight hour day, the Saturday half holiday, the workmen's compensation act, the maternity benefit act, and countless other laws that make for the welfare of mankind, that make for peace and happiness in the home and patriotism in the land.

I don't think you are going to have to travel that long road, that weary road in the lone-some fashion in the future that you have traveled in the past. I like to think of a little poem I learned many years ago, which I think is peculiarly applicable to organized labor. It runs:

"It's easy to sit in the sunshine and talk to the man in the shade.
It's easy to float in a well trimmed boat and point out the places to wade.
It's easy to tell the toiler how best he may carry his pack.
But no man can test the burden's weight until it has been on his back."

The burden has been on the back of labor for fifty years, and now to stem a possible tide of Communism, now to stem a possible tide of unrest, now to develop an economic condition that will make for safety, you are going to have a lot of help. Everybody wants to help you, not for the settlement of the immediate and pressing emergency that now exists, but to prevent recurrences in the future.

Lloyd George is authority for the statement that every two and a half years in the last century they had had industrial depression in Great Britain. In America we have had one every seven years and we have shortly got to make our choice between the adoption of a dole system that will sap the initiative and the character and the pioneer experience that has ever been evidenced in the American people or an economic system that will provide work and the wages for those in need of work and wages. It is a great task. It must feel good, after fifty years of fighting, to realize you have reached that stage in the fight where the justice of your cause has received the recognition that will ultimately mean united support in the solving of this great economic problem, the equitable solution of which is necessary if the American Republic is to endure.

President Green: My Friends, Officers and Delegates of the Convention: In the opening of my response to these most wonderful addresses delivered by the Governor of this Commonwealth and the Mayor of this city, may I express to you my consciousness of the dif-

ficulty with which I am confronted in employing language that would adequately express the appreciation of all of us for these inspiring messages. We are happy, indeed, to have these distinguished representatives of the State and of the city come to us this morning in such a sincere and earnest way and speak to us words of sympathetic interest and approval of the work, the aims and the policies of our great humanitarian labor movement.

The men and women who are identified with our great organization love it. To us the trade union movement is well nigh a religion; but when we hear men occupying such exalted and representative positions as these men do speak in terms of praise of our movement, our hearts are made glad and we become conscious more than ever of the worth and the value of the American Federation of Labor.

We are grateful to the Governor and the Mayor for their visit here this morning, for their eloquent and logical messages. We are glad to know they are in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, and we are glad, indeed, to know that they fully appreciate the difficulties with which we are constantly contending.

I am happy to observe that the reputation of the great Mayor of the great City of Boston has been ably sustained this morning, not only in the eloquent message he delivered, but in the presentation of these emblems of protection and hospitality which he presented to the President of the American Federation of Labor. We know of Mayor Curley outside of the City of Boston. His reputation as a great executive, a humane, a God-fearing man and a noble, patriotic citizen has reached to every quarter of the land; but I did not know that he possessed in such a peculiar way the ability to anticipate the needs of a poor, defenseless man like the President of the American Federation of Labor.

The presentation of this emblem of hospitality, this key to the city and to the hearts of the people, makes us realize that we are among friends. Not only does his word convince us that we are at home, but this symbol of hospitality makes a deep impression upon our hearts and minds. We are indeed privileged to meet upon this occasion in the City of Boston to deliberate in this wonderful place, to breathe in the pure air of freedom and to enjoy the hospitality of a noble people.

Chairman Sidd: It has been the custom in other conventions to present a suitable emblem of authority to the President of the American

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Federation of Labor, and upon this memorable occasion, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Federation of Labor, Boston is fortunate in being able to furnish souvenir in the form of a gavel, suitably inscribed, which I take pleasure in presenting to President Green, as an emblem of authority.

President Green: I desire to express my appreciation to the Central Labor Body of Boston for this beautiful gavel. It is the property of the American Federation of Labor, and I assure you it will be my purpose and desire to wield it calmly and judicially as the presiding officer of this convention.

The Chair wishes to announce that the President of the United States will honor us by his presence at three o'clock this afternoon. He will appear on this platform and bring to the officers, delegates and visitors attending the convention a message as the Chief Executive of the United States. We wish that all delegates, visitors and friends may find it possible to attend the session so that you may be privileged to listen to the address of the President of the United States. In order to avoid confusion we have arranged for admission to the hall by ticket. We do not want our hall to be crowded by outsiders, and our seating facilities are limited.

President Green announced the appointment of the following committees to assist in the reception of the President:

Special Committee—Sergeant-at-Arms—John M. Gillespie, J. L. Wines, I. M. Ornburn, A. Adamski, Thomas L. Hughes, Dave Evans, Harvey C. Fremming, A. A. Myrup, Wm. C. Birthright, J. M. Davis, J. Obergfell, Charles Frey, William Kasten, Fred Baer, G. M. Harrison, E. J. Volz, Luther Stewart, William P. Clarke, Herbert Rivers, E. Koveleski, J. P. Ryan, Fred Hewitt, E. E. Milliman, J. L. Hynes, Phil Murray, W. H. McHugh, M. W. Mitchell, F. X. Martel, Michael J. Colleran.

Reception Committee to President—William L. Hutcheson, William J. Bowen, Daniel J. Tobin, James Maloney, H. H. Broach.

Mr. G. Henry Dunderdale, a member of the News Writers' organization and an officer of the Central Labor Union, was introduced by Chairman Sidd.

Mr. Dunderdale: Mr. President, I have been honored by the Boston Central Labor Union by being selected to present to you this gavel. It dates back to the time when labor organizations were looked upon with suspicion and when labor men were shunned. It was a highly exhilarating thought of the Boston Typographical Union at their meeting in

1878 to have a committee formed for the purpose of ascertaining the names of all the trade organizations of the city, so that they could form a central labor council. The object of the council was to get to know better the working conditions of every craft.

The committee did its work, and in 1878 they formed the Boston Central Labor Union. We have held meetings ever since. Some of these meetings have been exciting, some have been very quiet. It was at one of the quiet meetings that this gavel was rather smashed. However, it has been repaired, and the delegates of the Boston Central Labor Union unite with me in hoping that the deliberations of this convention will tend to the advancement of labor and the benefit of all the workers, organized and unorganized.

President Green: I wish to thank Brother Dunderdale for this valuable souvenir. You can tell from his remarks that it has a practical and a sentimental value, and I accept it on behalf of the delegates to this convention with feelings of gratitude and thankfulness.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Boston, Massachusetts.
October 6, 1930.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 418 delegates, representing 91 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 30 State Branches, 76 Central Bodies, 35 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 5 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, Paul Dullzell, 112 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 33 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, J. Goldstone, Peter Beisel, 200 votes.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

9

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, William C. Birthright, Herman C. Wenzel, Patrick H. Reagan, Leon Worthall, 512 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Wm. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Wm. E. Walter, N. Davis, Harry Nacey, 193 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, Felix J. Belair, Mary E. Meahan, 130 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, C. L. Baine, Lawrence J. Callanan, Thomas A. McCann, Thomas Morrissey, 322 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, Adam E. Zusi, 100 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, George T. Thornton, John J. Stretch, 900 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank, Kasten, William Tracy, 42 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, W. H. Pope, Wm. F. Bauers, Edward Ryan, 209 votes.

Building Service Employes' International Union—Jerry Horan, Oscar F. Nelson, Chas. F. Wills, Wm. McFetridge, 162 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, F. H. Knight, John O. Holmgren, L. A. Beaudry, 800 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Alex Kelso, John B. Tierney, H. C. Rogers, Thos. Flynn, Joseph Kunz, James Feeley, 3032 votes.

Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood—Henry E. Richard, 12 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins, William Collins, 155 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Sol Cohen, John F. O'Connor, John A. Kelley, 352 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, Geo. S. Levi, C. J. Woods, Thos. A. Bannister, Ira F. Thomas, E. H. FitzGerald, 970 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—John B. Schulte, C. C. Coulter, 100 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Max Zaritsky, Max Zuckerman, 60 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—Arthur E. Treadwell, 23 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 7 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 4 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 12 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—H. H. Broach, G. M. Bugnizet, Edward Bieretz, Charles M. Paulsen, M. T. Joyce, Emil Preiss, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, John C. MacDonald, Thomas O'Brien, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, John Poschel, Jos. S. Fay, James H. Fitzpatrick, 340 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Frank H. Glenn, 89 votes.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, John Fitzgerald, John W. Ross, 335 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Edward F. Looney, 180 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—John F. McNamara, Joseph W. Morton, James B. Conroy, 90 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International—Morris Kaufman, 70 votes.

Garmet Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, J. L. Wines, F. Doyle, A. Adamski, Mrs. D. A. Houck, 472 votes.

Garmet Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Max Cohen, Abraham Katovsky, Benjamin Moser, Basilio Desti, 508 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, Clarence L. Essex, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—William P. Clarke, M. G. Bilz, 49 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Samuel Squibb, 85 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor, Edward Gordon, 115 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Daniel J. Sullivan, 1,027 votes.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, 7 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance—Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Mrs. Agnes Quinn McInnis, Conrad Schott, 363 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 79 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McCorley, George Thomas Moore, Charles James Case, Harry J. Hagen, 165 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Harry L. Morrison, M. J. O'Leary, 55 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, Barnett Wolff, 50 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnian, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz, 508 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, 56 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John D. Welch, 347 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, Fred Hewitt, Chas. Fry, C. B. Cline, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, 780 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljordal, E. E. Milliman, J. F. Towle, J. H. Myers, 401 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, Louis E. Rode, 77 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Michael J. Kelly, 125 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, William J. Rooney, John Reul, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Thos. Reilly, 40 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip J. Murray, Thomas Kennedy, Lee Hall, William Green, Frank Hughes, P. T. Fagan, John Boylan, 4,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Michael J. Keough, Robert T. McCoy, D. B. McCormack, W. D. Reeves, 218 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, John W. Parks, Chas. L. Bagley, Edward Canavan, W. Ralph Fetterman, 1,000 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—Harvey C. Fremming, 11 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhanglers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madsen, James P. Meehan, Edward Ackerley, Harry Kauffman, 1062 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Frank P. Barry, 40 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Albert M. Anderson, 24 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Coleran, J. E. Rooney, W. A. O'Keefe, Duncan Payne, Henry Biehl, 382 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Chas. M. Rau, Charles Anderson, William Fallon, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, 58 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate—Andrew Fallon, 11 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Wm. H. McHugh, John Badaracco, Joseph A. Dart, Anthony J. De Andrade, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, 55 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suitor, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Jeremiah Dineen, Timothy J. Regan, M. J. Murray, Neil McLellan, 972 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, 198 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—J. M. Gavlik, Fred Gausman, 40 votes.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

11

Seamen's Union of America, International—
Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, Percy
J. Pryor, 150 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Ma-
chine Operators of the United States and Can-
ada, International Alliance of Theatrical—
William F. Canavan, Fred J. Dempsey,
Thomas E. Maloy, James F. Burke, 240 votes.

Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of
North America, International—Winfield T.
Keegan, Chas. A. Sumner, 78 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North Amer-
ica, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cul-
len, 58 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—
Edw. W. Kaiser, 10 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—
Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Connors, John
Lundergan, 92 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—
Gust Soderberg, 67 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Mrs.
Florence Curtis Hanson, 32 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and
Helpers of America, International Brother-
hood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L.
Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John McLaugh-
lin, L. G. Goudie, J. J. McKenna, 988 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J.
Manion, H. B. Perham, R. R. McInroy, R. M.
Burr, F. J. Ellison, 410 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The
Commercial—Percy Thomas, 38 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—
Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr, William
Smith, Francis J. Gorman, 300 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E.
Lewis Evans, 24 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles
P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trot-
ter, William J. Robinson, William M.
Reilly, Frank X. Martel, 776 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North
America—William Kohn, James H. Hatch, 107
votes.

Building Trades Department—M. J. Mc-
Donough, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Con-
nell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes Department—B. M.
Jewell, 1 vote

Union Label Trades Department—John J.
Manning, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—
Charles S. Child, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Earl R.
Hoage, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—
John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Delaware State Federation of Labor—Fred
W. Stierle, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—C. B.
Gramling, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Aug. Ros-
quist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben
G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N.
Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis,
1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—
William E. Hulsheck, 1 vote.

Maine State Federation of Labor—Howard
C. Woodside, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—
Joseph J. Cabral, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—Samuel
P. Tobin, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo.
W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Mississippi State Federation of Labor—Holt
E. J. Ross, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Samuel
R. Victor, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James
D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Harry
J. Gill, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—
John L. Barry, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—
Joseph V. Egan, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—John
Sullivan, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J.
Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Joe
C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Gust
Anderson, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—
John B. Gallagher, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen
—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

- Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—John T. Burns, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—D. W. Tracy, 1 vote.
- Utah State Federation of Labor—M. I. Thompson, 1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor—R. T. Bowden, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—Rowland Watson, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.
- Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council—Clarence J. Moser, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—George F. Hancy, 1 vote.
- Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Jeremiah Ryan, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Nathan Sidd, 1 vote.
- Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union—Karl Lang, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—James O'Connell, 1 vote.
- Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council—John C. Johnston, 1 vote.
- Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Herman Koster, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—W. Thomas Polston, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—Adolf Kummer, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—James F. Malley, 1 vote.
- Clinton, Iowa, Tri-City Labor Congress of Clinton, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill.—Geo. C. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—Gilbert W. Belt, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Walter Laude, 1 vote.
- Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly—W. E. McEwen, 1 vote.
- Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union—John R. Machado, 1 vote.
- Fitchburg, Mass., Central Labor Union—Charles F. Sweeney, 1 vote.
- Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—Gus Mueller, 1 vote.
- Grand Rapids, Mich., Federation of Labor—C. O. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.
- Hammond, Ind., Lake County Central Labor Union—W. M. Tucker, 1 vote.
- Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—L. F. Becker, 1 vote.
- Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Lawrence J. Katz, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph Fritz, 1 vote.
- Jacksonville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles E. Souza, 1 vote.
- Jeliet, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Mrs. M. J. McSpadden, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—Max Dyer, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Steve Sumner, 1 vote.
- Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union—Clarence D. Long, 1 vote.
- Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union—William W. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Geo. C. Burton, 1 vote.
- Lowell, Mass., Trades and Labor Council—Parker F. Murphy, 1 vote.
- Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—William A. Nealey, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—James P. Sheehan, 1 vote.
- Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Louis Distle, 1 vote.
- Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union—Thomas A. Slavens, 1 vote.
- Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Oswego, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Assembly—A. J. Thompson, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

13

- Pawtucket, R. I., Central Labor Union—James C. Finan, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—William Kelly, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—John J. Scully, 1 vote.
- Portland, Me., Central Labor Union—Frank C. McDonald, 1 vote.
- Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—N. E. Williams, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—M. J. Donahue, 1 vote.
- Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Arthur J. Beauregard, 1 vote.
- Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.
- Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Frank J. Hartnett, 1 vote.
- Rockland, Mass., Central Labor Union—Hugh Walls, 1 vote.
- Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—Walter Smethurst, 1 vote.
- Saint Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Archie M. Lawrence, 1 vote.
- Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—Charles L. Reed, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—William A. Granfield, 1 vote.
- San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union—Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 1 vote.
- Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Michael J. Fanning, 1 vote.
- Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Geo. Dorsey, 1 vote.
- Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—David Levine, 1 vote.
- Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—Joseph Jacobs, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
- Toronto, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—W. P. Covert, 1 vote.
- Utica, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Michael Walsh, 1 vote.
- Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—N. P. Alifas, 1 vote.
- Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—James William Fitz Patrick, 1 vote.
- Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—Bernard Callahan, 1 vote.
- Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.
- Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—Ed. L. Crouch, 1 vote.
- Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Samuel J. Donnelly, 1 vote.
- Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union—Lytle E. Jones, 1 vote.
- Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor of Westchester County—William J. McGeory, 1 vote.
- Youngstown, O., United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—William A. Banks, 1 vote.
- Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Local No. 18065, New York City—Arthur E. Mack, 2 votes.
- Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12846, New York, N. Y.—Ernest Bohm, 3 votes.
- Bridge Tenders' Union No. 12333, Boston, Mass.—Francis F. Morse, 1 vote.
- City and County Public Service Union No. 16566, Duluth, Minn.—E. C. Clow, 1 vote.
- City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.—Louie P. Marquardt, 2 votes.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15906, Boston, Mass.—Mrs. Mary Goodwin Murphy, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 17624, Westfield, Mass.—James P. Rogers, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 17710, Milwaukee, Wis.—Richard D. Carey, 3 votes.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 18047, Scranton, Pa.—Frank E. Walsh, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 18140, Gadsden, Ala.—E. B. Clarke, 1 vote.
- Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio—Willie Shaw, 1 vote.
- Freight Handlers' and Station Employees' Union No. 17789, Kansas City, Kans.—Ben F. Ogleby, 1 vote.
- Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.—Myles Connors, 1 vote.
- Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Thomas A. Keeley, 9 votes.
- Lace Accessory and Finishers' Union No. 15393, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Frank Bradley, 1 vote.
- Neckwear Makers' (United) Union No. 11016, New York, N. Y.—J. Roberts, 1 vote.
- Neckwear Makers' Union No. 15200, Boston, Mass.—Herbert R. Haffer, 1 vote.
- News Carriers' Union No. 17785, Boston, Mass.—M. Cohen, 1 vote.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.—A. Philip Randolph, 2 votes.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.—Milton P. Webster, 3 votes.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18088, Denver, Colo.—Oglesvie L. Lawson, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18089, Fort Worth, Tex.—L. Hampton, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18097, Boston, Mass.—Sils M. Taylor, 1 vote.

State Public Service Employees' Association, No. 17931, Columbus, O.—Dale W. Stump, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 13188, San Francisco, Cal.—William A. Granfield, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14491, Denver, Colo.—Vern S. Hill, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14965, Boston, Mass.—Ida Smith, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17701, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Mrs. Edna Campbell, 1 vote.

Theatrical Agents and Managers' Association No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Theodore Mitchell, 1 vote.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770, New York, N. Y.—Mrs. Idabel Hall Early, 4 votes.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17298, Philadelphia, Pa.—Mrs. Bertha Fearn, 1 vote.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17604, New Haven, Conn.—Mrs. J. Miller, 1 vote.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 18059, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Mrs. Mary Cronin, 1 vote.

Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, New York, N. Y.—Paul Vaccarelli, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—A. A. H. Findlay, A. Shaw, 2 votes.

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—William E. Stephenson, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary—Miss Anna Fitzgerald.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Miss Matilda Lindsay.

Respectfully submitted,

HERBERT RIVERS, Chairman.

ANDREW FALLON,

HARVEY C. FREMMING, Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted, the delegates whose names were read seated, and the committee continued.

The following appointments made by the President were read by the Secretary:

Assistant Secretary, Leo F. Greene, President Typographical Union No. 13.

Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention, G. Harry Dunderdale, Member of News Writers' Union No. 17662.

Messenger, Thomas F. Powers, Member Barbers' Union No. 182.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business

—John Sullivan, Wm. Kohn, C. B. Cline, Daisy A. Houck, Thomas Reilly, Wm. H. Pope, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, H. C. Wenzel, Matthew Burns, Duncan Payne, Frank Gillmore, Frank Hughes, Edward Gordon, Arthur E. Treadwell, Max Cohen, J. H. Myers.

At 12.30 o'clock a recess was taken until 2.30 o'clock p. m.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock by President Green.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the credentials of Michael Carrozzo, representing the License Investigators' Union No. 17990, Chicago, Illinois, and recommend that the delegate be seated, with one vote.

We have also examined the credentials of John F. Gatelee, representing the Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union, and recommend that the delegate be seated, with one vote.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

Committee on Executive Council's Report—James Wilson, Wm. P. Clarke, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, Wm. L. Hutcheson, F. H. Knight, Edw. Flore, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanassy, Martin Lawlor, John J. Mara, Frank Kasten, Wm. J. Bowen, Benjamin Schlesinger, Charles Summer, W. M. Collins.

Committee on Resolutions—Matthew Woll, Victor A. Olander, G. W. Perkins, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Chas. L. Baine, Thomas L. Hughes, Arthur M. Hud dell, P. J. Morris, J. L. Wines, Chas. P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, M. J. Colleran, George Thornton.

Committee on Laws—Martin F. Ryan, James O'Connell, Dennis Lane, Jeremiah Dineen, A. J. Kugler, Thomas McMahon, Charles Anderson, Frank Doyle, Thomas C. Cashen, William Tracy, Charles W. Frey, Abraham Katovsky, Thos. Flynn, Leon Worthall, Wm. Rooney, Max Zaritsky, W. D. Reeves.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Gertrude McNally, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, James Starr, E. E. Milliman, Patrick H. Reagan, Agnes Quinn McInnis, Geo. M. Harrison, E. J. Volz, Oscar F. Nelson, M. T. Joyce, John W. Parks, Andrew J. Kennedy, W. A. O'Keefe, Fred Hewitt, M. G. Bilz.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, C. A. Weaver, Gust Soderberg, Wm. J. Robinson, Max Zuckerman, Joseph Kunz, Joseph Oberfell, Wm. Collins, Peter Beisel, Harry Kaufman, Felix Belair, Thomas Morrissey, James F. Burke, Clarence L. Essex, Benjamin Moser, Robert Bruck, Wm. Smith.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara,

J. B. Etchison, C. L. Bagley, H. B. Perham, Philip Murray, W. D. Mahon, F. H. Fijoza, M. F. Tighe, William F. Canavan, J. P. McLaughlin, Michael Greene, H. H. Broach.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Joseph N. Weber, L. E. Swartz, J. O. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, R. R. McInroy, Thos. Redding, Adam Zusi, James B. Connors, Sol Cohen, Edw. Bieretz, A. Adamski, E. W. A. O'Dell, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, Francis J. Gorman, R. E. Woodmansee, John D. Welch.

Committee on Education—A. O. Wharton, Florence Curtis Hanson, L. P. Lindelof, Alexander Kelso, Frank Glenn, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, M. T. Finnian, John B. Haggerty, E. H. Fitzgerald, Leo E. George, Robert McCoy, Wm. H. McHugh, Paul Dullzell, P. T. Fagan, Holt E. J. Ross.

Committee on State Organizations—G. M. Bugniatz, S. C. Hogan, John Boylan, Jerry Horan, J. M. Gillespie, Patrick Gorman, Joseph P. Ryan, John F. Mugavin, Wm. E. Walter, John B. Tierney, A. J. De Andrade, Geo. W. Lawson, T. N. Taylor, Howard C. Woodside, Fred Baer, Frank X. Martel, J. Goldstone.

Committee on Industrial Relations—John Coefield, John Possehl, Charles D. Duffy, Charles J. Case, Edward Canavan, John C. MacDonald, Harry L. Morrison, James Feeley, L. G. Goudie, Timothy J. Regan, Ira F. Thomas, R. A. Henning, Lawrence J. Callahan, Harry Nacey, Edward Ackery, John B. Gal lagher, John Badaracco.

Committee on Building Trades—M. J. McDonough, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph V. More schi, Frank Feeney, Dave Evans, Joseph A. Mullaney, J. E. Rooney, Edward Ryan, John Reul, H. C. Rogers, Chas. M. Rau, M. W. Mitchell, Sam Squibb, Christian M. Madsen, J. M. Gavlak, Emil Preiss.

Committee on Shorter Workday—M. J. Keough, E. J. Gainor, L. E. Baudry, John B. Schulze, Wm. H. Reilly, Lee Hall, Frank P. Barry, Joseph W. Morton, James P. McLean, Geo. Moore, Percy Thomas, Joseph A. Dart, Thos. A. Bannister, Robert B. Hesketh, Daniel Haggerty, Charles M. Paulsen, Theodore Mitchell.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Thomas F. Flaherty, Luther Steward, Neil McLellan, W. W. Britton, Wm. C. Birthright, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Winfield Keegan, C. L. Rosemund, Thomas J. Donnelly, Geo. S. Levi, D. J. Tobin, H. W. Strickland, Jas. M. Duffy, J. N. Davis, Earl Hoage.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, Matthew Woll, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, Martin Lawlor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainor, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Benjamin Schlesinger, William P. Clarke, Wm. J. Rooney, Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Manning, Thomas Maloy, William Green.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

President Green: If there are no objections, the committees as just announced will be considered as the convention committees. Hearing no objection it is so ordered.

Delegate McInroy, Railroad Telegraphers: I move that the name of President Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and the name of President Green was added to the committee.

At this point in the proceedings the President of the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover, reached the hall. The audience arose and remained standing while he was being escorted to the rostrum. Appropriate music was played by the orchestra.

President Green: Officers and Delegates of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I am sure we are all exceedingly happy because the President of the United States has honored us by his presence here this afternoon. We are made increasingly happy, however, because the First Lady of the Land, his wife, Mrs. Herbert Hoover, is with him. Before presenting the President for the delivery of his address I wish to present to you Mrs. Hoover.

Mrs. Hoover gracefully acknowledged the introduction and as she resumed her seat was presented with a beautiful cluster of pink roses by Mrs. T. A. Rickert.

President Green: My friends, this occasion presents a most appropriate opportunity to refer to the economic philosophy which President Hoover has repeatedly expounded. I refer to the matter of wages. He has steadfastly maintained that the prosperity of our country depended very largely upon the development of the consuming power of the masses of the people to a maximum capacity through the payment of the highest wages possible. I have always interpreted his statements in favor of the payment of high wages as an endorsement of the wage philosophy announced by the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The President demonstrated his faith and confidence in the principle of high wages when he called a conference of representatives of labor and industry at the White House last November. At that conference he suggested that peace be preserved in industry and that wages be maintained during the period of unemployment through which we are passing. The great influence which he exercised upon that occasion served to main-

tain wage standards and to prevent a general reduction of wages. As we emerge from this distressing period of unemployment we are permitted to understand and appreciate the value of the service which the President rendered the wage earners of the country and industry when he convened the White House conference to which I have just referred. For many reasons, including those just enumerated, I have great pleasure in presenting to you the President of the United States.

As the audience arose and applauded the President, the orchestra played "The Star-Spangled Banner."

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT HOOVER

Members of the American Federation of Labor: In his invitation that I should address you on this occasion President Green spoke in terms of high praise of the benefits to labor from the nation-wide cooperation initiated at the White House last November for mitigation of the effects of the present depression.

At those White House conferences the leaders of business and industry undertook to do their utmost to maintain the rate of wages. They also undertook in case of shortened employment to distribute work as evenly as possible over their regular body of employees. The leaders of labor undertook to urge effort in production and to prevent conflict and dispute. The public officials and the managers of industry and utilities undertook to expand construction work to mitigate unemployment.

We have now had nearly a year in which to observe the working of these arrangements. These, the first undertakings of this character in our history, have been carried out in astonishing degree. There are, of course, exceptions, but in the large sense our great manufacturing companies, the railways, utilities, and business houses have been able to maintain the established wages. Employers have spread their employment systematically. For the first time in more than a century of these recurring depressions we have been practically free of bitter industrial conflict.

The fine cooperation in the providing organized emergency employment through Federal, State, and municipal public works and utility construction has been an important contribution in taking up the slack of unemployment. The measure of success is easily demonstrated. The Department of Commerce reports to me that public works and the construction work by the railways and utilities in the last eight months amount to about \$4,500,000,000 as compared with about \$4,000,000,000 in the same period of the boom year of 1929, or an increase of about \$500,000,000. In all previous depressions these works decreased, so that the gain is more than even the apparent figures.

We have thus had nation-wide cooperation and team play which have greatly ameliorated the hardship of this depression. These measures have served as a practical system of

unemployment insurance. There are some unexpected by-products. Through distribution of employment, large numbers of workers have been saved from being forced into competition for new jobs; the sense of security that the job is theirs by part-time employment has contributed to relieve much of the fear, despondency, and discouragement that come to men and women in search for new jobs in hard times.

I would indeed be remiss if I did not express an appreciation, in which I know you share, to the thousands of men in leadership of business and labor who have served in bringing about these results. In the face of decreasing prices it has required great courage, resolution, and devotion to the interest of their employees and the public on the part of our great manufacturers, our railroads, utilities, business houses and public officials.

The leaders of labor have likewise contributed their part. Our freedom from strike and lockout is well evidenced by the statement of the Department of Labor that in the last depression there were more than 2,000 labor disputes, many of them of major character, and accompanied by great public disorder, as compared with less than 300 disputes in this period, and these mostly of minor character. And the great body of labor itself deserves much praise, for never was its individual efficiency higher than today.

The undertakings made at that time represent a growing sense of mutual responsibility and a willingness to bend private interests to the general good.

We still have a burden of unemployment. Although it is far less than one-half in proportion to our workers than in either England or Germany, no one can contemplate its effect in hardship and discouragement without new resolves to continued exertion and to further effort in solution of our great economic problem—stability in employment.

Your chairman has spoken of my interest in the development of an American basis of wage. Both the directors of industry and your leaders have made great progress toward a new and common ground in economic conceptions, which, I am confident, has had a profound effect upon our economic progress during the last few years. That is the conception that industry must be constantly renovated by scientific research and invention; that labor welcomes these labor saving devices; that labor gives its full and unrestricted effort to reduce costs by the use of these machines and methods; that the savings from these reduced costs shall be shared between labor, employer, and the consumer. It is a philosophy of mutual interest. It is a practice of co-operation for an advantage that is not only mutual but universal. Labor gains either through increase of wage or reduction of cost of living or shortened hours. Employers gain through enlarged consumption and a wider spread distribution of their products, and more stable business. Consumers gain through lower cost of what they buy. Indeed, mass production must be accompanied by mass consumption through increased standards of living.

A conception of this sort does not at once find universal application. We ought not

forget that it is something new in the world's economic life. And there are, of course, those who do not yet believe. It is as far apart as the two poles from the teachings of the economists of 100 years ago, who took it for granted that the well-being of the worker could be purchased only at the expense of the well-being of the employer or some other group in the community, and further that wages could never rise above subsistence or the number of workers would so increase as to pull the weaker back into the cesspool of poverty.

If we survey the Nation broadly we shall find that the diffusion of cost economics between wages, profits, and prices has worked out fairly well. In fact, due to competition and the necessity to average profits over the losses of lean years, industry in the national sense is probably today getting the least of the three.

From the acceptance of this basis of industrial relations I believe America is making more progress toward security, better living, and more hours of leisure than those countries which are seeking to continue old conceptions of the wage and to patch up the old system with doles of various kinds which limit the independence of men. Any comparison of the situation of our labor with the labor of those other countries, whether in times of high prosperity or today in times of temporary depression, should carry conviction that we are on the right track.

No system is or can be free of difficulties or problems. The rapidity of our inventions and discoveries has intensified many problems in adjusting what we nowadays call technological unemployment. I am cooperating with President Green and representatives of employers' associations in an exhaustive inquiry into its various phases. If we stretch our vision over the last 10 years we shall find much to convince us that the problem is not at all insurmountable in the long run. It is estimated by some of our statisticians that in this period over 2,000,000 workers have been displaced from older industry due to labor-saving devices. Some way, somehow, most of these were reestablished in new industry and new services. Nor is there any reason to believe that we can not revolve our economic system in such fashion that further new discoveries and inventions will further increase our standard of living and thereby continue to absorb men who are displaced in the older industries. Nevertheless there is a period of readjustment in each case of new discovery, and industry has need of a larger understanding of the facts.

It is this process of readjustment that partly causes our present difficulties in the bituminous coal industry. In that industry the encroachments of electrical power, of natural gas, of improvements in consumption, have operated to slow down the annual demand from its high peak, leaving a most excessive production capacity. At the same time, the introduction of labor-saving devices has decreased the demand for mine labor. In addition to its other difficulties must be counted the effect of the multitude of 6,000 independent mine owners among 7,000 mines, which has resulted in destructive competition and final breakdown of wages.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

All these conditions have culminated in a demoralization of the industry and a depth of human misery in some sections which is wholly out of place in our American system. The situation has been under investigation of our Government departments, by Congress, together with commissions and committees of one sort or another, for the past 10 years. The facts are known. One key to solution seems to me to lie in reduction of this destructive competition. It certainly is not the purpose of our competitive system that it should produce a competition which destroys stability in an industry and reduces to poverty all those within it. Its purpose is rather to maintain that degree of competition which induces progress and protects the consumer. If our regulatory laws be at fault they should be revised.

But most of these problems are problems of stability. With the job secure, other questions can be solved with much more assurance. You, as workers, know best of all how much a man gains from security in his job. It is the insurance of his manliness, it upholds the personal valuation of himself and of his family. To establish a system that assures this security is the supreme challenge to our responsibility as representatives of millions of our fellow workers and fellow citizens. The discharge of that responsibility does not allow present difficulties to rob us of our clear vision or the wholesome faith and courageous aggressive character for which our country has been long the leader of the world.

The demonstration of nation-wide cooperation and team play and the absence of conflict during this depression have increased the stability and wholesomeness of our industrial and social structure. We are justified in feeling that something like a new and improved tool has been added to the working kit for the solution of our future problems.

No one would invite either war or business depression, but from them may come some new inspirations. We find in these times courage and sympathy, generous helpfulness from our work people to those unfortunates suffering not alone from the present but from fear for their future. We find inspiration in the courage of our employers, the resolution of the Nation that we shall build steadily to prevent and mitigate the destructiveness of these great business storms. It is this inspiration which gives confidence for the future, and confirms our belief in fundamental human righteousness and the value of our American conception of mutuality of interest in our daily work.

President Green: It seems quite proper for me to state that we are deeply grateful to the President for his message. He referred to a number of economic problems with which we will deal during this convention in a most illuminating way. We are glad he came and honored us with his presence and brought to us his message.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Kohn, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Boston, Mass., U. S. A., October 6th, 1930, submits the following report:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30 p.m. Reconvene at 2:30 p.m. and remain in session until 5:30 p.m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or, amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained, unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place, until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN,
Chairman.

WM. KOHN,
Secretary.

C. B. CLINE,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
THOMAS REILLY,
WM. H. POPE,
J. J. MCKENNA,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
C. H. WENZEL,
MATTHEW BURNS,
DUNCAN PAYNE,
FRANK GILLMORE,
FRANK HUGHES,
EDWARD GORDON,
ARTHUR E. TREADWELL,
MAX COHEN,
J. H. MYERS.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green announced that resolutions would be received and referred to the proper committees.

RESOLUTIONS

To Assist Organizing Campaign of Ladies Garment Workers.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Abraham Katovsky, Benjamin Moser, Max Cohen and B. Desti of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, In all the years of its existence as a national labor organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has always readily assisted morally and materially other labor organizations and has in return received the generous co-operation and aid of the American Federation of Labor and of its Executive Council whenever such aid and co-operation were asked for, and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is now carrying on organization campaigns among the workers in the women's wear industry in various cities in the United States and Canada and the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union may be forced to resort to the calling of general strikes in some of these centers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to give to the I. L. G. W. U. the necessary co-operation and assistance in these campaigns in order to enable it to establish in those centers the same humane and decent living conditions and the same standards of work that prevail in the organized centers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Favoring Extending Age Limit for Applicants for Employment in Federal Government Service.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate John Burns of the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The existing age limit for applicants for employment in the various departments of our Federal Government is limited to the age of forty-five years, and

WHEREAS, We believe this unfair to men of long experience in our various trades, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Officers and Delegates to this Rhode Island State Branch convention endorse the extending of this age limit, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Boston, Mass.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Affiliation of Local Unions With Central Bodies.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Arthur J. Beauregard of the Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, There are several local unions throughout the country not affiliated with state branches, central bodies or building trade councils, and

WHEREAS, We found that in most instances it was some officer or officers' personal reasons and not by action of the locals that they were not in these departments, and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, These same officers not only handicap these departments by not being affiliated and working along for the principle of organized labor, but in most cases belittle these organizations and their officers, thereby setting a bad example for other crafts within these departments, causing unrest and in some cases some locals withdrawing from these branches of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Mass., October 6, 1930, shall change Article eleven (11), section two (2), of constitution to read, "All local unions connected with National and International Unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall have their President notify all local unions of that trade, to affiliate with State Branches, Central Bodies and Building Trade Councils where same are organized within their territory and unless said notification be complied with within six (6) months, their charter shall be revoked."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Favoring Repeal of the Volstead Act.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Arthur J. Beauregard of the Providence Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, The enactment of the Volstead Law has failed completely to bring about the Utopia promised by its advocates, but instead has brought about a condition abhorrent to constitutional government as a result of wholesale and retail bootlegging, hi-jacking, cutting hooch, wood alcohol, gang warfare, speak-easies, smuggling across the borders on both land and sea, commercialized justice, government by padlock and injunction, and

WHEREAS, The people are aroused to the danger confronting the country as the result of the Volstead Law, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in previous conventions has declared itself in favor of modification, and

WHEREAS, There is a sentiment now sweeping the country for the repeal of the 18th Amendment, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Mass., October 6, shall go on record favoring the repeal of the Volstead Law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Labor Policy of Chain Stores.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Arthur J. Beauregard, of the Providence Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, The country is being overrun by the chain store system, and their employees do not belong to any labor unions in most cases, and

WHEREAS, We of the Building Trade Departments are confronted with a serious menace by these concerns where they are employing so-called maintenance men to do our work, and now they are negotiating with some manufacturer direct to buy their material and having same installed by their maintenance men, who work longer hours and receive considerably less wages than the men to whom this work rightfully belongs to receive, who are affiliated with labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Mass., October 6, 1930, shall go on record as opposed to these methods of certain chain stores; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of the Executive Council be instructed to wait on the officials of these firms and see if this evil can be corrected.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Urging Support of Organizing Campaign of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor is the one agency which has constantly striven to lighten the burdens of wage earners, emphasize the principle of human rights, and establish improved working conditions, and

WHEREAS, Once the present cycle of depression has been passed, it will be possible to again renew and carry on the work of organization, and

WHEREAS, The office workers of the United States and Canada constitute the largest single body of organizable workers and are suffering bitterly from a steady lowering of wages and working standards, and

WHEREAS, There is a steady shift among those entering the field of office work from the sons and daughters of the professional and business classes to the sons and daughters of the working class, so that today the majority of the young people entering office occupations are from the homes of the working people of the country, and a very large percentage of them are from the homes of trade unionists, and

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union 12646, New York, has steadily continued its efforts to organize the office workers under its jurisdiction, and has managed, in spite of the present economic depression, not only to hold the ground already gained but to strengthen and build its organization, and

WHEREAS, In our effort to educate and organize the office workers we have been greatly assisted by the support of the various

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

21

unions who employ union office workers, and who have used the free employment service provided by our union, which has been able to furnish competent and efficient workers in any line of office work, when required, and

WHEREAS, If the co-operation thus extended by many of the unions were to be maintained by all the unions and every union office were to employ union office help and union accountants, as well as helping us to meet our unemployment problems by calling upon our office to fill vacancies with loyal union members, our work would be greatly facilitated and we would be in a position to progress in educating and organizing the entire group of office workers at a more rapid rate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Boston, Massachusetts, October 6th, 1930, that the organization efforts and request of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union 12646 of New York be endorsed and that every union within its jurisdiction be urged to employ none but union office help and accountants, and that when in need of additional help the unions first give the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union 12646 an opportunity to supply such help from among their membership.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Protesting Labor Policy of Union Pacific Railroad.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Harry J. Gill of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Union Pacific Railroad Co. is an open-shop railroad operating a company union in all its shops, depriving members of all A. F. of L. organizations from employment in these shops, and

WHEREAS, The firm of Peter Kiewitts & Son, an open-shop contractor, who makes no pretense of paying a living wage and works his employees 9 and 10 hours per day, has been given the contract to build the Union Station under open-shop conditions, and

WHEREAS, Sub-contractors are forced to abrogate their agreements with the local trade unions in order to get work on these buildings; and

WHEREAS, Another contract has been let to Kiewitts & Son, to build the Union Pacific and Northwestern bus station, and

WHEREAS, The Interstate Bus Lines are operated and owned by the Union Pacific Railroad; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we in convention assembled place upon the "we don't patronize" list the Union Pacific Railroad, the Union Pacific and Northwestern Bus Lines and the Interstate Bus Lines.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Protesting Labor Policy of War Department in West Point Construction Work.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Samuel Squibb of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, The War Department of the Federal Government has been doing all the construction work that has been done at West Point for the past eight years; and

WHEREAS, Those in authority have violated the prevailing wage and working standards established in the vicinity of West Point during this entire period; and

WHEREAS, Every effort so far to change this unfair situation has been met by the opposition of those in charge of West Point, supported by the War Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest against this action of the War Department and that the Executive Council take up the matter with Government officials in order that wage rates and working standards established in the vicinity of West Point may apply on construction work done by the Government in the future at West Point.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Proposing Endorsement of Bill Designed to Correct Abuse of Patents in the Radio Art.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate W. Thos. Polston of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice has ended ten years of immunity for the Radio Trust by filing a suit in the United States District Court at Wilmington, Delaware, to dissolve the illegal combination of the Radio Corporation of America, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, General Electric Company, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company and General Motors Corporation, better known as the Radio Trust; and

WHEREAS, The Government charges that these companies have violated the Sherman Law by forming an illegal patent pool, and that they have used their patents to destroy their competitors in the radio art; and

WHEREAS, This abuse of patents has become the practice of many corporations seeking to violate the anti-monopoly laws under the pretense of alleged patent rights; and

WHEREAS, This abuse of patents threatens to destroy the American patent system, and has already done grave injury to the rights of independent inventors; and

WHEREAS, the Patents Committee of the United States Senate, after extended hearings, has unanimously made a favorable report recommending the passage of the Dill-Davis Bill, a non-partisan measure designed to make patents unenforceable while they are being used by trusts to violate the anti-monopoly laws; therefore be it

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we consider the aforesaid Dill-Davis Bill as the most important item of anti-trust legislation now pending in Congress, and urge the immediate and favorable consideration of that measure by both Houses of Congress immediately upon the convening of the December session, and its signature by President Hoover, in order that it may be promptly enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Representation of Joint Councils of Women's Auxiliaries in A. F. of L. Convention.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Archie M. Lawrence of the St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis is a delegate organization of the women relatives of members of the trades union movement of St. Louis who belong to the Auxiliary of the craft of their male relatives, and

WHEREAS, This same Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries has been working for the benefit of the Labor Movement in St. Louis and other cities for the past several years, and

WHEREAS, We believe that a great deal of good can in the future be accomplished by the proper organization of the women relatives of members of the Trades Union Movement because of the concrete good that has already been accomplished in St. Louis, through the education of the women relatives of members of the Movement through a clearer understanding of the aims, ideals and objects of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated Unions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The proper organization of the purchasing power of the workers under the American Federation of Labor is so important to the success of the Labor Movement, and

WHEREAS, Because the women of the country spend fully 85 per cent of the money which is being earned by the workers, and therefore the proper education of the importance of spending such money, so earned, only to the benefit of the Movement will be a great step forward in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the American Federation of Labor is organized, and

WHEREAS, Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the greatest educational factors in the American Labor Movement, and to give these women the benefit of the educational facilities afforded by the American Federation of Labor; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the work of the Women's Auxiliary Movement as exemplified by the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere by inviting the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere to send to Conventions of the American Federation of Labor fraternal dele-

gates so that they may participate in the sessions of the American Federation of Labor, with all of the benefits and prerogatives accruing to fraternal delegates from any other organization, such as the Women's Trades Union League, etc.

Endorsed at a regular meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, September 14, 1930.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Technical Engineers and Draftsmen Protest Jurisdiction Encroachment of Federal Employees.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions:

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Federal Employees was organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor and granted jurisdiction over men and women in clerical capacities and other Federal employees not eligible to any of the existing National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It now develops that the National Federation of Federal Employees is disregarding the recognized claims of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions, and has accepted and is accepting into membership such drafting room employees who were former members, in some cases those who have been suspended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to make an investigation and adjust this jurisdictional trespass at its earliest convenience.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Pan-American Institute of Reciprocal Trade Relations.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, There has recently been organized by the representatives of eighteen American Republics an Institute which has for its prime objective the furtherance and improvement in reciprocal trade relations by the countries of the Western Hemisphere; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of labor, on invitation, attended the meeting of this organization; and

WHEREAS, A successful and satisfactory functioning of trade relations would be reflected in increased employment and general prosperity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor investi-

gate the program of the Pan-American Institute of Reciprocal Trade Relations and lend such support to that program as its benefits indicate to be warranted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Employment of Convict Labor in Cutting Granite for State Office Building, Madison, Wisconsin.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Samuel Squibb of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, The State of Wisconsin is using convict labor to quarry and cut the granite for a new State Office Building being erected in Madison, Wis., and

WHEREAS, Serious unemployment in the building trades is made worse by this use of convict labor, and

WHEREAS, A state capitol and all buildings connected with it should be symbolical in every way of the ideals of a free people, and

WHEREAS, Using convict labor to erect such a building is injurious to free labor and contrary to the ideals of a free people, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council request the Legislature and the Governor of Wisconsin to have free labor do all the work on the new State Office Building and that all labor bodies in Wisconsin be urged to take a similar stand against this use of convict labor.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Affiliation of Local Unions With State and Central Bodies.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate George W. Lawson of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies are unable to function to their fullest extent in carrying out the work assigned to them by the American Federation of Labor unless they have the affiliation, support and co-operation of the local unions in their respective districts, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its executive officers has cooperated with the State Federations and City Central Bodies in urging upon International Unions the necessity for their local unions giving to the State Federations and City Central Bodies this co-operation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recognize the necessity of such affiliation by local unions if the work of State Federations and City Central Bodies is to be made effective, and continue its efforts to have all International Unions take every means possible to bring about such affiliation of their local organizations.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Urging Patronage of Retail Stores Employing Union Clerks.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates John B. Schulte and C. C. Coulter of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association:

WHEREAS, The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association heartily appreciates the interest shown and the co-operation given by the labor movement during the past year in the work of extending organization among the Retail Clerks, and

WHEREAS, The reports received plainly indicate that progress has been made in unionizing retail store employees where there has been an organized demand for union stores, and

WHEREAS, The progress of organization among the Retail Clerks unquestionably depends to a large extent upon the recognition by union men and women in the American Federation of Labor that union clerks are an essential factor in the extension program of the trade union movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the fiftieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommends that each affiliated central body definitely ascertain the number of union stores operating under its jurisdiction, and that this information be reported to each local union represented in the central body, whose members shall be obligated to patronize only retail stores fair to the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association through the employment of none but union clerks, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in localities where the Retail Clerks are unorganized, an insistent demand be created and supported tending to speedily correct a condition which should not be permitted to prevail in any community of organized wage earners, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention request that a letter be addressed by the American Federation of Labor to all affiliates and duly authorized representatives, in which shall be stressed the point that since a large percentage of wages earned under union conditions is spent in retail stores, there rests upon every union man and woman a distinct obligation to deal only with retail stores employing union clerks identified by the Monthly Working Button, and where merchandise bearing the Union Label may be obtained; emphasizing further that only by means of such concerted action, originated and promoted in the labor movement, will it be possible to organize the salespeople throughout the entire country and to demonstrate as an organized group that the interest of one is the concern of all.

Referred to Committee on Labels.
Unemployment Insurance.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Thomas A. Slavens, of the Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The machine age under which we are living produces wealth in abundance to supply the needs of men; and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, Due to improper distribution of such created wealth a few have more than they can use while millions are walking the streets in hunger and unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment insurance will give food and shelter to these millions during periods of depression; and

WHEREAS, Our State Federation of Labor, Central Labor Union and many local unions have endorsed unemployment insurance; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Fifth Annual Convention endorse unemployment insurance and use the full power of our organization to have such insurance enacted into Federal and State laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment and Social Insurance.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Henry E. Richard of the International Wood Carvers' Association of North America:

WHEREAS, Eight millions of workers are jobless in the U. S. A., the richest country in the world, and approximately one million are jobless in the State of New York, receiving no relief whatever. The economic crisis is accompanied by a further substitution of machine for human labor and a feverish speeding up of production. In addition to these there are almost two millions permanently discarded from industry because of old age, and this number is growing as a result of the speed-up practice of employers, which throws workers on the scrap-heap at the age of 45 years, and

WHEREAS, The employers, in order to secure more profits from the workers and as a means to overcome the severe crisis, are introducing new ways and means to shift the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers. This expresses itself particularly in the wage-cutting, speed-up campaign, and in unemployment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That members of the International Wood Carvers' Association of North America in convention assembled on September 15, 1930, recommend that a law be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States establishing a Workers' Social Insurance. We further recommend that the money for the measure be provided by a graduated Income Tax on incomes in excess of \$25,000; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the American Federation of Labor Convention which will be held next month in Boston.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Establishing of Luggage Factory in the Missouri Penitentiary.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate W. E. Bryan of the United Leather Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, There having been recently established a Luggage Factory within the walls of the Missouri Penitentiary, at Jefferson City, Missouri, to produce a varied line of traveler's goods by the prisoners confined in said institution; and

WHEREAS, The legislative body of said State enacted a law which in the intent and letter of the law was to abolish the Contract Convict Labor system which for many years had existed within the penal institutions of said State, and to institute a system of employment, within its penal institutions, which is known as the "State Use System." This law was enacted in the year 1917, yet no Governor since that time, for reasons best known to themselves, has seen fit to put this law into effect; and

WHEREAS, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a line of goods to manufacture in any penal institution which would be obviously more impractical and ill-advised for successful operation under the State Use System, therefore, a greater disregard for the Statute Laws of the State; and

WHEREAS, By the very nature of the goods to be produced they must be marketed very largely in other states, thus becoming a menace to free labor to an unknown and unlimited extent, and at a time when thousands of mechanics throughout the United States have suffered severely for months past by reason of forced unemployment in the Luggage Trades; and

WHEREAS, The Senior Senator from the State of Missouri sponsored the "Hawes-Cooper" bill in the United States Senate, the purpose of which is to make the interstate marketing of prison made goods as difficult as possible, in fact permit any and all states to prohibit the sale of prison made goods within their borders, it thus appears the Missouri State Prison Board is openly opposed to the "Hawes-Cooper Act," and will defeat, if possible, the enactment by the State of Missouri of any legislation which may be proposed to carry out the spirit and intent of the above Federal Enabling Act; therefore be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby reaffirms its unalterable opposition to the manufacture and sale of goods of any character within the boundaries of the United States and its possessions, which are produced by the inmates of any penal institution, and which come in competition with the product of free labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, The Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to cause to be sent to the Governor of the State of Missouri, the Secretary of State, and the members of the Missouri State Prison Board a copy of this resolution, protesting the continuation of the Luggage Factory within the walls of the Missouri State Penitentiary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Adoption of Legislative Program for Relief of People of Porto Rico.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the State Federation of Labor of Porto Rico and P. Rivera Martinez of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, P. R.:

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been denouncing industrial, living, working and economic conditions in general in the Island of Porto Rico during the last thirty years as unsound and disastrous to the welfare of the inhabitants of Porto Rico, and

WHEREAS, Such conditions as denounced by organized labor have been found to be true by the Hon. Governor Roosevelt and by the Child Health Association, and to the effect a general plan of rehabilitation has been agreed upon to relieve local conditions in the Island, and

WHEREAS, Concordant with such a plan a resolution was adopted by the Porto Rico State Branch on September 1st of this year which in part reads as follows:

"Such plans of economic rehabilitation of the country must have for their effective enforcement the decided support and co-operation collectively of all the organizations of the Island and of the continental United States which always have been in favor of the welfare and progress of our people."

"The Porto Rican Federation of Labor endorses unreservedly the plans of effective economic rehabilitation being developed by Governor Roosevelt to make of our Island a country which will give employment to the unemployed, where children should receive the greatest protection and where the wealth created by labor will be better distributed in order to attain the happiness and welfare of the great mass of our people instead of a small group, against the health and life of the many."

"The Porto Rican Federation of Labor, conscious of its mission, reiterates its co-operation and most sincere support for all the American institutions which may have the same principles, and work to make of our unfortunate people a community of useful, healthy, well nourished citizens on the same level with our fellow-citizens of the Continent," and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor closes its report to this Convention on Porto Rico, page 89, with the following:

"The present Governor of Porto Rico, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, has studied local conditions and has made presentations to our government and country that should be followed by constructive plans. We recommend that this convention urge upon the Administration and Congress the need for fundamental constructive policies," and

WHEREAS, As a complement to such plan it has been demanded by the Porto Rican Federation of Labor that the operation of the following Acts of Congress be extended to

Porto Rico, so as to make them applicable to the Island:

1. "An Act to provide the promotion of vocational education; to provide for co-operation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for co-operation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure," approved February 23, 1917, and any Act amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, upon the same terms and conditions as any of the several States.

2. "An Act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment," approved June 2, 1920, and any Act amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, upon the same terms and conditions as any of the several States.

3. "An Act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, and all other Acts subsequent to its passage amending or supplementing said Acts or amendments thereto.

4. "An Act to provide additional credit facilities for the agricultural and livestock industries of the United States; to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act; to amend the Federal Reserve Act; and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1923, and all Acts subsequent to its passage amending or supplementing said Act or amendments thereto.

5. "An Act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy and for other purposes," approved November 23, 1921, and any subsequent Acts amending or supplementing such Act.

6. "An Act to establish agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges established in the several States under the provisions of an Act approved July 2, 1862, and of the Acts supplementary thereto," approved March 2, 1887, as amended and supplemented.

7. "An Act to provide for co-operative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an Act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and of Acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture," approved May 8, 1914, and of Acts supplementary thereto, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to give its worthy support to the cause of labor in Porto Rico and to help our Island in every sense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

That we heartily endorse the Resolution adopted by the State Federation of Labor of Porto Rico above referred to, and pledge our moral support to the rehabilitation plans for the Island of Porto Rico; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be recommended, and he is hereby earnestly recommended to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

of the American Federation of Labor toward the legislative demands of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, so that the case of Porto Rico be properly presented and duly heard, and so that the proper action might be taken before Congress to secure adequate help from Congress and also to secure the extension to Porto Rico of the laws above referred to.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Establishment of Federal Bureau to Test Effect Upon Health of Workers of Chemical Materials Used in Industry.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Samuel Squibb of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, Modern industry is continually introducing new and old chemical compounds, using new materials and developing new processes; and

WHEREAS, There is no provision under State or Federal Government to test the effect of these new compounds, materials and processes on the health of men and women employed in industry; and

WHEREAS, This lack of knowledge has brought terrible suffering and death to many workers, for instance, fifteen or twenty men killed by tetr ethyl lead, sixteen women watch dial painters killed by radium, many men paralyzed by breathing manganese dust; and

WHEREAS, In the Bureau of Standards, the Federal Government has established a bureau to test chemical compounds, materials and processes in order to determine their character and value to industry when utilized by industry; now, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request and urge the Federal Government to establish a bureau to test and investigate chemical compounds, materials and processes used in industry in order to discover the effects on the health of employees coming in contact with the chemical compounds, materials and new processes, this bureau to be a part of the Public Health Service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 4 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9.30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 7th.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Boston, Mass., October 7, 1930.

The convention was called to order at 10:00 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Gillmore, Horn, Tracy, (D.), Kasten, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Schulte, Coulter, Treadwell, Doyle, (J.J.), Schlesinger, Cohen (M.), Moser (B.), Squibb, Marshall, Welch, Scully, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M.J.), Reilly, Lewis (J.L.), Murray, Hughes (F.), Fagan, Badaracco, Dart, De Andrade, Burke (J.P.), Sullivan (H.W.), Pryor, Kaiser, Starr, Evans (E.L.), Stierle, Tobin (S.P.), Graham, Wilson, (T.A.), Campbell (J.C.), Anderson (G.), Bowden, Moser (C. J.), Ryan, (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Belt, Laude, McEwen, Sweeney, Mueller, Taylor (C.O.), Becker, Katz, Souza, Augustino, McSpadden, Long, Murphy (P.F.), Nealey, Dacey, Sheehan, Distle, Shave, Thompson, Draper, Kelly (W.), Donahue, Bower, Hartnett, Smeathurst, Reed, Granfield, Fanning; Jacobs, Covert, Fitzpatrick, Callahan, Dunnelly (S.J.), Jones, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Webster, Randolph, Lawson, Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Campbell (E.), Mitchell (T.), Miller, Vaccarelli.

COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were read by Secretary Morrison:

Sacramento, California, Oct. 4, 1930.
William Green, President American Federation of Labor, Hotel Statler, Boston, Mass.

As president of first Pan-American Reciprocal Trade Conference recalling how your gracious message added to dignity of conferences opening sessions August twenty fourth and how enthusiastically it was received by delegates from all the Americas let me in behalf of the conference send most cordial greetings to golden anniversary of American Federation of Labor which is one of very few organizations honestly dedicated to genuine advancement of all men and brave enough to deal with fundamentals rather than surface appearances. Opportunity for every honest man to earn decent living under socially proper conditions and then to obtain just compensation with leisure for intellectual, social and recreational improvement is vital problem today as it was thousands of years ago. In so far as we have progressed great credit is due American Federation of Labor.

SIMON J. LUBIN.
President First Pan-American Reciprocal Trade Conference.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 6, 1930.

Honorable William Green,
President American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel.

The American Legion greets and felicitates the American Federation of Labor on this the occasion of its annual convention and hopes that your deliberations will be most constructive and successful. May I personally express to you my appreciation of the co-operative spirit you have shown throughout the year.

O. L. BODENHAMER,
National Commander.

Medford, Ore., Oct. 6, 1930.

Wm. Green,
President American Federation of Labor.

The Oregon State Federation of Labor in convention at Medford sends to the convention of the American Federation of Labor the greetings of the workers of the Far West. We pledge our utmost effort to defend and promote the welfare of the nation's producers through full co-operation with and support of the American Federation of Labor.

BEN T. OSBORNE,
Executive Secretary.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 6, 1930.

Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor Convention, Boston, Mass.

We members Local Union 2163 endorse principle of Federal unemployment insurance law and urge A. F. of L. at forthcoming convention to go on record as approving same.

JAMES McCONNELL,
Recording Secretary.

Communications were received from the following cities that are seeking the 1931 convention: Salt Lake City, Utah, telegrams from George H. Dern, Governor; John F. Bowman, Mayor; San Francisco, Calif., James H. Rolph, Mayor; Philadelphia, Pa., George H. Elliott, General Secretary, Chamber of Commerce; Atlantic City, N. J., William H. Hamilton, Manager Ambassador Hotel; Columbus, Ohio, George A. Roberts, Secretary-Treasurer Barbers' Local Union No. 204.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

President Green: In conformity with the custom always followed at our conventions, I am going now to call upon the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Frank Duffy, to read a brief, condensed report of the report of the Executive Council. Following the submission of this condensed report, copies of the report of the Executive Council will be available for the use of the delegates.

Vice-President Duffy read the following condensed report of the Report of the Executive Council:

In our report to the Fiftieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, we refer to the founding of this organization. The first congress of the old Federation was held at Pittsburg; the reorganization convention was held at Columbus in 1886 when the Federation took its present name and program. Forty-nine years of activity have brought progress and new problems. We need great leaders and an informed, alert trade union movement more than at any time in our history.

The Secretary's report shows a balance on hand and total receipts for the year amounting to \$805,154.31; total expenditure amounting to \$531,442.93; a balance on hand August 31, 1930, of \$363,721.38, of which \$61,474.58 is in the general fund and \$302,246.80 in the defense fund.

The membership represented by the Federation consists of 29,226 local unions in 104 national and international unions with a membership of 2,942,946, and 348 directly affiliated local unions with a membership of 18,150. The total membership is 2,961,096.

The treasurer's report shows the investment of American Federation of Labor funds.

The report of the Trustees of the A. F. of L. Building shows a balance on hand of \$55,070.58.

Unemployment

The Executive Council states in its report that unemployment is the outstanding fact of the past year and discusses the development of unemployment in the present business depression. We point out the failure of management to anticipate or to control the present situation.

We submit tables containing the number and the percentage of unemployed in the leading industrial countries of the world.

We discuss seasonal unemployment. As examples of the effect of part-time employment we quote the following figures: The automobile industry lays off 70,000 workers for 3 months and 150,000 for 2 months; 4,000 workers in the clothing industry are laid off for 5 months and 11,000 for 3 months; in cotton textiles, 13,000 are laid off for 4 months and 21,000 for 2 months. Irregular employment reduces annual incomes.

We compare the business depressions of 1921, 1924 and 1930 and point out that efforts to maintain wage rates in 1930 resulted in fewer wage cuts immediately following the depression than in 1924, although workers' incomes declined more sharply due to part-time employment, and that in 1921 the first measure to meet the depression was wage cuts, and that there was practically no effort to keep men at work.

Under increasing efficiency we discuss another kind of unemployment. We point out that industries upon which 40 per cent of our wage earners depend for a living employed 900,000 fewer wage earners in 1929 than in 1919. There is no information to show whether workers displaced by increasing efficiency have been able to find employment.

We emphasize the growing importance of the part-time problem and report that the American Federation of Labor is beginning to gather information on part-time employment among trade unionists.

We point out the serious consequences from the physical, moral and spiritual deterioration resulting from protracted unemployment and the habit of dependence which unemployment may develop.

During the first half of 1930, partial reports of relief show that \$24,000,000 was given out by charity organizations.

The loss in wage earner incomes due to unemployment added to business depression. We estimate the loss in wages at \$1,200,000,000 in the first half of 1930.

White House Conferences

Under this caption we report the efforts of the President of the United States to promote business stability by maintaining wages.

Labor's Unemployment Program

We propose:

1. Reduction in hours of work
2. Stabilization of industry

3. Efficient management in production and sales policies
4. Nation-wide system of employment exchanges
5. Adequate records of employment and unemployment
6. Use of public works construction to meet cyclical unemployment
7. Vocational guidance and retraining for those displaced by technical progress
8. Special study of technological unemployment.
9. Study of relief proposals
10. Education to fit all for the problems of life and work.

Union Progress

Five day week. Under this head we report the number of trade unionists whose work week consists of five days, giving the number according to trades and states. We include an outline map giving geographic distribution. The total number of workers now having the 5-day week is 532,894.

Benefit services of National and International Unions paid during 1929 were:

Sick benefits	\$ 2,831,936.82
Death benefits	17,594,282.03
Unemployment benefits	276,717.50
Old age pensions	4,883,027.88
Disability benefits	2,707,187.63
Miscellaneous	3,945,287.63

Total benefits \$32,242,444.40

The figures indicate a substantial increase in sick, death and old age benefits during the past year. A chart gives the amount paid by each organization for the several kinds of benefits together with the average wage, workday, average work week in hours and days, vacations with pay.

Jurisdictional Problems

In this section we report efforts to adjust differences between the following organizations:

Stationary Firemen—Engineers.
Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers.
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.
Theatrical Stage Employees vs. Electrical Workers and some other organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department.
Hod Carriers—Independent Bricklayers' Helpers.
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.
Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Change in Titles

The following titles have been approved:
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America.

Organization Work

We discuss the right of wage earners to belong to trade unions. We maintain workers have the same right of association to promote their work interests that is exercised by other groups. To deny workers employment because they join trade unions, we hold is arbitrary and cruel. Organization is necessary to ordered progress. The union is necessary to give workers status in industry.

While legally workers have a right to promote their interests, economically they can use this right only through their unions. In order to give workers this economic right, we ask for the adoption of legislation remedying abuses of the injunction process.

Because of the special problems in organizing workers in mass production industries, we suggest the formation of a special committee to plan and initiate organizing work in these industries.

We point out the need for organizers with endurance, vision and ingenuity, who can gain good will for the union cause. Organizers, however, can only be leaders—the burden of responsibility rests upon local membership.

We make a report of the activities and the accomplishments of the Southern organizing campaign.

Older Workers

We call attention to a study of the middle-aged worker made by the State of California and urge state federations of labor to urge upon their state bureaus the need of making similar studies and securing old age pension legislation in their states.

Service and Educational Work

In this section we report on the American Federationist, the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, the Monthly Survey of Business, Unemployment Statistics, A. F. of L. Library, Notes for Speakers, Organizing Literature,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Legal Information Bureau, the Committee on Education and the Workers Education Bureau.

National Legislation

Under this section we report success on the following:

1. Defeating the confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker to the United States Supreme Court.
2. Directing the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect statistics of changes in employment. Public No. 587.
3. Liberalization of the Retirement Act. Public No. 279.
4. Wage increase for low paid Federal employees. Public No. 523.
5. Establishing hospital for defective delinquents. Public No. 201.
6. Providing for parole of prisoners. Public No. 202.
7. Regulating employment of Federal prisoners. Public No. 218.
8. Extending vocational education act. Public No. 317.
9. Providing free text books for high schools in the District of Columbia. Public No. 41.
10. Appropriation for rural post roads. Public No. 90.

We report also the authorization of a commission to study the legality of conscription of property for war purposes; proposals to restrict immigration; bills to meet unemployment problems; regulating the rate of wages in public works and buildings; regulating the letting of government contracts; proposed amendments to Longshoremen's act; Retirement act for Canal Zone; increases for post office workers; unification of border patrol; extension of maternity and infancy act; Saturday half holiday; proposed reform in prison methods; exclusion of Russian coal; Safety Bureau in Department of Labor; gag law for teachers; proposed "equal rights" amendment; "lame ducks" resolution.

Anti-Injunction Legislation

We report the bill drafted by a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee which we believe would afford a large measure of protection to Labor. We submitted to every candidate for Congress this question:

"Will you support the anti-injunction bill introduced by members of the Senate Judiciary Committee and recommended in the minority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee?"

We urged all wage earners to vote against candidates who refused to support this measure.

Convict Labor

We report that governors of many states have accepted the Hawes-Cooper act and urge state federations to see to it that their respective states have established the state-use system and prohibit the importation of convict-made goods from other states.

We report our efforts to have goods produced by convicts excluded by the Tariff act.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign

We report that injunction relief legislation has been made the paramount issue in our political campaign. The position of every Senator seeking reelection, on the confirmation of the nomination of Judge John J. Parker to the Supreme Court, and the labor records of all candidates have been furnished wage earners in the various states. The success of our injunction legislation depends upon electing to Congress candidates who will support the bill of the Senate sub-committee.

Modification of the Volstead Act

The Executive Council recommends modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture of beer of 2.75 per cent alcoholic content by weight.

Old Age Pensions

We report hearings on the Dill Bill authorizing the Federal Government to watch amounts appropriated by states for old age pensions. We have not endorsed a specific measure.

Railroad Consolidation

We report Congressional consideration of railroad consolidation and point out the need of including provisions for the protection of employees, shippers and communities, under any plans approved. We point out that consolidation has been accomplished through holding companies and that the Interstate Commerce Commission should be authorized to pass upon such consolidation.

Porto Rico

Under this heading we summarize the economic and social problems of Porto Rico and urge the adoption of fundamental constructive policies.

We report on Labor's special days, the Samuel Gompers Memorial, the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, and official changes.

We report progress in arranging for the sixth Pan-American Labor Congress to be held in Havana.

In conclusion, we ask that the coming year, which will mark the end of 50 years of achievements for the American Federation of Labor, be dedicated to increasing trade union membership.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, October 6, 1930.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

INTRODUCTION

November 15, 1931, will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the American Federation of Labor. There were a number of national and international trade unions in existence at the time but there had been no national labor movement since the decline of the National Labor Union in 1872.

There were devoted unionists who were convinced that a federation was necessary to advance the cause of unionism and to strengthen existing unions. They assumed responsibility for promoting the idea. The first concrete step was a conference of a few outstanding labor leaders held in Terre Haute in August, 1881. This conference advocated an organization modeled after the British Trade Union Congress, pointing to the need of a policy-making body for legislation, and to organize an "agitation" for trade union principles. The conference believed "that a federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried organizers." The Terre Haute conference was made up chiefly of Western men: J. E. Coughlin, President, National Tanners and Curriers' Union; R. Powers, General President, Lake Seamen's Union; Lyman A. Brant, International Typographical Union; P. J. McGuire, St. Louis Trades and Labor Assembly; T. Thompson, Iron Molders' Union, Dayton, Ohio; George W. Osborn, Iron Molders' Union of Springfield, Ohio; W. C. Pollner, Cleveland Trades Assembly; Samuel L. Leffingwell, Indianapolis Trades Assembly; J. R. Backus, Terre Haute Amalgamated Labor Union; George Clark, President, International Typographical Union; P. F. Fitzpatrick, President, Iron Molders' Union of America; John Kinnear, President Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Boston; George Rodgers, President, Chicago Trades Assembly. Its chairman, Lyman A. Brant, and Mark W. Moore, Corresponding Secretary, constituted a standing committee. They circularized trade union organizations inviting them to participate in a National Labor Congress to meet in Pittsburg, November 15, 1881.

The response to the call to Congress was most generous. When the Congress convened in Turner Hall, Pittsburg, there were present 107 delegates, representing 8 national and international organizations, 11 central bodies, 42 local unions, 3 district assemblies (Knights of Labor) and 46 local assemblies (Knights of Labor).

Lyman A. Brant, of the International Typographical Union, opened the convention and John Jarret, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States and Canada, was elected temporary chairman by

acclamation. Mark L. Crawford, printer of Chicago, and H. H. Bengough, printer of Pittsburgh, were made secretaries. They were assisted by William C. Pollner, cigarmaker of Cleveland, who had served as secretary of the Terre Haute conference. Later these elections were made permanent, and Richard Powers elected as an additional vice-president.

The organization was named Federation of Trades and Labor Unions. A legislative committee was elected to take care of the activities until the next Congress. This committee organized by electing the following officers: President, Richard Powers; First Vice-President, Samuel Gompers; Treasurer, Alexander C. Ranklin; Secretary, W. H. Foster.

The Congress spent most of its time in working out the details of organization plans. There were no precedents to follow in determining basis of representation, functions and policies. It is significant, however, that no representatives of Knights of Labor organizations were in future conventions.

But the Federation failed to do the thing that was most needed—extend the principles of trade unionism. Its membership and influence waned before an open fight which developed against the Knights of Labor.

In 1886 trade union executives started a movement to safeguard trade unions. They called a conference of representatives of all national and international unions to meet in Columbus, December 8, 1886. The leaders in this movement were influential in the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions. Accordingly its sixth annual convention was changed to Columbus, meeting one day prior to the National Trade Union Congress.

The Conference of national trades unions considered the situation growing out of their inability to reach a working agreement with the Knights of Labor and formed the organization called the American Federation of Labor. The older Federation voted to amalgamate with it and to advise its members to affiliate.

The following officers were elected to carry on the work until the next convention: President, Samuel Gompers; First Vice-President, George Harris; Secretary, P. J. McGuire; Treasurer, Gabriel Edmonston.

From this time began the steady growth of trade unionism on this continent, for more influential unions came into the organization and permanent headquarters and paid officials were provided.

On the pages of the records of early years appear the names of men revered by the labor movement for their pioneer service—Samuel Gompers, P. J. McGuire, John McBride, James Duncan, Henry Emerick, Edward Finklestone, John T. Eliot, William Weihi, Adolph Strausser, J. P. McDonnell, Mark Crawford, Frank Foster, W. H. Foster, Hugo Miller, Chris Evans, Robert Howard, John Jarret, and many more who carried forward what the pioneers began.

The labor movement is distinctively a human movement whose assets are the characters and abilities of its leaders and the spirit of its rank and file. It owes a great debt to those leaders whose wisdom and intelligence were essential to transforming a "rope of sand" into a competent, efficient force for human progress.

Great industrial changes have paralleled our forty-nine years of activity—the use of electricity for lighting and power, the corporation form of ownership which accompanied the trust and large scale production, the development of the techniques of scientific management, the establishment of the high wage principle, together with the shorter workday.

Through the American Federation of Labor principles of organization and federation have been worked out which have been of mutual benefit to all affiliated organizations. The principles that the trade union card is the credential of the labor movement and one organization for one jurisdiction, have pointed the way to rules of control and a type of government that have given us the advantages of cooperation without the handicaps of centralized control. We have established guiding principles—voluntarism, interdependence of interests in joint undertakings, and shorter hours and higher wages to open key opportunities for better living.

In the past forty-nine years, there has been consolidation of union organizations making for greater responsibility and opportunity for the resulting autonomous trade union; there have been the extension of the trade union organization to unorganized workers and the federation of these unions into new national and international organizations; there have been provided the agencies for the adjustment of difficulties between unions; in addition the Federation has served as the policy making body on those matters which concern all workers—it is the medium through which new or joint problems are met and is everywhere recognized as the voice of American labor.

Great as has been our progress in the past and effective as our principles have proved in securing concrete achievement, there are immediately before us problems that challenge our resourcefulness and difficulties that will condition our future development. We need for these problems the same consecration and devotion that were put into building our trade union movement, and we need also an exact knowledge of industry and social progress and a capacity for industrial statesmanship which present day methods require. We are grateful for what our pioneers achieved, and the heritage which they have handed on to us. Upon us devolve the duty and the opportunities for coping with the problems of modern industry and modern life. These problems are similar in nature to those with which unions have been dealing in the past forty-nine years, but the scope, the intricacy, the present day situations, rapidly changing methods and techniques, require us to find new approaches and new programs. We need great leaders and an informed, alert trade union movement more than at any time in our history.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1929, and ending August 31, 1930.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$363,721.38. Of this total, \$302,246.80 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$61,474.58, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$560,603.74, the total expenses, \$531,442.93; amount of receipts over expenses, \$29,160.81.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1930.

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1929.....	\$334,560.57
Per Capita Tax.....	\$377,597.34
American Federationist.....	122,864.54
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	27,222.16
Initiation fees.....	6,092.46
Reinstatement fees.....	535.00
Supplies.....	6,463.71
Interest.....	10,670.11
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	4,843.13
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	4,315.29
Total receipts.....	<u>560,603.74</u>
Grand total.....	<u>\$895,164.31</u>
EXPENSES	
General.....	\$422,635.82
American Federationist.....	101,122.47
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	3,654.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	4,030.64
Total expenses.....	<u>531,442.93</u>
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1930.....	<u>\$363,721.38</u>
RECAPITULATION	
In General Fund.....	\$61,474.58
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	302,246.80
Balance on hand, August 31, 1930.....	<u>\$363,721.38</u>

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

35

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1930:

Rent.....	\$15,118.00
Refund, Charter Fee, I. F. and supplies.....	47.80
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	4,030.64
Secretary's bond.....	10.00
Treasurer's bond.....	125.00
Insurance.....	210.00
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	463.30
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen.....	13,588.86
Newspapers, magazines and books (Library).....	4,292.27
Postage stamps.....	8,816.91
Printing Bound Proceedings of Toronto convention.....	2,174.44
Supplies and Printing.....	31,461.29
Supplies for Resale.....	961.62
Miscellaneous expenses.....	5,635.25
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	2,255.95
Mailing Equipment.....	3,810.39
Office furniture and fixtures.....	2,494.44
Official stenographers, Toronto convention.....	1,384.40
Telegrams and telephones.....	6,710.68
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	366.04
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,817.98
Toronto Convention:	
Messengers, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary.....	440.00
Printing roll-call.....	141.68
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	3,369.58
Printing, envelopes and supplies.....	368.94
Stenographers.....	3,165.74
Rental of office furniture.....	77.00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings.....	806.50
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	617.76
Salaries:	
President.....	12,000.00
Secretary.....	10,000.00
Treasurer.....	500.00
Office employees.....	112,207.13
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	10,453.41
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....	120.99
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....	723.06
President, traveling.....	8,612.01
Secretary, traveling.....	1,975.63
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	3,654.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	30.31
Union Label Trades Department.....	58.27
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	18.42
Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	122,623.59
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	101,122.47

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Printing, publishing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	\$9,339.50
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	4,584.00
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Toronto convention.....	465.27
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	4,014.76
Legal Expenses.....	1,716.93
Expenses, Southern Organizing Campaign, Headquarters Office.....	12,460.72
Total.....	<u><u>\$531,442.93</u></u>

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1930, we had 348 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 18,150, and a defense fund of \$302,246.80, to protect the members of the 348 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,619 general and district organizers, as well as 25 paid organizers and the officers of the 804 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$27,222.16, initiation fees, \$6,092.46, and reinstatement fees, \$535.00.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1929, and ending August 31, 1930;

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund.....	\$27,222.16
--	-------------

EXPENSES

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Enamelers and Helpers, No. 17,109, New Brighton, Pa.....	37+	6	\$1,568.00
Hair Spinners' Union, No. 12347, Philadelphia, Pa.....	29+	10	2,044.00
Wire Drawers Union, No. 12493, Wilkes Barre, Pa.....	6	1	42.00

Total expenses.....	<u><u>\$3,654.00</u></u>
---------------------	--------------------------

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1929....	\$278,678.64
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1930.....	27,222.16

Total.....	\$305,900.80
Paid out of defense fund.....	3,654.00

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1930....	<u><u>\$302,246.80</u></u>
---	----------------------------

GOMPERS' MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1930.....	\$114,304.31
Total expenses January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1930.....	1,275.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1930.....	<u><u>\$113,029.31</u></u>
--------------------------------------	----------------------------

Funds deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank (checking account) 2%.....	\$3,029.31
--	------------

*Mount Vernon Savings Bank (4% interest bearing Certificates).....	110,000.00
--	------------

Balance on hand August 31, 1930.....	<u><u>\$113,029.31</u></u>
--------------------------------------	----------------------------

*Guaranteed by Surety Bonds and U. S. Treasury Bonds.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1930, including interest at 2% amount to \$1,704.33.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1930, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year	Receipts	Expenses	Year	Receipts	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529.00	\$309.60	1917-18.....	\$3,544.91	\$3,055.26
1903-4.....	398.75	402.60	1918-19.....	9,026.78	8,067.33
1904-5.....	406.75	285.65	1919-20.....	13,285.93	11,121.06
1905-6.....	736.35	591.16	1920-21.....	9,490.68	7,816.14
1906-7.....	1,128.79	817.76	1921-22.....	5,979.90	4,963.00
1907-8.....	1,261.51	1,021.96	1922-23.....	6,368.76	5,310.10
1908-9.....	1,692.35	1,296.03	1923-24.....	6,593.44	5,523.52
1909-10.....	2,874.75	2,392.75	1924-25.....	7,101.75	6,021.58
1910-11.....	2,888.55	1,448.38	1925-26.....	7,896.98	6,781.52
1911-12.....	2,710.07	2,089.15	1926-27.....	7,374.30	6,215.84
1912-13.....	3,225.55	3,863.18	1927-28.....	5,057.53	4,208.75
1913-14.....	3,221.75	1,898.55	1928-29.....	4,884.32	4,294.18
1914-15.....	5,190.74	5,052.66	1929-30.....	4,843.13	4,030.64
1915-16.....	5,092.79	4,428.19	Total.....	\$129,412.72	\$108,207.22
1916-17.....	5,906.61	4,970.68			

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1930.....	\$129,412.72
Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1930.....	108,207.22

Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1930.....	<u><u>\$21,205.50</u></u>
--	---------------------------

FLAG FUND

Receipts from June 10, 1918, to and including August 31, 1930.....	<u><u>\$593.16</u></u>
--	------------------------

Deposited with Mt. Vernon Savings Bank at 3%.

TEXTILE WORKERS' FUND

Contributions in response to the appeal issued May 11, 1929, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for financial assistance for the striking Textile Workers of the South.

Total receipts May 15, 1929, to August 31, 1930.....	\$41,520.81
Total checks May 17, 1929, to August 31, 1930.....	41,520.81

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Amalgamated, 1; Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Association of America amalgamated with Window Glass Cutters League of America.

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 2; reinstated, 13.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 8; suspended, 68; joined national and international organizations, 2; reinstated, 8.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 2; suspended, 10; reinstated, 2.

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1922 up to and including 1930. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATIONS	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Actors, Associated, & Artistes of A.	94	77	74	101	104	103	103	115	112
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators	20	20	22	24	25	26	27	29	33
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	248	229	222	218	216	219	216	212	200
Barbers' International Union Jour.	452	432	453	480	512	545	541	522	512
Bill Posters	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	367	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	417	194	175	171	145	148	171	172	193
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	402	399	372	362	369	350	326	324	322
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	163	129	134	136	129	138	138	136	139
Brewery Workmen, International Union	190	166	180	160	180	160	160	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	41	48	48	50	50	50	50	50	42
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	700	700	700	700	700	837	900	900	900
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.	140	146	177	163	191	213	207	204	209
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	8	7	7	7	6	5	5	5	5
Building Service Employes' Intl. Union	94	78	62	62	62	62	69	92	162
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	3,138	3,150	3,155	3,170	3,197	3,220	3,220	3,220	3,032
Carmen's A., Bro. Railway	1,717	1,600	1,375	1,250	887	800	800	800	800
Carvers' Union, International Wood	9	10	10	11	12	13	12	12	12
Cigarmakers' International Union	320	309	277	235	200	183	175	170	155
*Clerks, Bro. of Railway	1,378	961	884	912	w	w	320	969	970
Clerks, and Protective Assn. Retail	167	103	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
"Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers									
International Union	m	m	m	78	87	102	82	69	60
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	26	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23
Coopers' International Union	28	17	15	13	11	10	9	8	7
Cutting Dies & Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	3	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	10	6	6	7	7	16	19	15	12
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420
Elevator Constructors	38	52	81	95	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, B'n. Ass'n. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.	190	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
Engineers, Int'l. Union of Operating	320	271	250	253	270	302	320	330	340
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate	3	2	1	†	†	†	†	†	†
Engravers' Int'l. Union, Metal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
Engravers' Union of N. A., Int'l. Photo	65	65	68	72	77	79	83	86	89
Federal Employees, National Fed. of	250	212	208	202	179	200	226	305	335
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of	161	160	150	160	160	160	160	168	180
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary	250	125	90	100	80	90	93	95	90
Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Int'l. Union of	19	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	40	40	36	36	35	35	35	35	28
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Int'l.	47	92	89	114	78	72	42	28	70
Garment Workers of America, United	475	476	475	475	475	475	475	475	472
Glass Cutters League of A., Window							3	9	9
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	97	70	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A., Window						3	4	3	3
Glass Workers, American Flint	87	81	61	53	53	52	51	52	49
Glass Workers, National Window	50	50	40	20	20	20	††	††	††
Glove Workers	4	††	2	3	5	6	7	8	8
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The	100	95	86	85	85	85	85	85	85
Hatters of North America, United	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	115
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	460	475	490	615	665	700	753	917	1,027
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	25	20	20	20	15	12	9	9	7
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	465	384	385	385	386	398	385	378	365
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	151	111	111	114	100	99	90	89	79
Jewelry Workers' International	†	22	12	8	7	6	9	8	8
Ladies Garment Workers' International	939	912	910	900	801	800	303	323	508
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal	80	80	80	89	160	175	165	165	165
Laundry Workers' International Union	65	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United	34	20	20	20	17	10	10	50	50
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of	325	325	325	325	400	400	404	450	508
Letter Carriers, Natl. Fed. of Rural	10	6	3	3	5	6	8	8	8
Lithographemers' Intl. P. & B. Ass.	76	63	55	53	54	57	61	58	56
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	463	343	305	318	301	347	371	377	347

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Machinists, International Association of.	1,809	973	779	714	714	723	745	770	780
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	9	377	383	374	291	282	350	322	401
Marble, etc., International Asso. of.	17	23	30	32	42	49	56	64	77
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	55	41	41	39	34	31	31	30	30
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	96	104	115	122	122	117	118	118	125
Metal Workers' Int'l. Association, Sheet.....	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.....	3,729	4,049	4,027	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.	46	81	91	85	81	40	45	40	40
Molders' Union of North America, Int'l.....	265	321	336	275	284	265	232	237	218
Musicians, American Federation of.....	750	750	741	800	800	967	1,000	1,000	1,000
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	61	25	22	12	10	10	16	11	
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	978	928	1,033	1,076	1,114	1,129	1,103	1,081	1,062
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	83	70	62	50	46	40	40	40	40
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	80	80	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Int'l. Union of.....	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	24	24	24	24	24	24	23	23	24
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Int'l.....	9	7	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
Plasterers' Int'l. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.	246	252	300	300	322	390	392	392	382
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	350	350	350	392	450	450	450	450	450
Polishers, Int'l. Union Metal.....	82	67	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Post Office Clerks, Nat'l. Federation of.....	178	180	200	237	279	300	300	320	352
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	92	91	83	81	78	72	69	66	58
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International.....	370	370	387	400	400	400	400	400	400
Printers', Die Stamps' & Engravers'									
Union of N. A., Int'l. Plate.....	15	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	11
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.....	5	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Nat'l.....	3	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	68	46	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Quarry Workers, International.....	30	24	29	30	30	30	30	30	30
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., S. & E.	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,010	1,010	1,012	1,013	997	972
Railway Mail Association.....	166	167	179	191	195	194	197	198	198
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Asso.									
United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	30	30	30	30	30	40	40	40	40
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	1	1	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Seamen's Union of America, Int'l.....	492	179	180	160	150	150	150	150	150
Sideographers, Int'l. Asso. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	105	89	80	80	80	80	80	†	†
Stage Employees, Int'l. Alliance Theatrical.	195	196	200	200	220	231	232	233	240
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	60	62	65	68	69	73	74	77	78
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	46	49	50	51	57	58	58	58	58
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	20	18	16	16	16	16	16	14	10
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	88	87	93	89	87	89	91	93	92
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	120	119	100	93	83	77	72	68	67
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	70	46	37	35	35	35	38	42	52
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Int'l. Bro. of.....	764	727	750	789	820	865	894	955	988
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	34	26	37	41	42	39	38	38	38
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....									
Textile Workers of America, United.....	500	500	433	392	350	350	350	390	410
Timber Workers, Int'l. Union of.....	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
Tobacco Workers' Int'l. Union of America.....	8	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	34	19	15	14	14	14	32	42	24
Typographical Union, International.....	30	30	30	30	37	40	40	a	a
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	689	681	688	710	733	749	758	764	776
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	67	73	75	76	86	102	107	107	107
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	1	1	1	1	1	††	††	††	††
Centrals.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
State Branches.....	905	901	855	850	833	794	792	803	804
Directly affiliated local unions.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Total vote of Unions.....	33,336	30,486	29,847	29,958	28,790	29,191	29,385	30,406	30,678

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. qSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. nSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention. (Amalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S. with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. uWithdrawn from Affiliation. vMerged with International Plate Printers and Die Stamps. *Reinstated Oct. 14, 1924. wSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention. **Reinstated May 17, 1928. gAmalgamated with Hod Carriers. bAmalgamated with Window Glass Cutters League of America.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1930, there have been issued 61 charters, 42 Local Trade Unions and 8 Federal Labor Unions, 11 Central Labor Unions as follows:

Alabama:	Georgia:	Kansas:
Selma	Brunswick	Dodge City
Huntsville & Decatur		
Canada:	Idaho:	Nebraska:
St. John, N. B.	Idaho Falls	Grand Island
Sudbury, Ont.		
Colorado:	Iowa:	North Carolina:
Alamosa	Iowa City	High Point

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

	1929-1930
Central Labor Unions.....	11
Local Trade Unions.....	42
Federal Labor Unions.....	8
Total	61

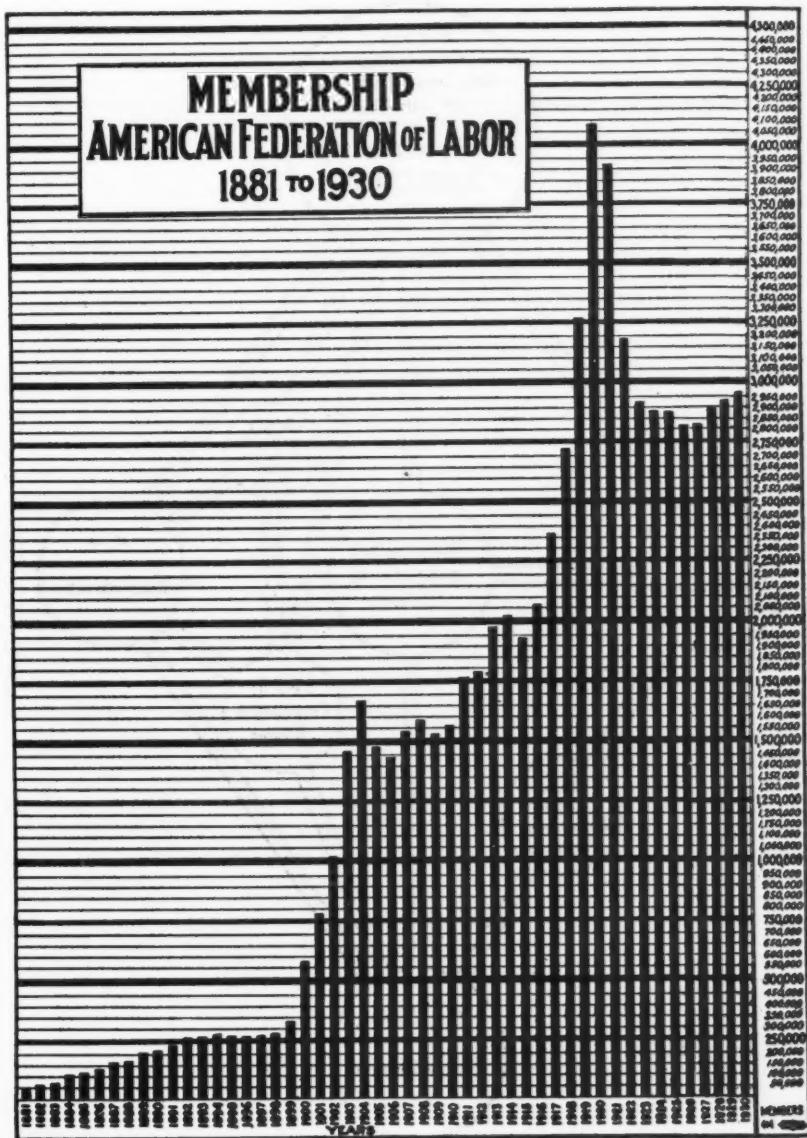
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

The average paid-up and reported membership for the year ending August 31, 1930, is 2,961,096, an increase of 27,551 members over the membership reported upon last year. National and International organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore, the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year for whom tax was not received.

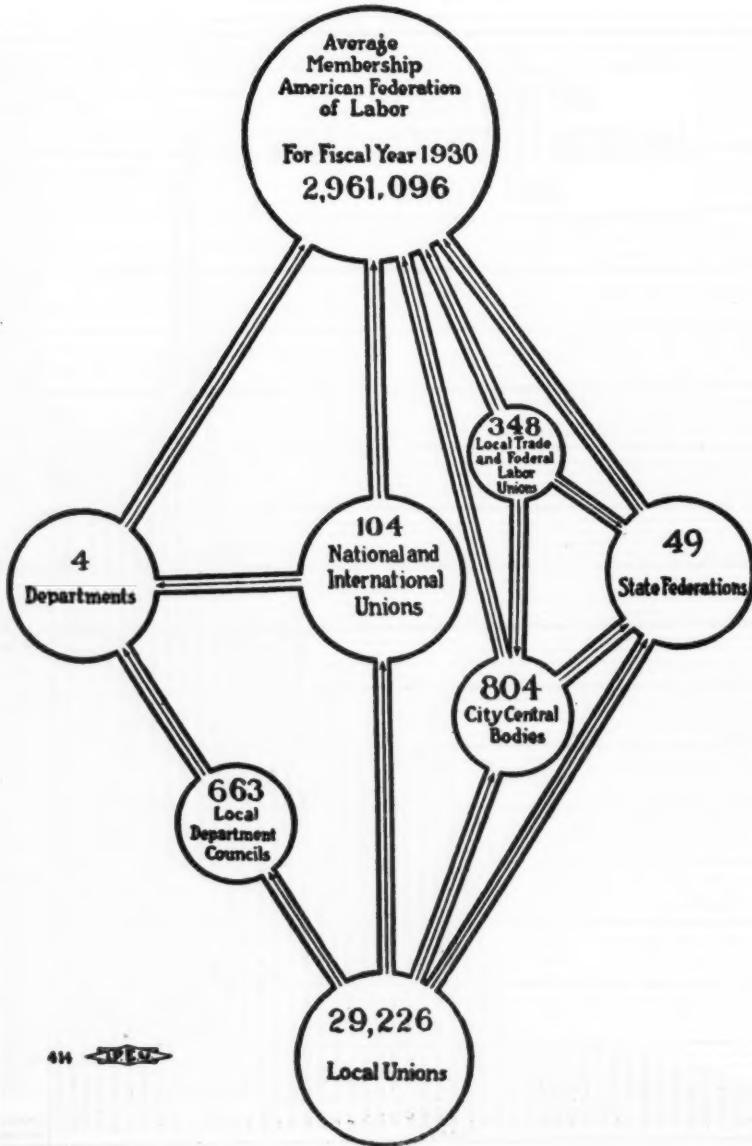
A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of strikes or unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Adding this number to the 2,961,096 paid-up membership will give a grand total of 3,461,096 members. The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past thirty-four years.

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897.....	264,825	1906.....	1,454,200	1915.....	1,946,347	1923.....	2,926,468
1898.....	278,016	1907.....	1,538,970	1916.....	2,072,702	1924.....	2,863,790
1899.....	349,422	1908.....	1,586,885	1917.....	2,371,434	1925.....	2,877,297
1900.....	543,321	1909.....	1,482,872	1918.....	2,726,478	1926.....	2,803,966
1901.....	787,537	1910.....	1,562,112	1919.....	3,260,068	1927.....	2,812,526
1902.....	1,024,399	1911.....	1,761,835	1920.....	4,078,740	1928.....	2,896,063
1903.....	1,465,800	1912.....	1,770,145	1921.....	3,936,528	1929.....	2,933,545
1904.....	1,676,200	1913.....	1,996,004	1922.....	3,195,635	1930.....	2,961,096
1905.....	1,494,300	1914.....	2,020,671				

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1930—fifty years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 29,226 local unions in the 104 national and international unions with a membership of 2,942,946 and 348 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with a membership of 18,150.



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



ORGANIZERS' EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$122,623.59. Of this amount, \$386.02 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$70 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	AMOUNT RECEIVED
1. *Hugh Frayne.....	New York.....	\$7,913.68
2. P. J. Smith.....	Wisconsin, Minnesota, Alabama, Iowa, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina.....	7,070.80
3. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon.....	6,640.00
4. Wm. Collins.....	New York, Connecticut, Washington, Rhode Island.....	6,521.70
5. C. N. Idar.....	Texas, Colorado.....	6,419.26
6. O. E. Woodbury.....	Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina.....	6,340.54
7. P. F. Duffy.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois.....	6,238.38
8. P. J. Aymon.....	Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina.....	5,708.56
9. G. L. Googe.....	Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama.....	5,554.99
10. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Canada.....	5,010.94
11. A. Bastien.....	New Jersey, New York.....	4,940.40
12. H. F. Hilfers.....	Missouri, Indiana, Illinois.....	4,782.00
13. T. J. Conboy.....	New Jersey, New York.....	4,718.38
14. C. J. Jennings.....	California.....	4,489.57
15. J. M. Casey.....	Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey.....	4,449.33
16. J. M. Richie.....	New York, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, Massachusetts, Canada, Virginia.....	4,308.98
17. Edw. F. McGrady.....		
18. A. Marks.....		3,899.79
19. A. Neary.....		3,887.19
20. J. E. Roach.....	Maryland, Pennsylvania.....	3,476.98
21. C. H. Poe.....	New York.....	3,120.00
22. R. M. Warren.....	Texas.....	2,739.47
23. J. H. Adams.....	Oklahoma.....	2,500.47
24. J. L. Hurst.....	North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia.....	2,454.80
25. W. B. Pleimmons.....	Alabama.....	1,800.78
26. Holt Ross.....	North Carolina.....	1,190.86
27. Geo. W. Reed.....	Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama.....	1,152.46
28. D. E. Patterson.....	Alabama.....	871.61
29. F. Olkives.....	South Carolina.....	794.99
30. J. B. Dale.....	Wisconsin.....	762.62
31. W. C. Hushing.....	California.....	534.60
32. Edw. Peyroux.....	Indiana.....	521.10
33. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Louisiana.....	455.35
34. J. H. Eiland.....	Illinois.....	307.00
35. C. M. Gaskill.....	Tennessee, Alabama.....	267.28
36. G. E. Walker.....	North Carolina.....	178.01
	South Dakota.....	148.70
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$70.00.....	386.02
	Total.....	\$122,623.59

*Includes \$4,793.68 paid for rent of office, office expenses, incidental expenses and salary of stenographer.

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Electrical Workers	Molders
Bakers and Confectioners	Fur Workers	Painters
Bill Posters and Billers	Garment Workers, United	Papermakers
Boilermakers	Garment Workers, Ladies	Photo-Engravers
Blacksmiths	Glass Bottle Blowers	Piano and Organ Workers
Bookbinders	Glove Workers	Plate Printers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Hatters	Powder Workers
Brewery Workmen	Horseshoers	Pressmen, Printing
Brick and Clay Workers	Iron and Steel Workers	Stereotypers and Electro-typers
Broommakers	Jewelry Workers	Stove Mounters
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers	Lathers	Tailors
Carpenters and Joiners	Laundry Workers	Textile Workers
Brotherhood	Leather Workers	Tobacco Workers
Carvers, Wood	Lithographers	Typographical
Cigarmakers	Machinists	Upholsterers
Coopers	Marble Workers	United Wall Paper Crafts
Draftsmen's Unions	Metal Polishers	Weavers, Wire
	Metal Workers, Sheet	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Firemen, Stationary	Musicians
Barbers	Hotel and Restaurant Employees	Stage Employes, Theatrical
Clerks, Retail		Teamsters
Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers and Fountain Pen Workers.

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,



Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER RYAN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from September 1, 1929, to August 31, 1930. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME	EXPENSES
Received of Secretary Morrison:	
1929	
September 30.....	\$28,051.20
October 31.....	28,452.62
November 30.....	49,576.09
December 31.....	34,561.47
1930	
January 31.....	59,636.24
February 28.....	38,025.50
March 31.....	54,207.23
April 30.....	47,471.26
May 31.....	46,490.64
June 30.....	43,928.64
July 31.....	55,873.72
August 31.....	74,329.13
Total income for 12 months....	\$560,603.74
Balance in hands of Treasurer,	
August 31, 1929.....	332,560.57
Grand total.....	<u>\$893,164.31</u>
	RECAPITULATION
Total (balance and income).....	\$893,164.31
Total expenses.....	<u>531,442.93</u>
August 31, 1930—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$361,721.38
August 31, 1930—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000.00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1930.....	<u>\$363,721.38</u>

Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:

Telegraphers Natl. Bank, St. Louis, Mo., interest bearing certificates (4%)....	\$25,000.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates (4%)	25,000.00
First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., subject to check (2%).....	81,310.43
"Fourth" U. S. Liberty Bonds (4%).	165,410.95
Federation Bank and Trust Co., New York, N. Y., int. bearing certificates (4%)	50,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co., stock.....	15,000.00

Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1930..... \$361,721.38

Certificates of deposit guaranteed by Surety Bond.
Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., September 2, 1930.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1930.

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1929.....	\$45,631.10
Receipts from rents, Sept. 1, 1929, to and including August 31, 1930.....	\$31,739.00
Receipts from interest on Certificates of Deposit.....	1,850.00
Receipts from waste paper.....	22.14
Receipts from interest on checking account.....	72.16
Receipts balance reimbursement for fire loss on building.....	41.00
 Total receipts.....	 33,724.30
 Receipts and balance.....	 \$79,355.40
EXPENSES	
<i>Maintenance:</i>	
Pay roll (building employees).....	\$13,210.80
Taxes.....	3,214.64
Electricity.....	1,456.91
Fuel (coal).....	1,114.20
Supplies.....	819.77
Upkeep and repairs.....	1,621.84
Plastering and painting.....	1,553.50
Cleaning windows.....	495.00
Insurance (liability).....	258.64
Water rent.....	285.18
Hauling ashes and trash.....	160.00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry).....	63.01
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	28.83
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2.50
 Total expenses.....	 24,284.82
 Balance on hand August 31, 1930.....	 <u>\$55,070.58</u>
RECAPITULATION	
Receipts and balance.....	\$79,355.40
Expenses.....	24,284.82
 Balance on hand August 31, 1930.....	 <u>\$55,070.58</u>
<i>Moneys deposited and invested as follows:</i>	
Mt. Vernon Bank, subject to check (2%).....	\$5,070.58
*Mt. Vernon Bank, interest bearing certificates of deposit (4%).....	50,000.00
 Balance on hand August 31, 1930.....	 <u>\$55,070.58</u>

*Certificates of deposit guaranteed by Surety Bond.

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
 FRANK MORRISON,
 JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The outstanding economic fact of the past year is serious unemployment. Business depression which gained impetus through the stock market crash last fall replaced a period of prosperity. Decline in production had begun in July, 1929, and had progressed unrecognized until the crash of the stock market. As credit extended for speculating purposes had greatly increased money rates, loans made to foreign countries had declined. While production undertakings were generally in a sound condition, failure to make the proper adjustment of credit forces and to provide wage-earner and small-salary incomes adequate to buy the products of industries, contributed to end what had been long a period of economic prosperity.

Beginning with November unemployment began to increase. The catastrophe which overtook these unemployed workers and their families brought all of the evils that come from insufficient money to supply wants and necessities.

Under our present business economy, there have been frequent breakdowns due to failure to adjust production to markets and the inability of our credit system to meet such emergencies. The responsibility for such breakdowns rests squarely upon business management. Despite the progress that has been made in fact finding in the past decade, management has not adequate information and does not know how to use such information as is available in order to help prevent business depressions. Producing industries do not provide adequate machinery for accumulating and organizing the information necessary to guide them. The field of distribution is quite unorganized and only the first steps have been taken to accumulate information for the development of better management in this field.

The organization of business has become more complicated and more centralized due to mass production and mergers, and the consequences of management even more completely control the lives and welfare of an increasingly greater number of people employed in business. Management of modern industries has a much greater responsibility than management of small scale industries—just as driving an automobile in city traffic is a greater responsibility than driving a horse and buggy through village streets.

The consequences of management in a single producing establishment are increased by the fact that distinguishes our present economic structure—interdependence. Not only are the units of a single industry dependent upon each other in order that the whole industry may be prosperous, but industries and countries are interdependent. If a serious shortage of raw materials is experienced in a single industry its effect may be felt throughout the world; the boll weevil in the United States may cause unemployment in the British textile mills. The past year has brought falling prices throughout the world and serious unemployment in Japan, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Australia, and increasing unemployment everywhere even in France, although in that country the problem is negligible in comparison with other sections. Commerce and markets are organized on a world wide basis—shortage of crops or production in any one country affects prices in all countries.

Since business organization is so sensitive and so intricately interrelated that the consequences of misjudgment in any one field are transmitted throughout the whole structure and every community, the responsibility resting on management is correspondingly grave.

Those elements in business which have been in the strongest positions to take care of their own interests have already made provisions against the emergencies that arise in business. Reserves have been built up to stabilize dividend payments, to replace machinery, to take care of amortization, etc. Those who have no protection against industrial emergencies are persons employed to carry on the work of production and distribution. To these groups the emergency means loss of job and income. The industry slows up its activities when depression develops. The immediate result is to intrench depression forces. Because industrial managements are unable to interpret trends they are guided by fear. They wait for a sign.

Wage earners and small salaried persons are groups who have practically no security in their work relationship. The work of these groups is essential to the undertaking—as vital as the use of credit. When these groups are in a position to have included in their work contracts provisions to stabilize their employment and incomes, industry will provide securities for them in its planning. Persons employed by a production undertaking and giving service essential to production are in reality partners in the undertaking and the administration of the undertaking should be so organized as to recognize and compensate the relationship proportionately. These partners work together—instead of against each other—and should have the same stability in their relationship to the undertaking that is provided for the others who contribute to its operation. They put themselves into the work—that is, their time, energy, ability, interest. They help to maintain standards of production and service which constitute the firm's good will. These investments of personal capacities are equally as important as the materials, machinery, the money that buys them, or the directing management. Wide differences in compensation or consideration accorded those contributing elements is unjust. It rests with each group to secure proper recognition for its services and upon the individual to distinguish himself.

Where contributions are personal, and the contributions so numerous that the individual becomes relatively unimportant to management, these individuals are helpless to advance their interests unless they pool their influence by acting as a group. Individuals cooperating with each other on common problems may become a powerful institution, able to control their future and to have representation in the determination of their work contracts. We need information to point the way.

In the fact of interdependence of individual and group interests lies the main explanation of the inadequacy of our industrial information. While information for some fields is fairly comprehensive, there are wide gaps and what is vitally important, no attempt to chart the interplay of interests, to discover how they must work together in order to sustain prosperity and synchronize progress in various groups. We need knowledge of the facts and principles of coordination in order to change all planning for progress from conflicts of interests to integration of purpose and activity.

Endeavor to this end can be advanced only under federal government leadership. The work done by the Committee on Recent Economic Changes laid the foundations for projecting the next dynamic inquiry—the development and coordination of government fact finding and information services in cooperation with the voluntary associations with inherent authority to represent distinctive functional groups in industry.

Unemployment World Wide—Never has the closeness of interest between the nations of the world been more clearly demonstrated than in the present year. The business de-

pression, from which we have been suffering on this continent, has been world wide. We have suffered because of the depression abroad, and conditions in foreign countries have been intensified by the depression here.

European countries were very seriously affected by the stock exchange crash of last fall, for they had large investments in this country, and the Wall Street crash was followed by similar financial disorders abroad. Business depression spread, and very few countries were able to hold out against the general downward trend.

With business depression has come world wide unemployment. The suffering in the United States and Canada has been severe, but in foreign countries, millions more have been out of work, and their plight was the more serious because in so many cases they had a long period of unemployment behind them.

Unemployment and business depression have cut down the market for our goods. For wage earners out of work could not buy our products and merchants cut down their orders. Exports this year have been 23 per cent below last year. Industry in general and manufacturers who depend on foreign trade, have seen their orders dropping off and have had to curtail production.

Following show the number or percentage of wage earners out of work in foreign countries. These figures do not by any means show the whole number unemployed. They cover those persons who are either registered under unemployment insurance plans or who are members of trade unions or both. But they indicate the serious suffering European and Asiatic wage earners have been through this winter. The reports show more than 6,000,000 workers unemployed in these countries in March this year. The majority of countries report between 9 and 16 per cent of their wage earners out of work.

Comparing this year with last year, the Scandinavian countries and two small Slavic countries are the only ones which do not show increases in unemployment, and in most cases the increases are large. Last year the majority reported from 6 to 14 per cent out of work as compared to 9 to 16 per cent this year, and in those countries reporting for both years, the number out of work last year in March was 3,427,909 as compared to 5,020,649 this year. It is important to note also that there is an increase in part time unemployment. Those countries reporting for both years show in every case more on part time work in March this year than last. Part time work also means reductions in wage earners' incomes.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Number Unemployed

	MARCH, 1929		MARCH, 1930	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
Belgium.....	6,025	0.9	14,030	2.2
Austria.....	225,034		239,034	
Danzig.....			20,376	
Estonia.....	4,165		3,575	
Finland.....	3,190		10,062	
France.....	1,078		1,630	
Germany.....	1,456,334		2,347,102	
Great Britain.....	1,203,785	10.1	1,694,016	14.0
Italy.....	293,277		385,432	
Ireland.....	* 24,256	* 8.6	* 26,027	* 9.2
Latvia.....	9,067		1,421	
Norway.....	24,584		16,376	
Netherlands.....	20,320	6.0	34,996	8.6
Poland.....	176,539		265,135	28.7
Palestine.....			2,900	
Roumania.....			13,045	
Switzerland.....	4,511	1.6	7,840	2.6
Yugoslavia.....			9,739	
Russia.....	¹ 1,717,200		¹ 1,168,500	
Serb-Croat-Slovene.....	11,953			
Japan.....				5.0
Total for all countries rept. both yrs.	3,427,909		5,020,648	

¹ February, 1929.² April, 1930.³ May, 1929.

Percentage of Unemployed in Trade Unions

	March, 1929	March, 1930
Australia.....	9.3	14.6
Canada.....	6.0	10.8
Denmark.....	23.3	15.6
United States.....	³ 14.0	³ 21.0
Hungary.....	10.9	14.6
Norway.....	20.0	17.8
Sweden.....	14.2	12.2
New Zealand.....	¹ 9.2	³ 8.5
Czechoslovakia.....	2.7	4.0
Germany.....	16.9	21.7

¹ February, 1929.² February, 1930.

³ This figure is high owing to the large number of building tradesmen reporting. When weighted to count building trades proportionately to the number of building tradesmen in the United States, the figures are: March, 1930, 13.6 per cent; March, 1929, 8.5 per cent.

Percentage Working Part Time

	March, 1929	March, 1930
Germany.....	1 8.0	12.6
Belgium.....	3.4	4.5
Poland.....	.....	28.9
Switzerland.....	1.7	4.2

¹ Trade Unionists.

Unemployment in the United States and Canada—In both the United States and Canada unemployment this year has been very much above last year. The figures below give the comparison month by month for the number out of work in trade unions. For the first five months the averages show that 55 per cent more were out of work in the United States and 83 per cent more in Canada. Unemployment of union members averaged 21 per cent in the United States for the first 7 months of 1930 and 10.5 per cent in Canada for the first five months of 1930.

When unemployment reaches such a high figure it means that men and women are often out of work for several months before they can find employment. Even in normal times, a recent study shows that over half of those laid off were out of work for three months or more before they could find new employment. With conditions as they were this winter, it has not been unusual for men to be out of work for five or six months. No wonder savings have been exhausted and hundreds of thousands have been forced to apply for charity. Many who had been able all their lives to support their families and to tide over other periods of unemployment were forced to charity this winter.

We estimate that unemployment averaged 3,700,000 wage earners during the first 6 months of 1930, not including farm laborers or office workers.

Unemployment of Trade Union Members

	United States		Canada	
	1929	1930	1929	1930
January.....	15	20	6.3	10.8
February.....	15	22	6.8	11.5
March.....	14	21	6.0	10.8
April.....	12	21	5.5	9.0
May.....	11	20	4.0	10.3
June.....	9	20	2.9	.....
July.....	9	22	3.0	.....
August.....	9	.....	3.5	.....
September.....	10	.....	3.7	.....
October.....	11	.....	6.0	.....
November.....	12	.....	9.3	.....
December.....	16	.....	11.4	.....

Causes of Unemployment—Three main causes are responsible for most unemployment: Seasonal dull periods in industry; business depression; and increased effi-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

cency, due to improved machinery and methods. A recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board shows interesting facts about these three causes. Questionnaires were received from 136 plants, and the number of plants laying men off for these causes was as follows:

Causes of Lay-off in 136 Plants

	Number of Companies	Per cent of 136 Companies
Seasonal Changes.....	76	56
Business Depression.....	51	38
Increased Efficiency.....	39	29
New Machinery.....	21	
Changed in Methods.....	15	
Wage Incentives.....	3	

Seasonal Unemployment—It is significant that seasonal changes were the reason for laying men off in over half the plants in the above study. This suggests the magnitude of the seasonal unemployment problem. Probably seasonal dull periods are responsible for more unemployment than any other cause, and it is likely that a very large proportion of the workers in the United States and Canada lose a portion of their income every year because it is the custom for plants to lay off their workers without provision when the dull season comes.

Nearly all industries find their operations seasonal to some extent. But much seasonal unemployment is preventable to a very large degree. It is common knowledge that many plants have found it not only possible but advantageous to regularize their production schedules so that uniform operation is maintained throughout the year, and their work forces are given continuous employment.

The following figures from three industries give a picture of the huge number affected each year by seasonal unemployment. The figures are for the year 1929.

In automobiles, the industry needed 475,000 workers for six months of the year—these men and women had to depend on the automobile industry for their living. But 70,000 of them were laid off for three months and 150,000 for two months. How can these workers maintain their standard of living while their incomes are cut off? In clothing factories, 155,000 are needed for six months, but 4,000 of them are unemployed for five months—nearly all the other half year, and 11,000 are laid off for three months. In cotton textiles, 431,000 are employed for six months, and 13,000 of them are laid off for four months, and 21,000 for two months.

Here are 182,000 workers, in these three industries alone, who lost from two to five months work last year. This immense loss of income means a very serious lowering of living standards.

It has been estimated that under present conditions it costs \$2400 a year to give a workman's family of man, wife and three children a standard of living which provides for a few comforts. This standard must be the minimum if American workmen are to help maintain our economic prosperity and to develop the qualities of character worthy of American citizens. This standard costs \$47 a week for a family of five, if the father has work for 52 weeks of the year. But if with the same wage he loses two months' work (eight weeks) he is immediately reduced below the standard sufficient to support health and decency, and if he loses five months, he is reduced to the poverty level.

A yearly wage basis instead of a weekly would give workers assurance of a steady income the year round and at the same time encourage employers to stabilize their operations so that their entire work force might be permanently employed.

Some plants are following the custom of laying workers off for two or three weeks in the dull season and calling it a "vacation." A lay off without pay is not a vacation.

After the strain of modern industrial work, wage earners need rest and recreation. Intelligent employers readily see that they also profit if their workmen are able to give their best when the pressure of work comes. A vacation is a very important preparation for the next busy season. But a lay off without pay does not give rest or recreation. Anxiety, undernourishment, feverish efforts to find other work, if any can be found, fear lest he may not be taken on when the plant reopens—these characterize the workers' lay off without pay and are anything but a suitable preparation for the next season's work.

A true vacation with pay on the other hand gives the worker real rest, and often a chance to get away with his family for a short trip; and he has the assurance that his job will be waiting for him on his return. A yearly wage, planned to cover 50 weeks' work and at least two weeks' vacation, would mean much to workers in physical and mental well-being and ability to do careful and responsible work.

Comparing the Depressions of 1924 and 1930—A comparison of wages and employment in the depressions of 1924 and 1930 shows striking differences which have doubtless been the result of efforts to maintain wage levels and keep wage earners at work in this depression. A very just comparison can be made between these two depressions, for 1930 had until July been similar to the depression of 1924, about as severe, and probably a little more extended in time. (In comparing wage cuts, the comparison is made between the worst six months of 1924 and the worst six months of 1930 up to and including the month of June.)

In 1930, less than half as many firms cut wages and the wage cuts were almost entirely in smaller firms; only one-fifth as many employees were effected, and the wage cuts on the average were less severe. Employment was better maintained, the decrease in the number at work being only 9.5 per cent as compared to 11.5 per cent in 1924. (Comparisons of employment, workers' incomes and workers' buying power are made between the best six months of the boom preceding the depression and the worst six months of the depression through June, 1930.)

But there was more part time work in 1930 than in 1924. This may have been due to the efforts of employers to keep workers employed by putting the whole force on part time rather than laying any off. Part time work reduced workers' annual incomes considerably. In 1924, workers' incomes declined only 2.7 per cent, while in 1930 they were reduced 3.8 per cent. (Since there were fewer wage cuts in 1930, this greater reduction was due entirely to part time work.)

In spite of part time work, however, workers' buying power was a little better maintained in 1930 than in 1924, because of efforts to keep workers employed and to avoid wage cuts. In 1924, workers' buying power fell 13.8 per cent, in 1930 only 12.9 per cent. But the fact that workers' buying power fell as much as 12.9 per cent this year shows need of better planning to maintain wages and employment, and especially to keep workers employed full time.

Comparing the Depressions of 1921 and 1930—Comparison of the present depression with 1921 shows some significant facts. Production decreased 31 per cent in 1921 compared to 15 per cent in 1930. (The comparison of production is made between the best six months of the previous boom and the worst six months of the depression in each case.)

In 1921, the great hue and cry was for "liquidation of labor." There was practically no effort to maintain wages or to keep men at work. Most of the wage cuts came almost immediately after production started to decline, showing that one of the first measures to meet depression was to cut wages. In 1924, the largest number of wage cuts came several months after production began to decline, while in 1930, most cuts were postponed nearly a year.

In 1921, while the drop in production was twice as great as in 1930, there were 24 times as many wage cuts (comparing the worst six months each year); employment declined 24.4 per cent, as compared to 9.5 per cent in 1930, and workers' incomes declined 21.6 per cent as compared to 3.8 per cent in 1930 (nearly six times as much). Consequently, the buying power of workers as a whole declined far more in 1921—40.8 per cent as compared to 12.9 per cent in 1930, and this decline in purchasing power added to the severity of the 1921 depression.

(All the above figures and those in the table refer to manufacturing industries only—there is no adequate information for other industries. The figures are from the Department of Labor and the Federal Reserve Board.)

Comparing Three Depressions

Depression year	Per cent of firms cutting wages	Per cent of Workers Affected	Severity of wage cuts (average)	PER CENT DECLINE			
				Production	Employment	Individual Worker's Income	Buying Power of all Workers
1921.....	50.2	unknown	unknown	31	24.4	21.6	40.8
1924.....	5.5	5.1	8.8%—10%	16	11.5	2.7	13.8
1930.....	2.1	1.1	5.6%—10.1%	15	9.5	3.8	12.9

Notes to table: The figures in columns 1 and 2 are given in percentages because there were so many fewer firms reporting in 1921 and 1924 than in 1930. In 1921, reports were from about 835 firms, in 1924, 8,688; in 1930, 13,117.

The figures in the first three columns are from the Dept. of Labor. They compare the worst six months in each depression.

The figures in the last four columns are from the Federal Reserve Board. They compare the worst six months in each depression with the best six months in the boom preceding it. Figures for June are the latest for 1930 in all cases.

Increasing Efficiency—It is highly significant that more than one plant in every four layed off men because of increased efficiency, according to the Conference Board's study. Displacement of workers by machines and technical improvements—"tech-

nological unemployment"—is no less serious now than it has been at any time in the last 10 years.

In fact it seems likely that we may look forward in future to even greater mechanical developments than we have seen in the past and even larger numbers of workers affected.

The amazing developments of the past ten years have already left us with a problem of unemployment which probably involves millions of workers. In older days, when machine developments took place more slowly, increasing production gradually created new jobs and workers eventually found work again. But in the past ten years new machines and new techniques have been introduced so rapidly and so generally throughout industry that there has not been time for adjustment. Increasing production has created new jobs, but these jobs have been quickly taken away by newer machines and newer technical changes.

Industries on which 40 per cent of our wage earners depend for their living actually employed 900,000 fewer wage earners in 1929 than in 1919 although the business handled was far greater.

In manufacturing, our factories produced 42 per cent more with 546,000 fewer wage earners; on railroads, 7 per cent more business was handled with 253,000 fewer employees; in coal mines, production per worker increased 23 per cent and 100,000 fewer miners were employed.

But the effect of reduction in the number of workers in these industries is far more serious than these figures at first indicate. For in the ten years from 1919 to 1929 population has increased and about seven million more persons are looking for work as wage earners and small salaried workers.

One would expect these new comers to look for work in factories, mines and railroads as well as in service trades, stores, banks, commercial houses, insurance and other lines. But work in factories, mines and railroads can be had only by displacing someone already employed. For these three industries are not only not creating new work opportunities, but have actually added 900,000 to the army of job seekers by cutting their forces. Thus 7,900,000 men and women must look for work in stores, service industries, banks, and other lines, outside manufacturing, coal mining and railroads. It is no wonder that these industries can not furnish enough employment.

No adequate figures are available to show what proportion of these 7,900,000 have been able to find work. We know that certain industries are creating new work opportunities and employing more wage earners and small salaried workers: Service industries (such as hotels, restaurants, barber shops, laundries, gasoline stations, garages); salesmanship; insurance agents, professional groups. But studies made in different localities indicate that the jobs to be had in these industries have not provided for the great army of job seekers.

The decrease in work opportunities has had several effects. (1) With a surplus of workers, younger men have taken older men's places and it is becoming exceedingly difficult for men over 45 to find work. (2) When a man is laid off, it takes him longer to find new work because there are more looking for jobs. A study by Dr. Lubin covering 750 workers who were laid off in different cities, finds that more than 60 per cent of them, nearly two-thirds were out of work three months or more before finding new employment, and 31 per cent or nearly one-third, were out of work 6 months or more. Many who have dependents are out of work for a year or more. (3) It is harder to find

temporary work to tide over the unemployment period. Dr. Lubin's study showed that less than one-third (31 per cent) found temporary work. (4) Many who want work, but can get along without working by depending on someone else, do not try to find work. This means that family living standards are lower. (5) Many who are displaced in an industry where new machines have been introduced must find work in another industry where the skills required are altogether different, and often the new work means a lower standard of living. The Lubin study shows that 54 per cent of the new work was totally different and required learning new skills, and 48 per cent took a reduction in pay.

Part Time Work—Part time unemployment is becoming a serious part of the unemployment problem. As was noted above, there has evidently been more part time work in the depression of 1930 than in that of 1924. Even in a year of very high business activity such as last year, part time work in dull months makes severe inroads into wage earners' incomes. In the month of July, 1929, workers' incomes were lower than in June in industries employing over half the wage earners in manufacturing. These losses of income were due almost entirely to part time unemployment. The only figures we have greatly minimize the losses to those working part time because they include also those who worked full time and only the average for all can be calculated. But these average losses give an idea what part time means to the wage earner when it is remembered that they show only part of the loss.

From June to July, the average wage for workers in manufacturing in the United States dropped from \$27.79 a week to \$26.54, or \$1.25 a week. Since this figure includes many who work full time, losses of part time workers must be very much higher than this. Wage decreases were particularly large in automobiles, where the average loss for all workers was about \$4.50 a week, millinery and lace about \$2.00, women's clothing about \$1.60, and glass about \$1.40.

We have very little knowledge about the extent of part time work. The Federation is beginning September to collect figures on part time with its monthly unemployment reports. These will be exceedingly valuable as they will throw light on the extent of the problem.

A preliminary questionnaire on part time was sent in August to a small group of unions affiliated with the Federation. Replies were received from 198 unions in 12 cities, representing a membership of over 80,000. These reports show 26 per cent unemployed and 15 per cent on part time in August. Where figures for part time are available in foreign countries, they show that in March this year 12.6 per cent in Germany and 28.9 per cent in Poland were working part time, and in Belgium and Switzerland over 4 per cent were on part time.

Moral and Spiritual Consequences—The social degeneration resulting from unemployment can hardly be estimated. First there is physical deterioration, undernourishment not only for the wage earner but for his wife and children, often illness resulting from privation, anxiety for the future which is a constant strain on nerves. For growing children, undernourishment and privation at the period when they need to store strength for the future may mean permanent weakness.

The moral and spiritual deterioration resulting from undernourishment, anxiety and discouragement is even more serious. When a worker has given his best to his work and is laid off without consideration, when he has made every effort to save

against the future only to see his savings wiped away again and again by unemployment, when his attempts to rise to a better standard of living are repeatedly annihilated by loss of work, is it any wonder that he loses hope? The injustice of it alone disheartens him. Can he be blamed if he develops an irresponsible attitude, lives up to the limit of his income while it lasts and appeals to charity when he is laid off? The wonder is that in spite of the constant drag of unemployment so many wage earners do save against the future, so few go to charity for help until they have exhausted every resource for independent living and made every possible sacrifice. This fact is striking evidence of the inherent courage, independence and self-reliance of American working men and women.

But the increasing insecurity of employment is having its unmistakable effect on the morale of wage earners. It is undoubtedly an important cause of the increase in wage earner bankruptcy, of irresponsibility and appeals to charity in cities where employment is particularly unstable. The habit of dependence develops from just such circumstances.

Dependence on Charity—The extent of the dependence on charity is strikingly shown by figures from charity organizations in 79 cities collected by the Russel Sage Foundation. In the first half of 1930, over \$24,000,000 was given out in relief by these charity organizations. A very large portion of the relief was due to unemployment. An average of more than 160,000 families applied for help each month. Even in the prosperous year of 1929, in the three most prosperous months, relief given by charity organizations was over a million a month.

1930	<i>Families Aided</i>	<i>Relief Given</i>
January.....	146,869	\$3,745,755
February.....	164,227	4,176,046
March.....	169,839	4,548,702
April.....	160,662	4,389,297
May.....	147,633	3,864,166
June.....	146,164	3,955,292

These figures, impressive as they are, can not show the full extent of the human and economic waste resulting from unemployment. To give a man charity when he wants work is to teach him dependence and take from him the satisfaction of earning his living by constructive activity. It is equally unsound economically to give men charity while they are idle instead of letting them create wealth by their labor. Unemployment is an indictment of our economic control.

No employer would depend on charity to keep his machinery in repair or carry his overhead in dull seasons. And yet thousands actually depend on charity to carry their work force when they are not needed for production. Is not their investment in men as much their concern and responsibility as their investment in machines? Is it not vastly more important to the nation that its human resources be kept intact?

Loss in Purchasing Power—We estimate that those wage earners who were thrown out of work by the business depression this year lost \$1,200,000,000 in wages in the first half of 1930. (This figure does not include agricultural workers or salaried employees.) Had they been at work they would have created wealth equal to more than the value of their wages. The country is therefore poorer by far more than a billion dollars. Their lost wages alone would have increased the total national income by 2.8 per cent.

This huge loss in workers' buying power has had its inevitable effect on business. It has added to depression forces and helped to postpone recovery. Business needs the stimulation of consumer buying. Because stores have seen their trade falling off, they have ordered less from manufacturers, and manufacturers have been forced to curtail production.

The importance of labor as consumer is one of the outstanding facts of the modern era. Eighty per cent of those who buy consumer products of our industries and use the consumer services of transportation, communication and other industries, are working men and their families.

Labor's purchase and use of industrial products has become a keystone on which our economic prosperity depends. Never has this been more forcefully demonstrated than in our present industrial depression. Workers' purchasing power in the first six months of 1930 averaged 12 per cent below the same period of 1929. With the cumulative effects of unemployment and part time work adding to depression forces, sales of department stores fell further below last year in June and July than in any other months this year. The failure of workers' buying power is shown especially in the clothing industries, for workmen must make last year's outfits do in order to stretch their reduced incomes over the necessities of living—food and shelter.

White House Conferences—As the forces of business depression were gathering, the President of the United States called to conference in the White House representatives of industries, of railroads and of Labor. The group representing Labor in this conference were: William Green, President, American Federation of Labor; Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor; T. A. Rickert, President, United Garment Workers of America; Matthew Woll, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; John L. Lewis, President, United Mine Workers of America; William L. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; William J. McSorley, President, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; John P. Frey, Secretary, Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; Bert M. Jewell, President, Railway Employes Department, American Federation of Labor; A. Johnston, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Timothy Shea, Assistant President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; A. F. Whitney, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and E. P. Curtis, President, Order of Railway Conductors of America.

As a result of his conferences with employers and with Labor, President Hoover issued this statement to the press.

"The President was authorized by the employers who were present at this morning's conference to state on their individual behalf that they will not initiate any movement for wage reduction, and it was their strong recommendation that this attitude should be pursued by the country as a whole. They considered that aside from the human considerations involved, the consuming power of the country will thereby be maintained.

"The President was also authorized by the representatives of Labor to state that in their individual views and that as their strong recommendation to the country as a whole that no movements beyond those already in negotiation should be initiated for increase of wages and that every cooperation should be given by Labor to industry in the handling of its problems. The purpose of these declarations is to give assurance that conflicts should not occur during the present situation which will affect the continuity of work and thus to maintain stability of employment."

This definite repudiation of wage cuts as the method of meeting business depression was a constructive achievement. It meant a definite effort to maintain standards and to prevent the foundations of buying power from being completely undermined. It added a new element of security to wage earners status. It was recognition of the principle that the misfortunes of business are not to be handed over to wage earners in the form of wage reductions.

This agreement not to reduce wages has been lived up to by many large employers of labor who thus have shown their faith in high wages as an essential requirement for the maintenance of prosperity.

There have been wage cuts by some large companies but chiefly by small firms and firms of less secure financial foundations. Employers who have refused to make wage cuts deserve to be commended for their constructive policy and for their aid in averting a deeper business depression. Equal commendation is due labor organizations which cooperated by not raising issues that might embarrass or interrupt efforts to turn the tide upward. Unions have again demonstrated their methods and their appreciation of the interdependence between their interests and the interests of industry and society.

Strategic as was this agreement against wage cuts, it did not prevent great and widespread suffering from dismissals, lay-offs, and part-time work.

Difficult as this long depression is proving itself, it has disclosed with striking distinctness a growing responsibility on the part of management for the workers on their pay rolls and an appreciation of wage earners as consumers.

Labor's Unemployment Program—Under our present business economy, people must have money to buy the necessities of life and whatever else they may include in their standards of living. For the great majority of people employment is essential as a source of income. Loss of employment is a tragedy. Unless work is obtainable, they can turn only to charity.

Society has a responsibility for providing service for all who need employment.

To provide aid in finding employment is the first constructive policy, though relief may be necessary for an emergency. Society through its organized channels owes it to its working citizens to provide them with information of all available work opportunities. Such a service would be equally useful to employers informing them where to get the kind of employees they need.

Private employment agencies profit through the misfortunes of workers. Labor turnover adds to their revenues. Their fees, even when legitimate, come at a time when the worker is least able to meet additional expenses.

Some industrial managements have been opposed to the development of a federal agency because they found a special advantage to them in requiring workers to apply on their premises. But this to those seeking employment means the heavy hardship of going from place to place, consuming time and physical energy which could be saved by accumulating employment information in a central office. Whatever the type of central office, whether for all industries or special offices for special industries, the State owes to Labor services essential to their progress and prosperity. The Government is now furnishing information and advisory service to other economic groups; the interests of wage earners are equally important to national advancement.

The State should also provide data on employment and unemployment indicating

trends and other information necessary as the basis for constructive planning. Although widespread unemployment is recognized as a catastrophe, our government does not gather unemployment statistics and does not assemble comprehensive information showing when unemployment may be increasing or decreasing.

Because of the intricate interrelations existing in our economic structure, it is important to know shifts in employment as soon as they begin. Rapidity of technical change constitutes a distinct labor and social problem which if allowed to accumulate, will bring catastrophic consequences. Increasing productivity with growing unemployment and with low incomes to wage earners will surely wreck industries.

The basis for all planning to prevent unemployment is the records of what is happening in production, employment and unemployment. Employment and unemployment data should be supplemented by part time and man hours data. Accumulated records and understanding of the interplay of industrial forces will disclose constructive policies.

We propose as our program:

1. *Reduction in hours of work*—As progress is made in increasing output and productivity, the world's needs can be supplied in fewer hours of work, and benefits of this progress should be shared by those who do the work. The shorter work day and work week bring to wage earners opportunities for other creative interests as well as for conservation of physical energy.

Where work hours—daily and weekly—are not progressively reduced to keep pace with scientific progress, practically the full cost of this progress falls upon wage earners in the form of unemployment. Instead of laying off employees as productivity increases, the work day should be reduced, the work week shortened and provisions for annual vacations with pay should reduce the work year.

Progress should mean leisure for the fullness of life for all. Shorter work hours take the element of drudgery out of work and raise the work life as well as leisure to a higher plane so that workers become more efficient as workers and better citizens.

Reducing the hours per day, the five-day week, and vacations with pay are major proposals in our unemployment program.

2. *Stabilization of Industry*—The cumulative effects of unemployment reach far beyond the workers themselves. The most effective solution of the problem is prevention. When industries accept their responsibility to their wage earners, and abandon the habit of laying off employees in order to reduce costs, they must face squarely stabilization of production. This is a technical problem which concerns the whole work organization, and to which all can contribute useful information and service.

Management has records of policies and results which will help indicate how rush periods may be anticipated and plans for steady flow of work developed. Seasonal factors often are due to forces outside the control of industry. There are available technical skill and intelligence adequate to solve the production problems involved in regularization when management embodies in its thinking the principle of responsibility for regular employment and annual incomes for its employees. Every group in the business organization can help in solving the problem where the channels of cooperation are set up. In addition to what they can contribute to the problem within the plant, wage earners because of their numbers and contacts with outsiders can help create for the company public good will and support, and in some cases directly

increase patronage. The will to give such help grows out of a feeling of partnership which underlies cooperation.

That the proposal to regularize production is practical has been repeatedly demonstrated by establishments that have tackled the problem. It can be done when management and all connected with the undertaking accept as basic in the determination of all policies that *regular production must be maintained*. Regularization requires careful planning and continuous watchfulness, and ties in with production economics. All groups in industry must become "employment" minded.

In working out a program to maintain regularity of production, shorter work days and work weeks should synchronize with technical progress. Vacations with pay should be a factor in planning for wages and employment on a yearly basis.

By thus assuring that the employees of various industries shall participate in the progress of industry and society through curtailment of work hours made possible by increased productivity, industries will help to provide buyers for the products which they put on the market. Progressive adjustments of hours should be accompanied by adjustments in compensation paid. Wage earners like all other citizens must have an annual income in order to maintain their standards of living and meet obligations incurred on that basis.

While individual production establishments must work out the problem of stabilization for themselves, there is needed in addition team work by the whole industry and team work between all industries. To accomplish this there should be comprehensive planning by an advisory body, representative of all production and consumer groups. Such a national economic council should plan the machinery for achieving economic equilibrium, and undertake to secure the cooperation of voluntary associations and governmental agencies in a coordinated undertaking.

3. *Efficient Management in Production and in Sales Policies*—We must have money to pay the costs of living. The objective of all economic activity is profits. The higher the profits the greater the amount that can be given the producers. Profits can be increased by elimination of wastes and greater efficiency in production and sales policies and methods.

Accumulated inefficiencies create the wastes that contribute to business failures and business depressions.

All producers are part of our business society, individuals in business to get profits on their investments. Some invest capital, others technical capacity to direct operators, other technical capacity to carry on the production processes. All are directly concerned in increasing the total sum accruing from their joint efforts so the share of each may be larger. There is mutual obligation for efficiency and mutual right to demand efficiency. Each contributing group through its group organization should provide itself with technical counsel for increasing efficiency in performing its special functions. The federal government should increase its service to industry both in the technical field and in supplying information on how to work efficiently.

4. *Nation-wide System of Employment Exchanges*—A nation-wide system of employment exchanges, the state to establish local services and the federal government to provide the channels for pooling information and experience is essential to any plan for assuring continuous employment for workers; an employ service is fundamental for better employment. Local exchanges must be organized along lines that will assure the confidence and cooperation of those served—industries and workers.

5. *Adequate Records*—Although our federal government and some of our state governments supply splendid statistical services, there are not available all of the facts necessary to regularize production and prevent unemployment. Every unit and every functional group of our economic structure has a contribution to make in the accumulation of adequate records. With the government must rest coordination of available information and responsibility for furnishing it.

We believe this purpose would be greatly advanced if the federal government should consider unification of federal statistics so that they could be used for the widest comparative purposes.

Appropriations for statistical work should be sufficiently adequate to enable each federal department and agency to gather and compile the necessary information in its jurisdiction.

The principles we outline for federal agencies apply to state and municipal governments.

Organized industries such as trade associations, are also clearing centers for the facts about a whole industry. Union headquarters accumulate facts concerning workers as employees and as consumers and citizens. National and international unions can supplement the information compiled by trade associations.

In addition to the standards and indications separate groups may furnish, it is necessary to know the facts of industry as a going concern in a community or an area that constitutes an economic unit. The necessity for planning for coordinated information requires cooperation between the organized groups and industries. Coordinated planning is essential to cooperation to maintain prosperity and insure employment for all.

6. *Use of Public Works to Meet Cyclical Unemployment*—Since we have not mastered the principles or the technique of sustained prosperity, we must be prepared to deal with business depression. Assuming that business forces are controllable, we must plan to stop the swing downward. The best way to inject new activity on large enough scale to have appreciable effect is to speed up construction of public works. To be most effective, steps must be taken when indications of business depression are evident. There should be an agency charged with this responsibility, organized and alert to take action.

7. *Vocational Guidance and Retraining*—Vocational training and retraining must be tied in with our unemployment program.

Vocational and industrial education should give the worker that grasp of fundamentals of his industry that he may be able to adjust himself to changes or even a new occupation. The facts of employment and unemployment are necessary in planning courses and for vocational guidance.

Every employment bureau of our proposed national system should be able to assist workers displaced by new machinery or new processes, guiding them to employment for which their skills and experience can be adapted or giving them whatever retraining should be necessary. Society owes to such victims of progress assistance in meeting their personal problems in adjusting so that they too may share in benefits of social progress.

8. *Special Study of Technological Unemployment*—We need basic knowledge of displacement of workers by machines. We need to know when and where such dis-

placements will take place and to establish the practice of providing in advance adjustments for such workers.

Your Executive Council recommends that the President of the United States be asked to arrange for special study of technological unemployment and related problems.

9. Study Relief Proposals—Industries that have the problem of seasonal unemployment should work out some plan to take care of employees during such periods of unemployment as can not be prevented by more scientific, efficient planning. This has been done in some instances by unions cooperating with management, and a jointly created fund furnishes weekly incomes to workers during periods of cyclical unemployment.

A number of unions have provided unemployment funds for the relief of members out of work.

We recommend that the Executive Council make a thorough investigation of all plans, legislative and otherwise, that have been discussed or suggested for the express purpose of finding a practical way by which relief may be accorded those who are suffering from forced unemployment.

10. Education for Life—In conclusion we believe that what is needed is not a revolutionary program or the creation of many new agencies, but over all planning based upon knowledge of significant trends so that existing agencies may function effectively and cooperate in carrying through a program for human progress.

The primary step is to have every individual prepared to take a constructive part in life and to make sure there are work opportunities available for all. This purpose necessitates that education be planned with specific reference to the world of work. The training period involves three phases—education, vocational training and placement. None of these functions can be performed efficiently without intimate and continual knowledge of industrial trends and developments. To plan their school program educational directors need to know: which industries are declining and at which rate; which industries are expanding and at which rate; which industries are developing and at which rate; which technical changes are impending; in which fields will research and experimentation probably bring changes; what are the possibilities for expanding demand to absorb increasing productivity in industries where technical changes have been installed. Such information as this kept up to date is a basic necessity for that adjustment of policies that will keep education responsive to life needs.

Not all pupils are interested in going into industry. There are those who look to the professions, the semi-professional jobs, clerical and service employment. Educators need just as careful detailed information in these fields as they do on industry.

In addition to general education, everybody should have some special training through which he can earn his living. In our educational program we should include provisions for adult education. Now that educational opportunities are no longer restricted to our youth, it is possible at any time that the need may arise for workers to prepare for new or allied callings. This is a practical answer to the problem developing from technological progress and displacement of workers. The employment agencies should tie their work in with vocational training, retraining and guidance.

For, in order for planning to be effective, it is not enough for the leaders in each field to familiarize themselves with developments in other experiences, but there should

be personal contact, conferences round the table between the leaders of all peoples for the purpose of discussion, interchange of experience and conclusions. Such discussions and conferences would have a profound effect upon all policy making and administration of work. What is important is understanding of the interdependence of problems and the interplay of causes and forces. The great problem is the need of finding the principles and technique of coordination. This is essential in making that preparation for the work of life that will avoid preventable wastes and will enable us to make constructive progress in planning for continuous employment. There is need for the specialist to make this thinking so comprehensive that it reaches out to encompass the whole of human experience in order to fit his functional service in a coordinated plan for progress in life.

UNION PROGRESS

Five-Day Week—During the past year, a serious effort was made to secure detailed information regarding the growth and extent of the five-day week. To this end, letters were sent to all national and international unions requesting their assistance and cooperation. These were extended cheerfully and the results will show, it is believed, more authoritative data on this new development than was shown by any preceding attempt. According to the detailed statistics there are 532,894 workers now enjoying the five-day work week. It will be seen from a glance that more than a million of people are thus adding to their recreation possibilities, and to this extent are able to enjoy more leisure.

From all indications available, this growth of the five-day week has always been accompanied with an increase of wages sufficient to make up for the hours of employment lessened. In no instance have reports shown that there was merely a shortening of the hours, with no increase in the hourly wage scale.

The figures given above, 532,894, have come to us from different sources. In all instances, efforts were made to substantiate the claim that a five-day week was being enjoyed. Where reports from correspondence, from newspapers, and elsewhere indicated that some local union had secured the five-day week, the national or international officers were written and advised that this information had been received and were asked to verify it. In some instances where the national and international offices had not received word of this, and where the source of information seemed to justify it, these local unions were included in our lists.

Forty-eight national and international unions are in part enjoying the five-day week. Naturally, the building trades unions lead in this respect. Of the figures submitted, over 420,000, or 78 per cent are members of the building trades industry. Over 71,000 or 16 per cent are members of the clothing industry. Of the crafts furnishing figures, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America leads with over 114,000 members working the five-day week. The International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America follows with over 71,000.

According to reports coming to this office the following organizations have been successful in obtaining the five-day work week for their memberships and to the extent noted by the figures appearing opposite the names of the organizations:

Asbestos Workers.....	1,215
Blacksmiths.....	258
Boilermakers.....	1,021
Bookbinders.....	779

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

65

Bricklayers.....	45,735
Brick and Clay Workers.....	3,000
Bridge & Struc. Iron Workers.....	11,722
Carpenters.....	114,614
Carvers, Wood.....	775
Clerks, Retail.....	300
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	3,565
Electrical Workers.....	41,045
Elevator Constructors.....	2,645
Engineers, Operating.....	11,225
Engravers, Metal.....	50
Engravers, Photo.....	4,946
Fur Workers.....	12,555
Garment Workers, United.....	5,000
Garment Workers, Ladies.....	53,130
Glass Bottle Workers.....	365
Flint Glass Workers.....	75
Granite Cutters.....	6,385
Hod Carriers.....	19,662
Lathers.....	7,376
Laundry Workers.....	40
Machinists.....	13,500
Marble Workers.....	3,460
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	7,886
Molders.....	551
Painters.....	72,070
Paper Makers.....	550
Pattern Makers.....	335
Pavers.....	125
Paving Cutters.....	225
Plasterers.....	27,886
Plumbers.....	39,216
Polishers, Metal.....	48
Roofers.....	2,726
Siderographers.....	40
Stone Cutters.....	1,204
Stove Mounters.....	252
Tailors.....	50
Teachers.....	7,014
Teamsters.....	70
Typographical Union.....	4,636
Upholsterers.....	4,071
Wall Paper Crafts.....	166
Weavers, American Wire.....	351
	532,894

Of the states affected, New York leads with over 185,000 workers; next in order come New Jersey, 45,000; Illinois, 38,000; Pennsylvania, 29,000; Ohio, 26,000; Massachusetts, 20,000; California, 19,000; Missouri, 16,000, and the District of Columbia—8,000. Only eight states are unrepresented upon our list: Arizona, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Dakota, Virginia and Wyoming. Of these states, four are southern states. An outline map showing the geographical distribution of these workers is made a part of this report.

These figures are not constant. New agreements are being made every month and a number of them will provide for the enjoyment of the five-day week. This is

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

especially true of the building trades unions. Efforts will be made to keep our statistics up with present day trends, and the cooperation of all unions, so manifest during the recent months is requested for this purpose.

The figures for the Photo Engravers cover workers who will have secured the five-day work week before the expiration of their contracts and agreements. Those for the Typographical Union effect only men in commercial shops. This also is true of the Photo Engravers. Those for the Granite Cutters and the Stone Cutters include those members who have only secured the five-day week for a portion of the year.

It is conceivable that in the compilation and assembling of this data, some errors may appear. This is so, in spite of all precautions. It is suggested, therefore, that all delegates and officers make a careful examination of this data, and report at once any errors of omission or commission so that the necessary changes may be made and credit given to those organizations inadvertently omitted.

It is also suggested that before the next annual convention all affiliated unions make a careful survey of their membership and ascertain to what exact extent the five-day week has grown in their industry, both organized and unorganized. Such findings should be made available to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor upon request. It is only in this manner that definite and accurate information may be secured upon this most important development of present day industrial life and made available for further studies and surveys.

There follows an outline map on page 42 which will show at a glance the distribution of these workers.

Benefit Services of National and International Unions—As has been done for the past few years, a survey has again been made of the benefit services maintained by the standard national and international unions. These unions comprise the affiliated national and international unions and the four Brotherhoods. The returns this year have been greater than ever before, there being only a few unions from which no reports were received. This survey shows the following benefits paid during the year 1929.

Sick Benefits.....	\$2,831,936.82
Death Benefits.....	17,598,282.03
Unemployment Benefits.....	276,717.50
Old Age Pensions.....	4,883,027.88
Disability Benefits.....	2,707,187.63
Miscellaneous.....	3,945,287.63
 Total Benefits.....	 \$32,242,444.40

A comparison of the benefits paid in 1928 and 1929 appears herewith:

<i>Form of Benefits</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1929</i>
Sick Benefits.....	\$2,377,746.38	\$2,831,936.82
Death Benefits.....	16,623,585.93	17,598,287.03
Unemployment Benefits.....	665,279.88	276,717.50
Old Age Pensions.....	4,712,731.29	4,883,027.88
Disability Benefits.....	3,825,578.46	2,707,187.63
Miscellaneous Benefits.....	5,149,052.60	3,945,287.63
 Total Benefits.....	 \$32,818,924.54	 \$32,242,444.40

This comparison shows that there has been a substantial increase in sick, death and old age benefits. On the other hand, there has been a marked decline in unemployment, disability and miscellaneous benefits. This would indicate a decrease in unemployment, as well as a decrease in accidents and strikes, since a number of organizations include their strike benefits under the miscellaneous.

In a few instances, these benefits include those paid by local unions affiliated with the national and international unions. However, in many instances, our national unions have no figures showing such payments. If it were possible to include all such payments, the total figures appearing here would undoubtedly be doubled. It is therefore suggested that each affiliated national and international union, inquire from its local unions, the amount of benefits expended by them during the year. Such an inquiry might well be made shortly after the end of the calendar year and it would add greatly to offset the statements so often made that there are no tangible benefits to be derived from trade union membership.

The detailed table follows:

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	BENEFITS PAID			
	Sick	Death	Unemployment	Old Age Pension
1 American Federation of Labor.....				
2 Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
3 Asbestos Workers, Intl. Asso. of H. and F. I.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
4 Bakery and Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....	124,803.13	22,418.50		
5 Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	235,249.55	98,456.52		
6 Bill Posters and Billers of America, Intl. All. of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
7 Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and H., Int. Bro. of.....	14,000.00			
8 Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders & H. of A., I. B. of.....	1,813.75	222,250.00		
9 Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....		43,000.00		
10 Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	57,756.78	36,000.00		
11 Brewery, Flour, Cereal & S. D. W. of A., I. U. of U.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
12 Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' I. U. of A.....		362,745.60		
13 Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	4,600.00	13,200.00		
14 Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Int. Asso.....		65,300.00		
15 Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....				
16 Building Service Employes' International Union.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
17 Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....		122,050.00		
18 Carpenters and Joiners of America, U. B. of.....		746,676.70		
19 Carvers' Association of N. A., International Wood.....	100,000.00	5,150.00		
20 Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....		130,000.00		
21 Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	51,961.74	67,500.00		
22 Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....		322,400.00		
23 Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....		6,475.00		
24 Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' Int. Union.....	5,304.00		37,840.00	
25 Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....		23,000.00		
26 Coopers' International Union of North America.....		3,475.00		
27 Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	4,092.00	4,500.00	9,463.00	BENEFITS
28 Draftsmen's Union, I. F. of T. E. A. and.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
29 Electrical Workers of America, Int. Bro. of.....		319,554.50		
30 Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
31 Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive.....	97,232.89	3,417,505.05		
32 Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	21,400.00	162,475.00		
33 Engravers' Union, International Metal.....		500.00		
34 Engravers' Union of N. A., International Photo.....	29,012.50	74,400.00		
35 Federal Employees, National Federation of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
36 Fire Fighters' International Association of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
37 Firemen & Enginemen, Bro. of Locomotive.....	859,267.58	1,104,698.00		
38 Firemen & Oilers, Int. Bro. of Stationery.....	12,685.00	15,000.00		
39 Foundry Employees, Int. Brotherhood of.....		1,400.00		
40 Fur Workers' Union of the U. S. and Can., Int.....		1,400.00		
41 Garment Workers' of America, United.....		32,900.00		
42 Garment Workers' Union, Int. Ladies.....	17,084.50	1,125.00	19,866.94	2,180.00
43 Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso. of the U. S. & Can.....	4,500.00	45,500.00		
44 Glass Cutters' League of America, Window.....		3,000.00		
45 Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....		34,385.00		
46 Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
47 Granite Cutters' International Association of A.....		71,378.10		17,808.00
48 Hatters of North America, United.....		33,536.50		
49 Hod Carriers, Bidg. & Com. Lab. U. of A., Intl.....		47,500.00		
50 Horse Shoers of U. S. & Can., I. U. of Journeymen.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
51 Hotel and Restaurant Employees & B. D. I. A.....		22,550.00		
52 Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amal. Assn. of.....		39,469.50		
53 Jewelry Workers' Union, International.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
54 Lathers', Intl. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....		32,246.95		
55 Laundry Workers International Union.....	4,987.00	4,200.00		
56 Leather Workers United, International Union.....	800.00	1,400.65		
57 Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	165,163.12	158,167.65		
58 Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
59 Lithographers I. P. & B. A. of the U. S. & Can.....		37,900.00		
60 Longshoremen's Association, International.....		225,429.50		
61 Machinists, International Association of.....		206,545.50		
62 Maintenance of Way Employees, Bro. of.....		4,700.00		
63 Marble, Slate & Stone P. R. & S., T. & M. S. H., I. A.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
64 Masters, Mates & Pilots of America, Nat. Org.....		22,450.00		
65 Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. A., Amal.....		57,920.00		
66 Metal Workers, Sheet, International Association.....		6,433.09		
67 Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Int. Union of.....	11,909.46	1,000,000.00	125.00	
68 Mine Workers of America, United.....				

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1929

GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT						
Disability	Mis-cellaneous	Average Wage	Average Workday	Average Workweek in Hours and Days	Five-Day Week	Vacations With Pay
	5,061.00					
	4,302.00	\$1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days.	1,215	1
			8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		2
	90.00	\$50 per week.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.		3
	3,249.07	\$90 per hour.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	300	4
		Mech., \$.80-\$1.625 p. hr.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.		5
		Helpers, \$.51-\$1.525 p. hr.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	1,021	6
		\$44 per week, men	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.		7
		\$20.50 per week, women	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	779	8
6,050.00	25,075.00	\$1.00 per hour	8 hours	48 hours, 5½ days.		9
		\$32.00 per week.	8 hours	46 hours, 5½ days.		10
		\$1.50 per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	4,000	11
	4,135.00	\$85 per hour.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.		12
		\$1.625 per hour.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	3,000	13
		\$7.40 per day.	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days.	10,000	14
						15
10,500.00	10,000.00	\$7.00 per day.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		16
47,300.00	70,000.00	\$9.00 per day.	8 hours	42 hours, 5½ days.	100,000	17
	25.00	\$11 per day.	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days.	700	18
2,614.84	2,711.34	Piecework.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		19
		\$2,150 per year.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		20
		\$2.34-\$7.52 per day.	8 hours	44-48 hours, 5½-6 days.		21
		\$22.50 per week.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.	32,000	22
		Cap makers, \$.45 p. wk.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		23
		Millinery, \$.65 per wk.	8 hours	Cap makers, 40 h. 5 d.	6,000	24
1,450.00		\$179 per month.	9 hours	56 hours, 6 days.		25
		\$38.50 per week.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.		26
		\$75 per week.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.		27
		\$8.00 per day.	7 hours	42 hours, 6 days.		28
		\$11.17 per hour	8 hours	40-44 hrs, 5-5½ days.	1,000	29
		\$12.50 per day.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	3,000	30
131,816.04	165,632.50	Paid on mileage basis.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	2,500	31
	4,125.00	\$58.50 per week.	8 hours	46 hours, 5½ days.		32
		\$58 per week.	8 hours	40-44 hrs, 5-5½ days.	4,946	33
						34
						35
	104,047.60					36
						37
						38
385,750.00	62,546.98	\$2,300 per year.	12 hours	84 hours, 7 days.		39
	600.00	\$80 per hour.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		40
		\$51 per hour, minimum.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		41
		\$2,200 per year.	8 hours	41 hours, 5 days.	9,500	42
		\$50 per week.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	5,000	43
		\$8.32 per day.	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days.	50,000	44
		\$50 per week.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	365	45
		\$45 per week.	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days.		46
	45.00	Men, \$.33 per week.	8½ hours	46½ hours, 5½ days.	75	47
		Women, \$22.50 per wk.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	100	48
		\$10 per day.	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days.		49
						50
						51
						52
						53
	8,293.50	\$8.75 per hour.	8 hours			54
		\$8.00 per day.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days.	19,660	55
						56
						57
						58
						59
						60
						61
						62
						63
						64
						65
						66
						67
						68
						69
						70
						71
						72
						73
						74
						75
						76
						77
						78
						79
						80
						81
						82
						83
						84
						85
						86
						87
						88
						89
						90
						91
						92
						93
						94
						95
						96
						97
						98
						99
						100

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	BENEFITS PAID			
	Sick	Death	Unemploy- ment	Old Age Pension
69 Molders United of North America, International.	167,983.50	320,870.70	45,458.40	
70 Musicians, American Federation of.	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
71 Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Wrks. of America.	8,000.00			
72 Painters, Decorators & Paperhanglers of A., Bro. of		254,000.00		
73 Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.		3,629.95		
74 Pattern Makers League of North America.	7,053.12	\$ 8,925.00	4,163.95	
75 Pavers, Rammermen, F. L., B. & S. C. S., I. U. of	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
76 Paving Cutters Union of the U. S. of A. & Can.		4,475.00		
77 Piano and Organ Workers Union of Amer., Int.	NO	REPO	RT	SUBMITTED
78 Plasterers Int. Assn. of the U. S. & Can., Operative		90,225.00		
79 Plumbers & Steamfitters of the U. S. & C., U. A. of	161,010.00	123,021.00		
80 Polishers, Metal, International Union.		10,175.00		
81 Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.	7,947.76	15,920.00		
82 Powder and High Explosive Workers of A., United.	NO	REP	ORT	SUBMITTED
83 Printers, D. S. & E. Union of N. A., I. Plate.		7,196.50		
84 Printing Pressmen and Assistants U. of N. A., Int.		135,666.53		62,104.00
85 Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill W. of the U. S. and Can., Intl. Bro. of.			800.00	*
86 Quarry Workers, International Union of N. A.	362.70	2,125.00		650.00
87 Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of.	513,111.23	3,194,277.43	13,743.22	280,820.00
88 Railway Conductors of America, Order of.		1,874,708.32		
89 Railway Emp. of A., A. A. of Street & Electric.	* 124,576.10	\$ 920,076.10	139,860.75	* 101,600.00
90 Railway Mail Association.		78,387.50		15,496.50
91 Roofers, Damp & Waterproof W. A., U. S. T. & C.		17,400.00		
92 Seamen's Union of America, International.	* 9,977.91	\$ 8,039.50		
93 Siderographers, International Association of			45.00	
94 Stage Employees & M. P. M. O. of the U. S. & C.	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
95 Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of N. A., Int.		29,100.00		
96 Stonecutters Association of N. A., Journeymen.		20,000.00		
97 Stove Mounters' International Union.		11,500.00	2,739.60	
98 Switchmen's Union of North America.		181,300.00		
99 Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.	13,029.00	6,681.00		
100 Teachers, American Federation of.		* 4,000.00		
101 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, S. & H. of A. I. B. of.	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
102 Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.		309,292.86		
103 Telegraphers Union of N. A., The Commercial.		3,625.00		
104 Textile Workers of America, United.		10,300.00		
105 Tobacco Workers' International Union.	2,464.00	400.00		
106 Typographical Union, International.		473,887.25		1,186,024.00
107 Upholsterers' International Union of N. A.	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
108 Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.	* 599.00	2,500.00	2,656.64	
109 Weavers' Protective Association, American Wire.	* 1,200.00	200.00		
Totals.....	2,831,936.82	17,598,287.03	276,717.50	4,883,027.88

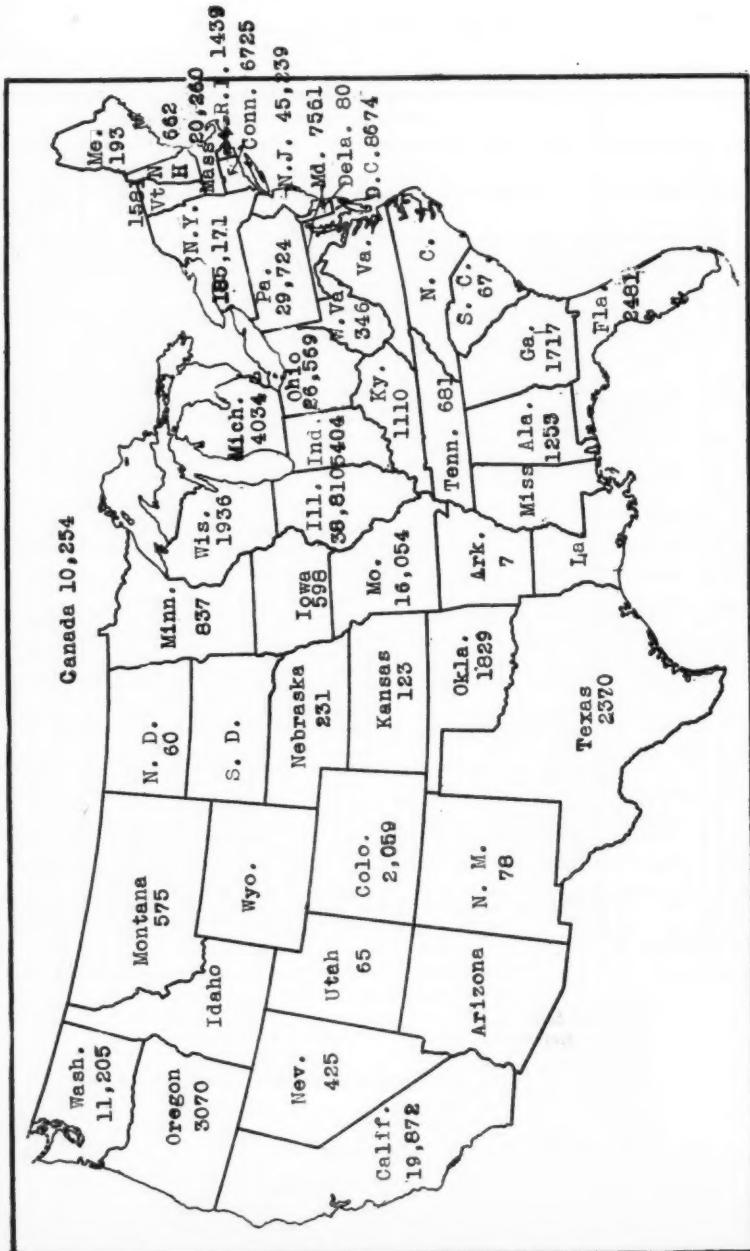
RECAPITULATION

Sick benefits.....	\$ 2,831,936.82
Death benefits.....	17,598,287.03
Unemployment benefits.....	276,717.50
Old Age pensions.....	4,883,027.88
Disability benefits.....	2,707,187.63
Miscellaneous benefits.....	3,945,287.63
Total benefits.....	\$32,242,440.40

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1929—Continued

GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT						
Disability	Mis-cellaneous	Average Wage	Average Workday	Average Workweek in Hours and Days	Five-Day Week	Vacations With Pay
26,300.00		\$7.50 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		69
		8 hrs. in Calif., 12 h. elsewhere				70
						71
145,225.00	69,185.00	\$48 per week.....	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....	85,000	72
	4,725.40	\$1.04 per hour.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	550	73
		\$12.00 per day.....	8 hours.....	40-50 hours, 5-6 days.....	200	74
	1,446.75	Piecework.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	125	75
			8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	225	76
3,600.00		\$11.50 per day.....	8 hours.....	43 hours, 5½ days.....	27,591	77
	12,162.00		8 hours.....		39,000	78
	9,125.00	\$1 per hour.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 5½ days.....	100	79
	80,813.67	Piece work.....				80
						81
		\$45 per week.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		82
	18,241.54	\$7 per day.....	7½ hours.....	Com., 44 hrs., 5½ da. News., 45 hrs., 6 da.		83
						84
		1,400.00	\$4 per day.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		85
			\$63 per hour.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		86
	1,656,564.75	2,184,625.58		8 hrs. or less, 100 miles or less.....		87
107,500.00	349,820.16	Frt., \$7.14 per 100 miles. Pas., \$4.76 per 100 miles	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		88
28,600.00		\$63 per hour.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		89
97,517.00	2,000.00	\$2,586 per year ^a	8 hours.....	3,000	90	
	3,500.00	\$1,425 per hour.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		91
4450.00	4,760.25		8-12 hours.....	36-84 hours, 7 days.....		92
			8½ hours.....	46 hours, 5½ days.....	40	93
			8 hours.....	36 hours, 7 days.....		94
			8 hours.....	Com., 44 hrs., 5½ days. News., 48 hrs., 6 days.		95
			8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	1,000	96
			8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days ^b	11,300	97
45,900.00		\$1.25 per hour.....	8 hours.....			
		Day rate, \$84 per hr. Piece rate, \$1.03 per hr.	8 hours.....			
		\$6.62 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		98
		\$1 per hour.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	50	99
		\$2,400 per year.....	5½ hours.....	26½ hours, 5 days.....	6,000	100
		\$42 per week.....	9 hours.....	50 hours, 6 days.....	100	20,000
		\$667 per hour.....	8 hours.....	48-56 hours, 6-7 days.....		101
		\$145-\$260 per month.....	8 hours.....	42-45 hours, 5½-6 days.....		7,987
		\$18-\$20 per week.....	8 hours.....	50 hours, 5½ days.....		102
		\$14-\$30 per week.....	9 hours.....	48 hours, 5½ days.....		3,800
		\$53-\$56 per week.....	News., 7½ hrs. Bk & job, 8 hrs.	News., 45 hrs., 6 days.	11,4585	103
			8 hours.....	Bk & job, 44 hrs., 5½ da.		104
			8 1-5 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	4,000	105
			9 hours.....	49 hours, 6 days.....	150	106
				50 hours, 5½ days.....	351	107
						108
						109
2,707,187.63	3,945,287.63				514,679	225,660

^a Includes old age pensions.^b Includes disability benefits.^c Includes widows' relief.^d Paid by local unions.^e Includes local union benefits.^f Temporary, on railroads.^g All foremen on 5 roads and all monthly-rated employees on all Canadian roads.^h Permanent disability benefits.ⁱ Plus \$277.00 travel allowance.^j 44 hours, 5½ days in summer months.^k During summer months.^l Five-night week obtains in 18 locals on job work.



JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

Our reports to the conventions of the recent past have recorded from time to time agreements reached between organizations covering questions of long-standing controversy. In the adjusting of these organizations to the agreements entered into, many points of difference and friction have arisen. It has been our good pleasure to assist whenever and wherever possible in helping these organizations maintain their agreements and to adjust their procedures and practices so as to conform thereto. From time to time friction develops, but efforts are continued, through conference and otherwise, for the purpose of having all parties live up to the agreements and to find ways and means for maintaining agreements while yet observing jurisdictional rights of contending parties.

Stationary Firemen—Engineers—Some friction developed during the year between these organizations in the effort to carry out the agreement of the New Orleans, 1928, convention. We were helpful in having both organizations adhere to the New Orleans agreement. We are hopeful that further friction will be eliminated.

Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers—The Executive Council continued its efforts to bring about an amalgamation of the Tobacco Workers International Union and the Cigarmakers' International Union of America. This action of the Executive Council was based upon the decision of the New Orleans convention and in conformity with instructions given by the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Thus far no agreement has been reached providing for the amalgamation of these two organizations. We suggest that the Executive Council be empowered and authorized to continue its efforts to bring about the amalgamation of these two organizations.

Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers—The Toronto convention directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the two contending organizations at which the President of the American Federation of Labor or some one designated by him should preside. This conference was held on June 3rd at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. Secretary Frank Morrison served as President Green's representative.

It developed that each organization claims jurisdiction over part of the Neon gas signs. As no agreement seemed possible of accomplishment, each side was requested to submit a brief statement of their respective claims of jurisdiction. This has been done. Each side is now considering the claim of jurisdiction of the other.

This report is simply to show that progress is being made and to recommend that the subject matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council for the purpose of continuing efforts to reach a mutually acceptable understanding between the contending parties.

Theatrical Stage Employees vs. Electrical Workers and Some Other Organizations Affiliated with the Building Trades Department—The delegates from the Building Trades Department to the Toronto convention brought to the attention of the convention, through Resolution No. 49, the disputes which have arisen in various parts of the country between the Theatrical Stage Employees and the Electrical Workers and some of the associated building trades crafts. The convention directed that the disputing parties should meet in conference with the President of the American Federation

of Labor or some other member of the Executive Council for the purpose of trying to work out an understanding and agreement acceptable to all.

The conference was held on March 31, 1930, and remained in session for one week. Substantial progress was made in that a more clear and definite understanding was reached regarding the points of difference and the nature and character of the jurisdictional dispute in which the different organizations were affected. It seemed on some occasions during the deliberations that an agreement would be reached. Unfortunately some unforeseen point of difference developed which finally prevented a complete consummation of an agreement. In view of the progress that was made, we suggest that further efforts be put forth to reach an agreement on the part of the different organizations involved, that will result in a settlement of the jurisdictional controversy affecting the relationship of these several organizations.

Hod Carriers—Independent Bricklayers Helpers—For a long period of time much friction existed in the labor movement of New York City involving the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America because of the local unions of so-called Independent Bricklayers Tenders. After many conferences between the representatives of the interested groups, in which several members of the Executive Council participated, a mutually satisfactory agreement was finally reached.

On July 9, 1930, formal charter was issued to the independent group by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America. This gave an immediate increase in membership to the Hod Carriers International Union of about fifteen thousand and eliminates one of the great causes for trouble in the building trades industry in New York City.

Teamsters—Railway Clerks—The Toronto Convention directed that the President of the American Federation of Labor should call representatives of both organizations into conference for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a final settlement of the controversy.

A conference was held in Toronto during the convention period, when the following was agreed to:

In order to bring about a settlement or understanding of the controversy existing for many years between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, it is hereby agreed that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks concedes the right of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to negotiate wages, hours, and working conditions for the employees in the vehicle department of the Railway Express Agency in the Metropolitan District of New York, and they, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks shall so advise their membership and shall further advise their membership and urge as strongly as they possibly can that said individuals so employed in the vehicle service in the Metropolitan District of New York shall become members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

It is further agreed that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall concede a similar right to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which is, that said Brotherhood of Railway Clerks shall have the right and be recognized as such to negotiate wages, hours and working conditions for employees represented by them and now in the service of the Railway Express Agency in the Metropolitan District of New York, and that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall recommend to any individual now holding membership in the Teamsters organization to transfer their membership and become members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks immediately.

It is further agreed that a conference be called by the President of the American

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

75

Federation of Labor between the representatives of both International Unions at a mutually satisfactory date for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a further understanding.

(Signed) DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Gen. Pres. I. B. of T.,
G. M. HARRISON,
Gen. Pres., Bro. of Ry. Clerks.

Further conference was held in New York City, December 27, 1929, at which the following was agreed to:

For the purpose of settling the jurisdictional question between the organizations in the Metropolitan District of New York, the following was agreed to:

1. That all vehicle employees of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in the Metropolitan District of New York City will become members of Local 808 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters upon the payment of one dollar to Local 808, and will become full fledged members of that Local.
2. There shall be established one additional business agent in Local 808 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to handle the grievances and other matters for the members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and such business agent shall be selected from the vehicle service members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks who transfer their membership to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
3. Local 808 agrees to waive that portion of its constitution which requires one year continuous membership to hold office.
4. Such business agent, when elected, shall serve the same term of office as the Secretary-Treasurer and business agent, and receive a salary of Sixty (\$60) Dollars per week.
5. Both parties pledge themselves to assist in the organization of all vehicle service employees in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and all clerical, platform and office employees in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.
6. In executing this agreement both parties agree that this constitutes the whole application of the Toronto agreement applying to New York City, and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks agrees to turn over to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters 350 vehicle service employees.
7. The jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall be confined to all drivers, chauffeurs, helpers (including helpers in buildings on delivery and pickup work) stablemen and garagemen, and both parties to this agreement agree to abide by the jurisdiction of the respective organizations, and will not infringe in any way upon each other's jurisdiction. All future grievances from the foregoing shall be handled by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

AGREED to at New York City, this 27th day of December, 1929.

For the BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CLERKS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

(s) H. J. CHAPMAN
THOS. E. DERRICK
J. R. ABBOTT
R. A. SHEERIN

(s) MICHAEL J. CASHAL
THOMAS J. LYONS
JOSEPH F. KEARNEY

The minutes of a further conference which was held in Cincinnati, April 3, 1930, discloses the following:

Pursuant to the action of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held from October 7-18, 1929, a conference of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks convened at the Havlin Hotel, Cincinnati, at ten a. m. on April 3, 1930.

The conference was called to order by William Green, President of the American

Federation of Labor. Those present representing the International Brotherhood of Teamsters were:

Daniel J. Tobin, President,
John Gillespie, General Organizer,
Thos Hughes, Secretary-Treasurer.

Those representing the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:
Geo. M. Harrison, President,
Geo. S. Levi, Secretary-Treasurer,
P. Ziegler, Editor, *The Railway Clerk*.

James Wilson, Fourth Vice-President, American Federation of Labor, was present and participated in the conference.

The conference was held for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a further understanding regarding the jurisdictional controversy existing between the two international unions, namely:

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America,

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The cause of the dispute concerning jurisdiction over teamsters and chauffeurs employed in the express industry was considered and plans for a settlement heretofore proposed were discussed. The discussion covered a wide range. Many suggestions were offered but none seemed to be satisfactory or acceptable.

The representatives of the Railway Clerks stated that it would be impossible for them to take any further action which would provide for a dissociation of express drivers from membership in the Brotherhood Railway Clerks other than had been taken until the delegates in a convention of the Brotherhood Railway Clerks had given them permission to do so.

Following this statement on the part of the representatives of the Brotherhood Railway Clerks, because it became clearly apparent that no agreement could be reached at this conference which would provide for either a complete or final settlement of the jurisdictional controversy existing between the two organizations, it was decided that the President of the American Federation of Labor would meet with the Executive Board of the Brotherhood Railway Clerks when it convened during the month of July, 1930. This understanding was accepted by unanimous consent, after which the conference finally adjourned.

Conforming to the unanimous understanding reached at the conference, President Green and Fourth Vice-President James Wilson attended the meeting of the Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in Cincinnati on July 21-26, 1930.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as well as conventions of the American Federation of Labor have definitely decided that those employed in the vehicle department of the railway express service come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers. The Executive Council reaffirms these decisions previously made. When this jurisdictional controversy existing between these two organizations was considered by the Executive Council during the preparation of this report, it had before it a communication from George M. Harrison, Grand President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, in which he stated in spite of what appear to be most insurmountable difficulties we believe the dispute between our organization and the Brotherhood of Teamsters can be worked out, and further states if given an opportunity he will submit the entire jurisdiction question to the next convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. In view of the fact that substantial progress has been made in the settlement of this jurisdictional dispute through an understanding reached regarding jurisdiction over men employed in the vehicle department of the railway express service in the city of New York, we believe that the best interests of the membership of both organizations involved and of the entire American Federation of Labor will be served through continued conferences for the purpose of reaching an agreement based upon the recognized jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists—Pursuant to the instructions of the Toronto convention, our efforts were directed toward bringing about a settlement of the long standing jurisdictional dispute existing between the American Flint Glass Workers Union and the International Association of Machinists. A conference was held on September 8th in which the officers of the two organizations interested and the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor participated. While no definite conclusions were reached it seemed that a clearer understanding was attained.

We still entertain the hope and belief that this controversy will be ultimately adjusted and for that reason we recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts in this direction.

CHANGE IN TITLES

The expansion and development of industry in various lines made necessary the change of title of several unions whose members are affected by such changes. After consultation with other organizations whose rights might be affected, when application for change of title was made, the following changes were approved so that the several organizations herewith enumerated are now chartered and recognized by the American Federation of Labor under these titles:

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America.

ORGANIZATION WORK

Right to Organize—It is a common law right of every free citizen to choose his calling and while following that calling to manage his resources so as to promote his best interests. This common law right is inherent in every wage earner as in every salaried person, every investor of capital, and every manager of a business enterprise.

The resources of a wage earner are life, health, physical and mental energy, personality, and the profits he makes on his work. The specific methods that anybody may use to advance his interests and make progress in living will depend upon the conditions under which he lives and works.

This is an age of specialization, interdependence of interests and purposes. No man can live unto himself alone and no man can do business with himself alone. We live in associated groups and we work in associated groups, the interplay of whose functions is necessary for undertaking upon which all are more or less dependent for supplies and service. When society and business are organized upon a basis of associated activity to supply the needs of individuals, it is obvious that progress for all groups must come through associations for definite purposes and organized activity to accomplish the purposes of the associations. Accordingly, we find the American Bar Association, American Medical Association, the American University Professors Association, American Library Association, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the Business and Professional Women's Association, the United States Steel Corporation, the Metal Trades Association, the American Cotton Manufacturing Association, the American Management Association, the American Federation of Labor and its 104 affiliated national and international trade unions. All these organizations have in

common the fundamental purpose of promoting the business and professional interests of their members. Most of them are recognized as highly respected institutions, with commendable and praiseworthy purposes. The right of individuals to join the association which is organized to promote their professional or trade interests is neither questioned nor challenged.

In sharp contrast to this general acceptance of right to belong to associations and advance interests through them, is the attitude of many employers and courts toward the right of producing workers to join trade unions for the purpose of advancing their economic, social and political interests through trade unions. Some not only do not concede the right of their employees to join unions and to conduct their business through union channels but cruel as it may seem they discharge them when they exercise such a right. The issue resolves itself into the right of the individual employee to select a delegate or counsel to make his work agreement instead of either foregoing his right to a contract or attempting by himself to negotiate a satisfactory agreement with his employer. Obviously the individual employee would be at a very great disadvantage in attempting to negotiate a contract. Rarely in these days is the employer the owner. The large employers are corporations, owned by hundreds of thousands, who hold stocks, and managed by a salaried group responsible to officials and directors usually chosen by large stockholders. Management is the employer. The employer would, of course, delegate his part to some representative, probably the employment bureau, which in the case of a large plant would be completely overwhelmed and unable to take care of its normal functions. Again there would probably be that delegation of a function which is denied workers.

Thus Labor is confronted with a situation in which one functional business group denies another the right to those same business methods which it itself is using and using to its strategic advantage, to force compliance with its will. This arbitrary attitude and denial of the common law right to contract puts employer-employee relations on a despotic basis and forces a conflict in situations.

Some more progressive industrial undertakings that are alert to make use of the best management policies, recognize the advantage of having an organized producing group to cooperate in reducing wastes in producing and turning out the highest quality of product at the lowest production costs. They realize there must be agreement upon objectives and unity of purpose throughout the plant organization in order to get the best results. Some such employers have the wisdom to utilize the union agency which wage earners have created for associated activity; others are afraid of the power of such organization and set up their own "employee" organization which they can control. This fear on the part of employers which dominates many industrial policies and methods, has its roots in great concern lest they lose arbitrary control over distribution of the returns from products produced by the joint efforts of all who man the plant.

Tradition and established practice make producing employees a lower paid group than other existing groups. Only those persons in a position to insist upon just and equitable work contracts have been able to participate commensurately in the increased return from production. Their interests are well taken care of; they have status in the industry; their employment and incomes are regular. Workers denied the right to use the agency that can take care of their interests have no status in the industry. They have low wages and as a rule irregular employment, insecurity of income. Low

wages mean these workers and their dependents can not lay aside savings to provide for the emergencies of life and that when unemployment comes, they must get credit from retail dealers or apply to charity.

Labor maintains that no industry has a right to employ producing workers that can not provide efficient management which can make profits, pay high salaries and wages. No industrial establishment has a right to pay excessively high salaries and bonuses to its executives and not provide securities and high annual incomes to all on its payroll. No industrial establishment has a right to employ men and women and utilize their life vigor, and then irresponsibly turn these employees adrift to get their living at the risk of the business world or at the expense of the general public. Many an establishment which turns its wage earners out to be supported by retailers or the public is declaring its usual dividends and has absolutely no claim to subventions of this nature.

The fear that rides industrial managements should not be permitted to deny wage earners their inherent rights as free citizens and their common law rights.

Nor is it enough to acknowledge the right of the wage earner to join his union, if he is denied the right to make effective use of organized channels and collective methods which the trade union affords. In our Southern organizing campaign some employers have inflicted the greatest cruelty upon employees who exercised their right to join a trade union. These union workmen have been arbitrarily dismissed; that is, their opportunity to earn a living was taken from them because they did what they had a legal right to do. To deny workmen the chance to earn a living because they wish to exercise their right to make progress is to limit the opportunities for constructive development.

Industries can not maintain prosperity unless there are buyers for their products. When industries increase output without at the same time increasing consumer buying power, they are taking a sure way to prepare for their own undoing.

Organization of wage earners is essential to orderly sustained progress. To make progress there must be definite plans for accomplishing these purposes. Planning must be controlled by a philosophy of what life is and what living can be. Through their organized channels, wage earners can control the development of their future, working in cooperation with the constructive organized groups with which they are associated.

By representing wage earners in negotiating work agreements, trade unions can bring to each separate problem informing experience in the whole industry—national and international. Union representatives who participate in such negotiations, have the advantage of familiarity with such procedure and with the issues and facts to be presented and considered. They can with expedition focus attention upon the important issues and thus help out industrial relations on a sound basis. Union representatives have that independence and that authority that are necessary for service as counsel for Labor.

When a contract under which work is to be done is negotiated jointly, Labor has a definite status in the industry. The foundation has been laid on which can be erected machinery for adjusting differences of opinion for the promotion of understanding and the creation of machinery for cooperation in solving the problems of work that arise daily, in finding the most efficient ways of doing the work and in creating good will for the undertaking and its products.

While common law assures Labor the right to make progress, neither common nor substantive law has kept pace with the spirit of the times not adjusted itself to the modern economic environment in which wage earners spend their work lives. Labor does not have the opportunity to exercise its rights. Our problem is to assure that opportunity to all. Opportunity lies in effective legal and economic right to organize and make use of union procedures.

Law must consider three fundamental factors: men, institutions, and environment.

The driving forces in human beings are unchanging. We simply call them different names in different periods. Institutions are the machinery through which society is carried on. They influence environment and change with environment. Interplay of forces, and cause and effect are fundamental facts in historic progress and should be fundamental consideration in formulating new laws and customs.

Each wage earner now has all the rights which any wage earner needed in the early nineteenth century, but neither substantive law nor its interpretation by the courts takes into account that the wage earner has real rights only as a member of an organized group of fellow wage earners. As the organization and environment of work have completely changed, the methods of exercising identical rights must change also. It is essential that equal opportunity be kept open to all citizens and all groups that condition prosperity.

In an age of associated endeavor prosperity does not lie in the dominance of a group but in sustained progress by all. Coordinated advancement for all is what Labor seeks to promote. We are just as opposed to control by the wealthy few as we are to a dictatorship of the proletariat. We propose intelligent cooperation through organized groups in furtherance of constructive principles. To assure Labor the right and the opportunity to follow this program legal and economic obstacles must be removed.

A major obstacle is abuse of the injunction in industrial disputes. We do not dispute the jurisdiction of equity because of its value as a protection against irreparable losses when there is no remedy at law. We object to abuse of procedure and misapplication of injunctions because of the court's misunderstanding of the rights of wage earners and their exercise under present economic organization and environment. We believe that the bill drafted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, would remedy many of the practices that have robbed us of opportunity to exercise our rights.

This draft measure would declare as public policy the right of wage earners to organize and exercise organization rights. It declares illegal contracts by which employers force employees to give up organization rights which are enumerated. It forbids injunctions restricting the exercise of organization rights. It prescribed procedure in issuing injunctions. It provides rules for injunction cases.

This legislation is needed to establish for wage earners collectively the rights they have as individuals and to give them an opportunity to make progress as an organized group.

We have made constructive injunction legislation the paramount issue in our legislative campaign. Favorable action upon our proposal is of fundamental importance to wage earners and to the general public, for it involves justice in daily work.

Legislation can provide the opportunity for organizing activities and for the strengthening of the trade union movement. General organization of wage earners

into trade unions will have a dynamic effect on national development. The serious problem that confronts us is how to stabilize prosperity.

Technical progress has enabled us to increase wealth at a faster rate than we have been able to work out methods for its equitable distribution. We have been producing larger outputs which have greatly increased the incomes of a minority. Here we have a primary error in our machinery for balance. Balanced or progressive equilibrium is essential to sustained progress. Mass purchasing power (largely incomes of wage earners) has not kept pace with mass production as is verified by the clues furnished in the following table:

	Per cent
Primary production.....	+2.5
Production of manufacturers goods.....	+4.0
Ton miles of freight carried.....	+4.0
Employment in factories.....	-0.7
Factory payrolls.....	+1.7
Per capita earnings, factory employees.....	+2.4
Wholesale prices, all commodities.....	-0.1
Wholesale prices, products of American farms in raw state.....	+1.2
Prices of commodities at the farm.....	+1.1
Wholesale prices, non-agricultural products.....	-1.8
Profits, industrial corporations (computed from data for the period 1923 to 1927.....)	+9.0
Dividend payments, industrial and miscellaneous corporations.....	+6.8
Prices, industrial stocks.....	+14.1

What has been lacking in our determining economic forces is adequate organization of wage earners for their advancement and the coordination of their progress with national progress. This injunction legislation will remove barriers that prevent wage earners from keeping pace.

Organizing Work—Purpose and plan are the way of progress. No individual can continue to get on in the world without purpose and plan. Individuals by themselves can accomplish only limited undertakings and our major purposes are achieved through associated efforts. This fact is important for wage earners who want to get on in the world. The individual wage earner can do very little about convincing management that his services are worth more than his wages indicate, or that better conditions of work and shorter work hours would make him a more efficient worker. But the experience and the views of wage earners can become a part of information upon which policies are determined, when wage earners develop the machinery whereby joint relations shall be opportunities for mutual progress. To get on in the world wage earners must pool their efforts and resources, the group helping the individual and the individual functioning through the group.

The first step in ordered progress is for the wage earners with common interests to organize their collective agency—their trade union—and to identify themselves with an industry-wide organization of unions—their national or international union organization.

Some form of labor organization has paralleled the development of industry. Because these organizations must function in industry, they have changed as major changes have taken place in industry. With the industrial revolution that brought the factory system came the trade union. Within the last twenty-five years there has been such rapid technical progress as to constitute virtually a second industrial revo-

lution. These changes have revolutionized living as well as work. Electrical power that can be transmitted at will, long distance piping of oil and gas, and the development of mechanical tools are rapidly removing additional work to factories and developing mass production methods for the making of an increasing number of products.

Mass production utilizes principles of standardization and the repetitive process. The product is standarized; machines are simplified and standarized to perform a single purpose, each machine turning out quantities of single parts. Special tools are designed for standarized operations. Workers operating these machines and tools contribute the skill of specialized labor. With this wide subdivision of labor there is continuous and coordinated flow of work through standarized departments. The final process in mass production is the assembly line or the place of fabrication.

Mass production is made possible by large orders which in turn depend on mass consumption. The economies from standarization make possible lower prices to customers, so that the article may be included in the standard of living of increasingly wider groups. Mass production is raising to a new level of significance the interrelation that exists between industries and component groups of industry.

Specializing of labor and machine tools make imperative that master planning that is the function of management. It is mainly the decisions of management that determine conditions under which work is performed and in many instances the compensation for work. To have even a hearing in the real government of industry wage earners must have opportunity to express their views and experience to management.

Wage earners have had to adjust to the many rapid changes which have been taking place in industry in the past quarter of a century. Industry has made its changes without regard for the interests of wage earners and without concern for their agencies for handling their affairs. The majority have been too short-sighted to realize the value of the cooperation of workers employed in their plants and the necessity for voluntary organization through cooperation could be made effective. They have ignored and even actively opposed the need of employees to organize. Because unionization has not been thought of as necessary component of production efficiency, it has lagged behind industrial progress and has not worked out its adaptations to mass production methods. As a result there are new industries and new fields where there is great need of intensive organizing work. The trade union movement has a service to give to workers and managements in these new fields.

Because of the difficulties attendant on organizing mass production industries and because of the necessity of adapting union technique to new situations, a survey should be made of these industries in order to disclose the facts and strategic situations necessary for formulating a constructive program. When this technical information is available, the Executive Council should be authorized to form an organizing committee to initiate organizing work in the fields selected.

Organizing Methods—To organize workers to function as a union in our intricate industrial organizations where the trend is toward the development of more scientific and efficient methods based upon the facts flowing from production and cost accounting systems, we need something much more convincing than recitals of wrong and personal attacks upon those responsible. We need organizers who can demonstrate that the union is a good business proposition for wage earners and employers jointly. We need representatives who know the facts and know how to present those facts in a con-

vincing manner. We need representatives who can gain good will for the cause and gain an opportunity for the union to function. We need organizers with endurance, vision and ingenuity.

Wise leadership will advance our cause where bluster and irresponsible talk destroy opportunities. Organizers however can only be leaders. The main burden of progress rests always upon local membership. The organizers must bring inspiration and vision that rouses the wage earners themselves to a determination to extend trade unionism that they all may get on in the world.

Getting on in the world is something more than success in increasing money incomes, necessary as that is to command service and wealth. Getting on in the world means opportunity for a fuller life and that highest opportunity—creative living. It is the idealism of the union that gives it endurance while its practical policies achieve practical results.

The progress of trade unionism owes much to our organizers—salaried and volunteer. We appreciate their devotion and their services. We count upon their services for the future. We need especially that zeal that spurs them to continuous preparation for their work and to study how to deal with new phases of industry and the changes into which the union must fit.

The work of the labor organizations holds opportunity for distinguished service to industry and to human progress.

Southern Campaign—In accord with the decision of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, a general organizing campaign was launched in the Southern states last January. As the industrialization of these states has been much slower than that of other sections, only since recent years has there been an increase of factory workers so as to make the situation urgent. There are in the South numbers of families living in the mountains and in agricultural regions that have not been able to make satisfactory progress. These persons constitute a supply of potential cheap labor which has been held out as an inducement to industrialists to move South. In addition, communities and even states have offered special bonuses, such as tax exemptions, free cities, roads, etc. As a result, Southern factories, founded on a cheap labor basis, were threatening to disorganize standards in the textile industry.

Unions of craftsmen, central labor unions, state federations of labor, constituted a good frame work of organizations to which needed to be added unions of factory workers.

To cope with the situation, a concentrated drive for unionization was held necessary. All national and international organizations were asked to join in this movement under Federation leadership.

A preliminary conference was held in Washington, D. C., November 14, 1929, to formulate plans. This conference adopted the following report:

"The social and industrial unrest manifested by the workers in the unorganized industries of the South can only be interpreted as an expression of a deep-seated desire to secure and enjoy higher wages, proper and humane conditions of employment and the exercise of economic, industrial and social freedom. The Southern worker has long been regarded by employers of labor as docile and submissive, satisfied if he received small compensation and susceptible to exploitation. This appraisement of Southern working people was very largely created through the invitations extended by so-called business and employers' organizations in the South to capital and industrialists outside the South to locate their mills and factories there. Many of the

invitations thus extended emphasized the docility of Southern workers, the opportunity to employ children, lack of legislation regulating the hours of employment of women in industry and the low wages which prevailed. These invitations could only be construed as a bid for outside capital to come South and exploit Southern labor.

"It is most extraordinary when groups of people residing in a section of our country invite capitalists to come into their respective communities and engage in the exploitation of their neighbors, their fellow-citizens and their unprotected labor. The natural and logical outcome of such representation is reflected in the construction of mill and industrial villages, employment of women and children at night, long hours of exacting service, the inauguration of cruel and inhuman 'stretch-out' systems and the domination, by the employers, of the religious, social and civic life of mill communities.

"Evidently the mill and industrial owners and those who invited them to come South did not take into account the sociological and psychological change which was bound to follow the industrialization of the South, the erection of the mill and industrial villages and the mass association of the Southern workers. Brought in touch with a new social and industrial order, the desire of Southern workers for the enjoyment of higher living standards and for the possession of those attributes which are inseparably associated with a higher standard of living became quickened and intensified. They had been transferred from their isolated homes in the mountains and small communities into a new environment where mass association and collective interest had been substituted for individualism.

"Discontent and dissatisfaction, aggravated by the imposition of the 'stretch-out' system in many places, caused strikes and disorder in a number of mills and factories. The area affected by industrial disturbances reached from Tennessee to South Carolina. State troops were ordered out in Elizabethton, Tenn., in several communities in North Carolina and in some places in South Carolina. Tragedy and loss of life occurred at Marion, N. C., and other places. It can all be regarded as a phase of the age-long struggle between exploiters and the exploited, between oppressors and the oppressed, between owners of mills and factories and their employees.

"The American Federation of Labor very quickly realized the seriousness of the situation and immediately appealed to the Senate of the United States to institute an investigation of the textile industry in the South and to make the result of such investigation public. By request of the American Federation of Labor a resolution was introduced in the United States Senate on April 29, 1929, providing for such investigation. Because of strong opposition from Southern mill owners and some Southern Senators, no action has, thus far, been taken. Since the introduction of the resolution men and women have been killed at Marion, N. C., and elsewhere. If the United States Senate had acted promptly and had undertaken the investigation requested by the American Federation of Labor the tragedy at Marion and elsewhere might have been averted and constructive steps might have been taken to allay the unrest and discontent which prevailed.

"Organized labor has been eager to be helpful in the distressing situation which developed in the South. We have been ready to do constructive work and to assist in the establishment of collective bargaining, cooperation and a collective relationship between employers and employees.

"Naturally the Southern workers, oppressed and exploited, have appealed to the American Federation of Labor and to National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for sympathy, assistance and support. They asked the organization having jurisdiction to organize them and to assist them in their hour of distress. The Trade Union movement would have been false to its ideals and to the humane principles upon which it has been built if it had failed to respond to their appeal.

"We have answered their call. We have helped them materially and morally. We are interested in their welfare and their happiness. We are striving for human betterment. We are ready to assist them further in their struggle for the establishment of better homes, better living conditions, for the exercise of the right to organize into trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and for a full and complete exercise of all their industrial, economic and political rights.

"Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have most generously contributed many millions of dollars to assist Southern working men and women to organize and to carry on strikes which were inaugurated for the purpose of securing higher wages and improved conditions of employment, and to resist encroachments upon the right of wage earners to organize and to engage in the normal activities of trade unionism. In continuation of this policy this conference of national and international officers, called by authority and direction of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, pledges its support, moral and material, to the Southern workers in their efforts to organize into trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and to secure higher wages, reasonable hours of work and proper conditions of employment. In conformity with this policy we recommend:

"1. That we call upon the Senate of the United States to adopt the Wheeler resolution providing for an investigation of the textile industry in the South. We believe that through an investigation such as provided for by the Wheeler resolution the causes of industrial unrest and social discontent can be ascertained and all the facts regarding working conditions, wages and hours of employment in the textile industry can be made public. With this information available and widely circulated public opinion will demand that justice be accorded Southern working men and women.

"2. That all National and International Unions pledge themselves to assign at least one organizer and as many additional organizers as possible to Southern States for the purpose of organizing those who come under their respective jurisdictions and for the purpose of giving special service to the United Textile Workers' organization. It is urged that National and International Unions advise the President of the American Federation of Labor of organizers assigned to this campaign within thirty days and that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a conference of such organizers at the earliest date thereafter.

"Under the autonomous authority conferred upon National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor each organization may determine its own policy regarding the assignment of organizers. However, because of the unusual interest in organization displayed by the workers of the South we recommend that a plan of cooperation be developed by the President of the American Federation of Labor so that organizers assigned by respective National and International Unions may coordinate their efforts under the supervision of the President of the American Federation of Labor. To carry out this campaign efficiently and effectively it is further recommended that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to consist of not more than three persons to assist him in the direction of this campaign and that he be further authorized to develop an adequate educational and publicity campaign and consider the establishing of headquarters in some southern city, place to be named by him later and this work be carried on within the financial means available.

"We call upon the State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies of Southern States to organize their forces, to put forth special efforts in cooperation with National and International Unions under the supervision of the President of the American Federation of Labor and to render all help possible in carrying forward the Southern organization campaign.

"4. That the officers of the American Federation of Labor issue an appeal to the membership of organized labor for financial contributions to assist the United Textile Workers' organization in its organizing campaign in the South and that the United Textile Workers' organization render a detailed and itemized report of moneys received and expended in this campaign to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who in turn is to furnish every affiliated National and International Union with copy of such an accounting.

"5. That we call upon the responsible and legal authorities of North Carolina to bring to justice those who are responsible for the loss of human life in different towns and places throughout the state."

Inaugurating the Campaign—A conference of organizers at Charlotte, North Carolina, on January 6, 1930, reviewed the work to be done in the South and launched

the campaign. Two hundred and twenty-nine delegates were present from southern unions; organizers representing 26 national or international organizations, seven state federations and central labor unions, and local workers from 95 different crafts, and 8 representatives for the Federation. Organizers and union leaders from all sections were present and discussed the problems to be met. President Green appointed a committee of three to take charge of the campaign: Paul J. Smith, Chairman, Organizer, American Federation of Labor; Francis Gorman (United Textile Workers), and W. C. Birthright (Tennessee Federation of Labor), and Southern headquarters were established at Birmingham, Alabama.

The Federation also retained a director of educational work, a director of publicity, and an industrial engineer to carry on activities in these three important fields.

President Green's Southern Tours—President Green has given much time and work to this campaign making two speaking tours and delivering addresses on other occasions. His addresses set the constructive aims and purposes of the campaign clearly before Southern workers, employers and the public. He met with wage earners, business men, university professors, addressing state legislatures, and reaching all important groups. The wide interest in these presentations of labor's cause and the far-reaching publicity they received, have advanced understanding of trade unionism and have made for greater sympathy for our work.

Birmingham Headquarters—The organizing committee opened headquarters in Birmingham. President Green assigned to work in cooperation with this committee a consulting engineer, a publicity man, and an educational director. In the course of this campaign the Federation has from time to time employed sixteen representatives in this field.

The United Textile Workers have had five organizers working in the Southern campaign; nine other organizers of internationals have been working under the Birmingham office and seven have cooperated in the campaign under the direction of their international offices, making a total of 21 field representatives in all in addition to the Federation organizers. Fourteen other internationals also have organizers in the field, working in different localities, making a total of fifty-one organizers in all, including those of the American Federation of Labor.

Up to September, 1930, 112 local unions had been organized in different crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and five central labor unions. The greater number are in South Carolina, where 21 locals were organized, and Alabama and Tennessee report a number of new locals.

This is a summary of the information gathered at Birmingham headquarters. In addition to our records, there have been organizers in the field working directly under their own organizations and not reporting to Birmingham. In this way many other organizations have benefited through this campaign.

The effects of our educational work are evidenced in larger trade union memberships, strengthened central labor unions and state federations of labor.

To establish trade union agreements satisfactory relations with employers are essential. In conjunction with organizing work therefore the Federation has employed a consulting engineer to approach employers throughout the South with an explanation of the constructive functions of trade union organization. Through a series of interviews, the principles of union-management cooperation have been explained, showing

how this plan may be adapted to the needs of Southern industry. Since much of the work has been done in the textile industry, the Naumkeag cooperative plan, in operation at the Naumkeag textile mills of Salem, Massachusetts, has been taken as an illustration.

A number of employers have expressed interest in union-management cooperation and willingness for their workers to join a trade union with these constructive ends in view. We feel that this emphasis on constructive trade unionism, and our offer to assist in securing cooperative agreements and establishing union-management co-operation, are an essential part of the Southern campaign.

An important part of the work has also been to educate the workers in the principles and methods of union-management cooperation. By explaining industrial problems and showing how wage earners may improve their conditions through cooperative action, we are laying the foundations for constructive unionism. It is essential that workers be prepared to enter at once into constructive union activity.

Education in trade unionism must of necessity be continued over a period of time. Intensive campaigns have therefore been planned to start educational work in a number of different localities. Labor chautauquas with educational meetings and classes to develop an understanding of trade unionism among wage earners and other members of the community, have been held in Danville, Virginia and Columbus, Georgia, and a series of educational campaigns is being systematically carried forward in other cities.

Special classes in public speaking have been particularly successful. Labor songs and plays dramatized the problems these workers are facing and helped to unite them in organization for betterment. Churches have been especially cooperative in this educational work.

Publicity plays a most important part in the campaign. The news we give to the press is essentially educational, keeping the constructive nature of the campaign constantly before the public mind and clarifying any issues which may arise during organizing activities. This educational work is essential in securing public understanding and sympathy.

The director of publicity has made contracts with newspapers and editors in different southern centers and keeps them constantly supplied with news of campaign progress. Publicity released from the Birmingham office has emphasized the fundamental human issues at stake in the organizing campaign and has been influential in keeping public attention centered on the basic human needs of workers to be met by trade union organization.

A. F. of L. Literature—A. F. of L. organizing leaflets and educational literature have been distributed at meetings, at mills and workshops and through the mails. The literature contains a reply blank, so that the local organizing committee may be put in touch immediately with those who are interested.

These leaflets have been of great influence in the campaign. They are simple and direct, with attractive covers and drawings to illustrate the ideas contained. Many have been prepared especially for the South, with discussion of local problems. They tell what a union is, how it functions and how it can help workers to meet their problems. Education through these pamphlets is helping Southern workers to grasp the fundamentals of trade unionism as they become members of their organizations. The written word, following the spoken word at meetings, provides a lasting reminder

which the workers can read and study at leisure, fixing in their minds the principles they have heard discussed.

Organizing literature, together with other educational work, is helping to develop a vital and lasting trade unionism based on understanding of the functions and methods of trade union activity.

Organizing Local Activities—With assistance from the American Federation of Labor and international unions, the groundwork of the campaign has been carried forward by local organizations. Experience proved that the best results were obtained by employing organizers who could give their full time to organizing work. State and local organizations made their efforts effective by securing additional finances to engage full time organizers. The Federation cooperated by employing temporary organizers, keeping several full time men in the field and sharing the expenses of some organizers employed by the local bodies.

State federations have been centers of organization. The following procedure has proved especially effective. The State Federation to inform itself of conditions in different parts of the state, including the economic and industrial situation, the attitude of the public in different cities, the condition of trade unions, to map out the campaign. The state to be divided into geographical divisions, with a vice-president or member of the executive committee in charge of each, and A. F. of L. organizers to assist in the district work. These members in charge then to make contact with central bodies and local unions, becoming thoroughly familiar with the situation in each town or city. Organizing committees then to be selected from each central body, augmented by a committee from each local union. These bodies to act as a steering committee for activities in their communities. Efforts then to be made to strengthen the weak locals by intensive campaigns, and mass meeting to be held to reach the unorganized.

Response of Southern Workers—Wage earners throughout the South have shown keen interest in the organizing campaign. Everywhere meetings have been crowded and halls filled. Numbers of names have been sent in on the coupons of organizing literature signifying interest and a desire to know more about trade unionism. It is evident that Southern workers are eager to improve their economic conditions and that they see in the trade union the constructive agency to help them. Not only have organizers met everywhere with a ready response, but new union members in the South have shown their sincerity, loyalty and courage by sticking to their unions even under the most adverse circumstances. Evictions, discriminations, layoffs for joining the union, hard times from depressed business conditions—these hardships have not been able to break their spirit or lessen their determination to win. The true spirit of trade unionism, which has carried our movement forward through struggle and sacrifice in the past, moves Southern workers to action today.

Program for the Coming Year—In view of the progress already made in the South, and the keen interest of southern workers in trade unionism, their courage, determination and loyalty as union members, we feel the southern campaign should be continued with increasing vigor. Southern workers are already increasing the strength and influence of the labor movement. It is our duty and responsibility to give these southern men and women the opportunity for betterment through trade unionism

which they so urgently desire. Our movement would not be true to the ideals of its founders if we do not now, with increasing effort, come to the aid of our fellow workers in the South and help them to develop constructive union activity and to win higher living standards, greater opportunity for themselves and their children, better and happier lives.

Organizing work this year has made a good beginning and laid the foundations for growth and progress. But unless concentrated effort is continued, a large part of this year's gains may be lost. New organizations need guidance and help in meeting their problems; thousands who are not yet members need to be educated in trade unionism. Continual urgent calls for organizers which could not be filled at the Birmingham office, indicate the need. While state federations and central and local unions have made every effort to supply organizers, they have not been able to fill all calls. Help from the Federation and international unions is still urgently needed.

The results of this organizing campaign are substantial and widespread. Interest has been aroused and understanding developed that are the materials for a constructive, effective labor movement. To realize on this year's investments in the South, we should continue the campaign with increased forces and resources during the coming year.

The industrial South is becoming steadily a more important factor in national and world markets. Standards of work and life must be raised for this section in order to protect and advance standards for all. It is essential therefore that the organization and influence of our movement be extended throughout the Southern states. We recommend therefore that the organizing work be continued and that all national and international unions be urged to avail themselves of this coordinated undertaking by sending organizers into the field and contributing to the joint campaign.

In order to get the greatest returns for all there should be a central clearing office, so that information may be available to help all unions to plan work to the best advantage. We urge that all unions participating in the campaign help to make our central clearing agency function effectively.

OLDER WORKERS

The problem of the older worker is not a new one, but under present day conditions it has become serious. In most families, it is necessary for adult member to make a contribution to the family income. In earlier periods, these contributions could take the form of work around the house, in the garden, sharing in household activities. The organization of the modern home has eliminated practically all of these activities and older people are forced to seek gainful employment outside the home.

Repeatedly reports come from these older workers that arbitrary hiring limits make it practically impossible for them to find employment, and their experience and abilities are not made useful. Although these reports are numerous, there is practically no dependable information as to the facts or scope of the problem.

Discussion has served a good purpose in making industry and the public conscious of this problem. The State of California has recently completed a study of the middle-aged and older in California which is a contribution to a study of this subject. General insistence on old age pension legislation by states, has raised the issue as to the age at which persons are eligible for pensions. Unless the age of renumerative employment can be raised, there will be insistent demands for lowering the age of eligibility.

The California study shows the following facts as to maximum hiring age limits:

1. Judging by the 2,808 confidential reports received from California employers regarding age limitation policies in hiring workers, it is evident that middle-aged and old workers in this State, as in other states in the Union, are confronted with a problem of unemployment caused by personnel policies which arbitrarily curtail the employment opportunities of persons past middle life.

2. Out of the 2,808 reporting establishments, 306, or 11 per cent, had maximum hiring age limits, and 2,502, or 89 per cent, did not have maximum hiring age limits.

3. The total number of employees on the pay rolls of the 2,808 reporting establishments, as of March, 1930, was 534,608. Of this total, 208, 936, or 39 per cent, were employed in the establishments having maximum hiring age limits, and 325,672, or 61 per cent, were employed in establishments not having maximum hiring age limits.

4. In other words, in the 11 per cent of the establishments having maximum hiring age limits were employed 39 per cent of the workers on the pay rolls of all establishments, and in the 89 per cent of the establishments not having maximum hiring age limits were employed only 61 per cent of the workers in all reporting establishments.

5. Nine per cent of all reporting manufacturing establishments, employing 18 per cent of the employees in such establishments, reported maximum hiring age limits.

6. Seventeen per cent of all reporting non-manufacturing establishments, employing 64 per cent of all employees in such establishments, reported maximum hiring age limits.

7. Twenty-eight per cent of all reporting public utility companies, employing 94 per cent of all employees in such establishments, reported maximum hiring age limits.

8. Thirteen per cent of all reporting mercantile establishments, employing 19 per cent of all employees in such establishments reported maximum hiring age limits.

9. Maximum hiring age limits are more frequently found in establishments having large numbers of employees. Thus, while among the establishments having maximum hiring age limits, 29 per cent had 250 employees, or more, among the establishments which did not have maximum hiring age limits, only 12 per cent had 250 employees, or more.

10. The average number of employees per establishment was 190 for all reporting establishments, 683 for establishments having maximum hiring age limits, and 130 for establishments not having maximum hiring age limits.

11. Fifty years was the maximum hiring age limit reported most frequently. Next to this age limit, 40 years, and 35 and 45 years, in order named, were reported most frequently.

Technological unemployment, business mergers, consolidations, industrial pension plans, prejudicial personnel policies, are among the causes for the existence of maximum hiring age limits. Group life insurance when associated with a pension plan also favored this practice.

The study includes testimony of California employers in behalf of the middle-aged workers as follows:

- (a) Mental and physical abilities are more important than age.
- (b) Middle-aged and older workers are more efficient and experienced.
- (c) Middle-aged and older workers are best fitted for certain jobs.
- (d) Middle-aged and older workers are steadier and reduce labor turn-over.
- (e) Middle-aged and older workers are less likely to injure themselves.

- (f) Lack of speed of middle-aged and older workers is offset by other qualifications.
- (g) Middle-aged and older workers have better judgment.
- (h) Middle-aged and older workers are more faithful and reliable.

The report suggests that gradual scales of contributions would prevent industrial pension plans and group insurance from acting as conditions unfavorable to older workers, and provides the basis for dealing with the problem of older workers constructively.

We recommend that all state federations of labor urge upon their state labor bureaus the necessity for making studies of older workers within their jurisdictions. Out of such studies would come additional material and constructive suggestions.

We also urge continuation of efforts to secure legislation in all states to provide old age pensions for persons needing relief.

SERVICE AND EDUCATIONAL WORK

American Federationist—Labor, like every other functional organization, needs a clearing center for information on its progress and its problems. This is the purpose of the *American Federationist*.

The *American Federationist* serves a distinctive function in furnishing a channel through which there may regularly be discussion of labor problems and policies which concern labor. While all wage earners are interested in these problems, it is not possible to furnish them with information through other channels, but in printed form in a publication procurable at a reasonable price, useful information is circulated throughout the whole body of our movement.

The *American Federationist* calls attention to constructive methods and achievements and by this emphasis seeks to focus thinking on the best methods. Under our democratic structure of organization, it is the group that must grapple with a problem that applies policies and methods. Unless past experience and judgment of other groups can be made available to these local groups, unnecessary mistakes and losses occur.

Information points the way to constructive policies.

The *American Federationist* has conformed to an editorial policy convinced of the value of fact finding, fact facing and fact using. It has tried to assemble significant facts of experience and facts for the purpose of measuring trends and progress. Such facts are the tools of unions which in turn are the business agencies of wage earners. We live in a society where the great majority of people are concerned with the problems of earning a living. These individuals must market their services. To get the best returns through marketing, persons must know how, when and where to negotiate their work agreements. Wherever special skills are needed, persons secure experts for each special service, and do not attempt to do the work themselves. Wage earners have applied the collective principle to their marketing problems and chosen delegates to look after their interests. These delegates need special information to help them with their responsibilities and the rank and file of trade unions need information by which to evaluate the achievements of their delegates.

The *American Federationist* has attempted to help meet such practical needs as well as interpret those fundamental principles and policies upon which all trade union activity must be squared. An understanding of the simple philosophy of trade unionism

is necessary for all unions in order to know direction and think their way through the complex problems and issues that daily confront them.

The *American Federationist* in addition is the source of information on official records and positions. The editorial columns of the president are widely quoted as indicating Labor's attitude on current issues. Out unemployment data are summarized and published monthly in the section devoted to economic statistics.

As we have been able to improve the magazine as a service agency, it has proved itself increasingly valuable as a business proposition.

At the close of this year, the magazine has as an asset commissions paid on more advertising than ever before in its history and consequently more available sources of revenue.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service—The Weekly News Service is maintained by the American Federation of Labor to assist the labor press. The labor press is an essential arm of the labor movement, regularly performing its educational work among the workers of a community.

Many a local labor paper is a power for progress by effectively preventing employers and the public from forgetting that wage earners and their families constitute 80 per cent of the purchasers of the community and with the small salaried group spend about 60 per cent of their total income. These papers constitute an equally important channel for presenting the views of unions on industrial problems they are trying to solve.

In addition to publishing local news and information these local labor papers should be a medium for bringing to local labor, national and international unions, news and information that would throw light on local problems or should be a background against which to determine local policies.

Most labor papers have neither the resources nor the equipment to secure material of this type for their columns. Since such material must be prepared with regard for the policies and need of the whole labor movement, responsibility for this information and publicity properly belongs to the American Federation of Labor. To meet this need and obligation, the Federation maintains the Weekly News Service—a clip sheet furnished to the labor press without charge. The clip sheet has each year performed an increasingly valuable service and is managed most economically.

The Weekly News Service makes available spot news of our conventions and prepares for the labor press a digest of our annual reports and convention proceedings, which are printed in a special edition of four pages. Copies are forwarded to officers of national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and locals directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Weekly News Service is a convenient medium for publicity in our campaign to secure injunction legislation and to defeat the nomination of reactionary judges.

We appreciate the importance of continuing this Service to the labor press both because we consider it an effective agency and because it is an acknowledgment of the faithful cooperation of these devoted editors of labor papers who serve our cause without commensurate money returns.

We express on behalf of the organized labor movement our appreciation of the service of those who have been instrumental in keeping our labor press clean and powerful for human welfare.

Monthly Survey of Business—To make progress, union activities must be timed so as to take advantage of the most opportune circumstances. If business is good and firms are making substantial earnings, a drive for higher wages may easily win success. But a strike at the wrong moment when business is depressed, may cost thousands of dollars and accomplish nothing. It is as necessary to know when to act as it is to know what to do.

To help union executives to keep closely in touch with business developments, we are publishing our Monthly Survey of Business. The Survey has a two-fold purpose. It gives last minute facts on the business situation, as it affects wage earners, discussing production, employment, workers' incomes, manufacturers' earnings and other current developments.

Secondly, it interprets the basic significance of present business developments in relation to our general welfare and progress. There is a close relationship between workers' welfare, business prosperity and our general social, intellectual and spiritual advance. The Survey gives current facts to illustrate this.

We feel that another important mission of the Survey is its presentation of these facts to groups outside the labor movement. It goes to economists, libraries, business organizations. A number of college professors are taking it to use in their classes on economics and business conditions. Some 3,000 copies are distributed monthly.

Unemployment Statistics—The past year has seen great progress in our unemployment reports, due largely to the splendid cooperation of local unions. The number of unions covered has grown from 930 in August, 1929, to more than 2,400 in August, 1930, and the membership covered has increased from 271,000 to 790,000.

We are also giving a further service to cooperating locals. Each month a brief survey of local business conditions and an interpretation of the local unemployment situation is sent out with the postcard questionnaire to every local in the 24 cooperating centers. From the interest shown in these reports we are convinced they are a valued service to local executives.

Our figures on unemployment receive wide publicity. They are given out each month in press releases and are carried by the leading papers and by hundreds of local papers in all parts of the country. Numbers of trade journals also quote them as authority on the employment situation. Through the present business depression, when unemployment has been such an important factor, the public has watched our figures with keenest interest. We have kept the problem constantly before the public mind, showing the immense number of persons affected and the critical effects of unemployment on the general economic welfare. This constant publicity and educational work are most influential in stimulating action, and urging efforts to stabilize employment and prevent layoffs.

Because of the wide and constructive influence of our figures on unemployment, we are now extending our reports to bring information on part time work. Part time work is an important phase of the unemployment problem though one on which there is practically no information. A preliminary survey on part time work in August brought replies from 198 cooperating unions in 12 cities, and covered 83,000 members. Fifteen per cent were on part time work.

The public has little realization of the importance of this problem of part time work or its wide extent. Thousands of wage earners have their incomes reduced each

year by part time employment. Our figures will show the need of action and give the necessary information for unionists and all others who want to work for constructive improvements.

Library—When we moved into the A. F. of L. Building we took advantage of the library facilities which had been prepared, and began collecting books and records in our library space. Up until that time the assembling of books and reports had not been systematized. As the work of the Federation was developing, there was need of having available the facts of past endeavors and achievements, and current economic statistics. Accordingly a librarian was put in charge of the work of developing this service.

Time has been required to collect sources of information and to make them available for use. The library now includes practically every book of importance in print in English on Labor and collateral subjects, as well as a large number of out-of-print labor books of great historical value.

The collection of current state and federal government publications dealing with Labor is fairly complete.

The file of current trade union literature includes available trade union convention proceedings and all the official American, Canadian, and English trade union journals.

We would like to urge upon all labor organizations to make a point of sending to Federation headquarters copies of their constitutions, all reports, publications and special studies, research material, organizing literature, wage agreements. Such historical records and current files of data showing the work of trade unions, constitute the materials which we can use as measuring rods of progress and which will serve research students who are increasingly interested in the development of labor institutions. During the past year our records were used by research students preparing thesis for doctor's degrees, by economists and historians writing books, by persons engaged in research work for new services and special inquiries. Increasingly Federation headquarters should become a research center for those studying labor problems.

Notes for Speakers—Busy trade unionists need a handbook of labor information. "Notes for Speakers" gives a brief outline of the important articles, information, statistical facts that are gathered by our office each month and published in our other publications.

Trade union members also want facts and arguments stated briefly and clearly, so they will be readily adapted to local needs. One of the chief services of "Notes for Speakers" is to keep union members in close touch with important sources of labor information. Every month this booklet brings them educational material that can be used in speeches, publicity, articles, and in union discussions.

"Notes for Speakers" came out in May, 1930, for the first time. So warm was its welcome that we now have a mailing list of some 16,000 who have asked to receive it monthly. Some of these are union executives, but it is gratifying to note that large numbers are being distributed to union members who have expressed their interest. A large group of younger trade unionists, keen and alert to inform themselves by studying labor literature, is essential for our future leadership. Trade union members must be developed into real trade unionists. The development is education in the purposes and methods of trade unionism. Study and knowledge of past experience

may help to avoid unnecessary mistakes. "Notes for Speakers" provides trade unionists with the necessary educational material they need to develop an understanding of trade union problems.

Organizing Literature—Training the unorganized wage earners in trade unionism is an educational task of prime significance. The millions who have never been union members have little conception of collective action or trade unionism. Their minds are open; they are eager for any agency which may help them to solve their economic problems. Consequently they are particularly susceptible to the false doctrines—they know nothing better.

Our organizing literature has been of the greatest importance in reaching these untaught wage earners. Our pamphlets show the constructive way out of their difficulties, explaining in the simplest terms what a union is, how it functions, how it can help them, how trade unionism differs from communism, what is meant by cooperation. All these facts are the beginning of trade union education. They are essential knowledge for working men and women who want to improve their conditions and have a constructive and lasting influence in deciding the problems which determine their lives.

Our organizing pamphlets have been widely used this year in organizing campaigns, especially in the South. They are given out at meetings, distributed through the mails, handed to companions at work, distributed at mill gates. They reach thousands who could not be reached by an organizer's visit. A message in printed form has special value, because it gives a chance to read, think over and study, the ideas presented. Hundreds of workers in the South who received our literature at meetings have written in for further information about trade unions. This was for them a sound beginning of trade union education.

Right education from the very beginning is essential. Experience has shown that a purely emotional appeal soon dies out, leaving no permanent structure to build on. On the contrary, thorough understanding of trade unionism based on reading and study of trade union principles and methods gives a foundation for lasting and loyal membership.

In the Southern campaign this year 619,200 leaflets were distributed. Workers' eagerness to get this literature shows a very live interest in trade unionism.

Legal Information Bureau—Since the last report upon the workings of this Bureau, it has concerned itself with the publishing of additional Legal Information Bulletins containing court decisions of interest to labor. Eight such Bulletins have been published, containing forty-seven decisions.

Of these, the more important ones were: *Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Co. vs. Stapleton*, 49 Supreme Court 442; *Gillmore vs. Edelstein*, 35 Fed. (2nd) 723; *Hunt vs. Bank Line*, 35 Fed. (2nd) 136; *Ruark vs. Engineers*, 136 Atlantic 797; *Nogueira vs. New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Co.*, 50 Supreme Court 303; *Bailey Iron Works vs. Span*, 50 Supreme Court 306; *Aeolian Company vs. Fischer*, 40 Fed. (2nd) 189; Opinion of the Justices, 171 North Eastern 234; and *Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company vs. Railway Clerks*, 50 Supreme Court 247.

A brief summary of these cases follows:

Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Co. vs. Stapleton—Stapleton, while between the ages of 15 and 16, was employed by the C. & O. Railway Company in Kentucky, as a section hand. While so employed he was run over by a train and permanently

injured. A Kentucky statute provided that no child under 16 should be employed upon any railway. Suit was brought against the railroad under the Federal Employers' Liability Act. The court instructed the jury that if it found from the evidence that the railroad employed the boy while under 16, and if while so employed the boy was injured, they should find for the boy. A verdict was obtained against the railroad and affirmed upon appeal. On a writ of certiorari, the United States Supreme Court reversed the judgment on the grounds that though the State had the power to forbid employment of child labor in respect to interstate commerce, so long as Congress had not acted upon the subject, a State statute could not make a violation of such legislation negligence *per se*, or negligence at all under the Federal Employers' Liability Act.

Gillmore vs. Edelstein—The Actors' Equity Union, by a resolution, required its members to secure employment only through agents having permits from the union. Disciplinary measures would be taken against members securing employment through other persons. In order to obtain a permit the personal representative was required to agree to embody certain terms in contracts with members of the union. One of the terms permitted the modification of any existing contract, the new terms being more favorable to the actors. The plaintiff refused to take out a permit and charged that the permit system would unlawfully interfere with and destroy his business. Upon application to the district court, an injunction pendente lite was issued. However, the Circuit Court of Appeals held that the primary object of the system was to benefit the members of the union and not to injure the plaintiff. It accordingly held that the injunction had been improvidently issued. Certiorari was denied by the United States Supreme Court, 50 Supreme Court 153.

Hunt vs. Bank Line—Hunt was injured through the negligent act of a third person while working as a stevedore for the Atlantic Coast Shipping Company. His injury was reported and he had been paid compensation in accordance with the provisions of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. He then requested his employer to bring suit for damages against the owner of the vessel, which the employer refused to do. Hunt claimed that he had a substantial interest in having such suit instituted and alleged that the employer would not institute the suit because its insurance carrier was also the carrier of the vessel. He then brought this libel against the steamship line which was dismissed on the ground that it did not state a cause of action. In affirming this dismissal, the Circuit Court of Appeals held that Hunt had no interest in the right of action as to permit him to compel such procedure.

Ruark vs. Engineers—In 1910, the hours of labor of workmen employed on behalf of the City of Baltimore were restricted to eight hours and by provisions of the same law, it was required that not less than the current rate of wages on the locality should be paid to mechanics and laborers. Extensive sewers and drains in various sections of the city were being installed and this bill of complaint alleged that the city through its engineer of sewers and eight other defendants were permitting and requiring workmen to work more than eight hours per day without there being any emergency arising in time of war or a necessity to protect thereby property or human life. The application for the injunction asked a restraining order forbidding the defendants from working any workman over eight hours. Demurrers were overruled, and the injunction was issued in the form of a prayer, except that the Chancellor added a provision suspending the operation of the injunction in cases of extraordinary emergency. Appeals

were taken and the major questions brought up were the constitutionality of the statute and the right of the plaintiffs for relief by way of injunction. The statute provided for fines for violation of the eight hour and current rate of wages laws. The court upheld the constitutionality of the act but ruled that the plaintiffs had no legal right to an injunction and that the defendants were under no legal liability to them, either at law or in equity.

Nogueira vs. N. Y., N. H. and H. R. R. Co.—Nogueira was employed by the railroad company in the handling of freight on a car float while on navigable waters. This action was brought in the District Court under the Federal Employers' Liability Act and the complaint was dismissed on the ground that the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act extended an exclusive remedy. This judgment was affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. Upon a writ of certiorari the United States Supreme Court held that a car float in navigable waters was subject to maritime law like any other vessel. To the argument that as an employee of the railroad, Nogueira would be entitled to different rights at different times, the court ruled that the application of federal laws where the employment fell within the federal jurisdiction was manifestly a matter within the discretion of Congress.

Bailey Iron Works vs. Span—An iron worker was injured while painting angle irons of the engine room of a steamship which had steamed to Philadelphia for repairs. The injured employee proceeded under the State Workmen's Compensation Act, where he was awarded compensation according to the statutory schedule. Upon appeal to the United States Supreme Court, it was there held that the repairing of a completed ship lying in navigable waters had direct and intimate connection with navigation and commerce and that, therefore, the course of action for the injuries was within the admiralty jurisdiction, and not in the state courts.

Aeolian Co. vs. Fischer—The plaintiffs were six corporations engaged in the manufacture and sale of organs. The factories of all except one are outside New York state. In the course of their business, the companies sell organs to theatres in New York City and as part of the sale agree to install them. Their businesses are conducted on a non-union basis. The defendants are local unions engaged in the installation, maintenance and repair of pipe organs in New York City. As a result of the attitude of the organ companies, the Organ Workers' Local Union persuaded various building trades unions engaged in work upon buildings where plaintiffs' employees were engaged in installing organs, to quit work, or to threaten to do so, and thereby the work of the plaintiffs was delayed or contracts cancelled. Injunctive relief was sought to prevent this interference. In the District Court, an injunction was refused and this refusal was affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. Upon a final hearing, the District Court again refused an injunction. Upon appeal, the decision of the District Court was reversed and the injunction allowed. This Court held that the installation of the organs was a necessary agreement of the manufacturer in selling them and it ruled that the work of installation was a part of interstate commerce. It was also held that the activities of the union in calling strikes and threatening to do so, on buildings in which organs were being installed by non-union men constituted an unlawful interference with interstate commerce and a violation of the anti-trust acts.

Opinion of the Justices—The House of Representatives of Massachusetts asked for an opinion from the Supreme Judicial Court as to the constitutionality of a proposed bill which would declare "yellow dog" contracts to be against public policy and void.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

In its opinion, the Supreme Judicial Court held that such a law, if enacted, would be in violation of the Constitution of the United States as well as that of the Commonwealth.

Texas and N. O. R. R. Co. vs. Railway Clerks—The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in 1925 asked for an increase in wages of the railway clerks employed by the Texas and New Orleans Railroad and after a denial of such application, the controversy was referred by the Brotherhood to the United States Board of Mediation. While the matter was pending before the Board, the railroad company organized a dual union and endeavored to intimidate members of the Brotherhood and to coerce them to withdraw from it and to join the dual union. Upon application, a temporary injunction against the railroad was granted, restraining the railroad from such interference. Thereafter, the railroad company recognized the dual union as the representatives of the clerical employees of the company. In contempt proceedings, the District Court decided that the company and certain of its officers had violated the injunction and had nullified it. In order to purge themselves of contempt, the railroad company and these officers were ordered to disestablish the dual union and to reinstate the Brotherhood as the representative of its clerical employees. On final hearing, the injunction was made permanent. A motion to vacate the order in the contempt proceedings was denied. The Circuit Court of Appeals confirmed the decree and held that the injunction was properly granted and that in imposing conditions for the purging of the defendants' contempt, the District Court had not gone beyond the appropriate exercise of its authority in providing for the restoration of the status quo. A writ of certiorari was granted by the United States Supreme Court. Here it was held that the Railway Labor Act of 1926 was not unconstitutional as to deprive the company of its rights under the First and Fifth Amendments of the Federal Constitution. It also held that the decree did not go beyond the proper enforcement of the Railway Labor Act.

In addition to publishing the Bulletins, the Bureau has also prepared for distribution a pamphlet entitled "What Can I Do About It?" This pamphlet is a primer on the injunction evil. Couched in simple, non-legal language, it explains the injunction, its effects and results and the manner in which trade unionists can be of assistance in curbing it. There has been a great demand for the pamphlet and it is expected that it will do much to arouse interest and enthusiasm in our anti-injunction legislation.

The legal information collected by the Bureau was put to legislative use during the year. During the debate of the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court bench, the Bureau prepared data and arguments explaining Labor's opposition to this appointment. Decisions were examined and excerpts sustaining our position were made available to Senators seeking information.

Its assistance was also given to the preparation of a federal bill calling for the payment of a current rate of wages on all government work. Other bills were also examined in order to ascertain their merit. Most valuable service can be rendered nationally and locally by accumulating information in experience with various laws as a basis for drafting additional legislation. Such a legislative reference service would make legislative activity more efficient.

While the Bureau benefits through the spirit of cooperation with our affiliated organizations, there still remains room for improvement. Accordingly, it is suggested that our national and international officers again advise and request their local unions

to forward promptly to the Bureau copies of all applications for injunctions against them, the orders granting, or rejecting them and the decisions thereon.

Our files of injunctions are growing rapidly but if the foregoing suggestion is acted upon and complied with by the local unions affected, they will grow much more rapidly and to this extent be of greater service and benefit.

Our files are at the service of all labor organizations, students and legislators.

Committee on Education—Owing to the necessity for concentrating the funds of the Federation on organizing work, it has not been possible to provide funds to defray the expenses of committee meetings. The committee feels it has accomplished something constructive in urging every central labor union to create a standing committee on education. Through these local committees the educational policies of Labor are being put into practice.

The National Advisory Committee on Education requested the Federation to delegate a representative to serve on that committee. Matthew Woll, chairman of our Committee on Education was appointed. The Advisory Committee was appointed by President Hoover to investigate policies pursued by the Federal Government and to present recommendations. The committee created a steering committee which held conferences with various groups especially concerned with education. The steering committee requested the Federation's Committee on Education to meet with them to present Labor's educational policies. This conference was held March 6, 1930.

The members of the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education for 1930 were Matthew Woll, Chairman; George W. Perkins, Charles L. Baine, Thomas Kennedy, John P. Frey, and Dr. Henry R. Linville.

Workers Education Bureau—The Workers Education Bureau made advances during the past year. The Workers Education Bureau held last October, in Worcester, Massachusetts, in cooperation with the local Central Body and the six State Federations of Labor, an industrial congress to consider the broad question of the industrial future of New England. To this three-day congress came over four hundred delegates from all of the more important labor organizations in the larger industrial centers in these six States. Representatives of management were also present. In addition, representatives of the state and federal government participated, together with a notable group of economists and technicians. William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, presided at the sessions. The press, both in the news and editorial columns, devoted generous space to this congress.

The congress provided for a continuation committee of representatives of the New England Federations of Labor, with Harry Russell, Field Representative of the Workers Education Bureau in New England, as Secretary, to carry forward a series of industrial conferences in the various trades in local sections. This has been done. Under Mr. Russell's leadership, with the cooperation of different local unions, conferences have been held in the railroad, textile and power industries with constructive results. A Power Conference has led in turn to the provisions for the establishment of a Joint Advisory Council for New England Light and Power Utilities similar to the joint advisory boards for shippers and the railroad management. Following a textile conference, furthermore, there has developed a request from a local textile

council for the preparation of a brief on the needs of the industry to be submitted to the Massachusetts Industrial Commission.

There have also been week-end conferences in industrial centers from Massachusetts to California on subjects ranging from Labor and electric power to immigration.

During the past summer there were a series of summer schools for workers in different parts of the country which were held in some cases on college or school campuses, and in others on special vacation grounds. Such schools were held in Arkansas, California, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Several new projects in the field of workers' education, were attempted during the past year that are worthy of reference in this report: In the city of Chicago, through the cooperation of the Superintendent of Schools, William T. Boylan, the facilities of the public schools were placed at the disposal of the Chicago Federation of Labor "to bring the public schools to the trade union leaders and through them to the men and women wage earners." Classes held in the public school buildings were conducted by instructors from the University of Chicago.

The plan of cooperation between the state federations of labor and the tax-supported universities, endorsed by the New Orleans Convention, has been carried forward. The Texas State Federation of Labor has completed arrangements for such a joint project with the University of Texas. Classes will begin in three centers this fall. In Oklahoma, the State Federation and the State University worked out a similar method of procedure, and classes have been held in two larger industrial communities. In Wyoming, the initial steps of such a cooperative plan have been taken. The State University of New Jersey—Rutgers University—has worked out a plan for the utilization of its plant by the State Federation of Labor for a Labor Institute in June of next year.

The bureau is considering plans for correspondence courses. Preliminary conferences have been held and it is hoped to initiate the first experiment with two national unions during the year. The American Association of Adult Education has given \$5,000 for this experiment.

The Workers Education Bureau Press has continued its publication program. Shortly after the two-volume report on Recent Economic Changes had been published, Mr. Edward Eyre Hunt, Secretary of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, prepared a summary entitled, "An Audit of America" which was published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company with the cooperation of the Bureau. The Bureau secured the services of Dr. Wilson Gee, Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Virginia, to prepare a column on "The Place of Agriculture in American Life."

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Despite the antagonistic attitude of the 71st Congress the American Federation of Labor succeeded in having a number of measures passed of interest to labor.

In the special session the time was given to farm legislation and the tariff. These questions occupied the attention of the regular session of the Senate for several months.

The outstanding victory of labor was the defeat of the confirmation of the appointment of Judge John J. Parker to be a member of the United States Supreme Court, mainly because of his decision upholding the "yellow dog" contract.

So far the 71st Congress has demonstrated that the Senate is more favorable to

remedial legislation than the House. The unemployment bills submitted by Senator Wagner were passed without change by the Senate. The House passed only one of these bills, that for the collection of statistics on employment, but failed to appropriate any money to carry out the provisions of the act.

Bills providing for forty-four hours a week for Federal employees were postponed to next session to permit an investigation of the effect of the change. The Senate, however, passed a bill for four hours on Saturdays in the navy yards and arsenals. Bills providing for the prevailing rate of wages on public works were pigeonholed by the Rules Committee of the House. A bill providing that contracts for public works should be awarded to the contractor who made the most advantageous bid instead of to the lowest bidder met the same fate.

While the Senate passed an immigration bill placing Mexico under the quota law the House Rules Committee refused to permit a vote upon it.

The injunctive relief measure which was endorsed and approved by the officers and delegates in attendance at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor was introduced in the Senate of the United States. This bill, with some modifications and amendments, was reported by a minority representation of the Senate Judiciary Committee for favorable action. It is understood that this measure will be acted upon by the members of the United States Senate on some date during the short session of Congress which meets on December First.

A very few men control the House. Unless the Speaker, the Chairman of the Rules Committee and the leader of the majority party consent, no legislation whatever can be voted upon by members of the House.

Labor succeeded in the following:

1. Defeating the confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker to be a member of the United States Supreme Court.
2. Directing the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect statistics of changes in employment. Public No. 537.
3. Liberalization of the Retirement Act. Public No. 279.
4. Wage increase for low paid Federal employees. Public No. 523.
5. Establishing hospital for defective delinquents. Public No. 201.
6. Providing for parole of prisoners. Public No. 202.
7. Regulating employment of Federal prisoners. Public No. 218.
8. Extending vocational education act. Public No. 317.
9. Providing free text books for high schools in District of Columbia. Public No. 41.
10. Appropriations for rural post roads. Public No. 90.

Conscription—During the last session of Congress the powerful Rules Committee of the House prepared and submitted a resolution providing for the appointment of a Commission authorized to study and consider the practicability and advisability of recommending an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would provide that private property, including material resources and money, might be preempted and utilized by Congress for public use without profit in case of war, this study to be supplemented by a study of policies to be pursued relating to the mobilization of the resources of the nation in the event of war.

This Resolution was approved by the House after it had been amended to provide

'That said Commission shall not consider and shall not report upon the conscription, of labor.'

The Resolution as thus amended was passed by the Senate and signed by the President of the United States.

This Resolution was passed as a substitute for the Universal Draft Bill which had been pending in the Congress of the United States for a period of years.

We will await with very great interest the report of the Commission authorized by this bill. The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in the subjects which are to be studied because it is clearly obvious that said subjects are related very closely to the welfare and happiness of the working people of the United States.

Immigration—Nearly two hundred bills were introduced in the special and regular sessions of the 71st Congress, most of them having for their purpose the breaking down of the immigration laws. The American Federation of Labor directed its efforts in a special way toward securing the enactment of a measure which would place Mexico under the quota law. The Senate passed a bill which was reported favorably by the House Immigration Committee providing for the admission of 1,900 Mexicans only into the country annually. The administration leaders in the House refused to permit it to come to a vote.

The House Immigration Committee held many executive sessions with friends of restricted immigration and sought in every way possible to construct a bill that would decrease immigration and at the same time be acceptable to the administration leaders.

A number of bills were introduced which provided for the admission of immigrants into the United States for the purpose of performing expert work. These bills were based upon the allegation that the character of work to be performed required special skill and training and that no workers residing in the United States were qualified by training, skill and experience to properly perform the work.

These measures did not meet with success. They failed to meet with the favor of the committee or were defeated when presented for a vote.

Bills were also introduced in both houses which provided that persons "being trained and skilled in a particular art, craft, technique, business, or science, or in agriculture" needed by bona fide employers, should be given preference under the provisions of the quota law. These proposals met with vigorous opposition. An amendment was submitted when the bill was pending in the Senate of the United States which provided that only two should be admitted in each case and then only for executive, administrative or supervisory positions. The House Immigration Committee rejected this provision and instead presented another amendment (H. R. 13110) which provided for the regulation of immigration for the year beginning July 1, 1930, and which contains this clause:

"In no case shall an immigration visa be issued unless it is shown to the consular officer to whom application for such visa is made that the admission of the applicant into the United States would not be detrimental to employment conditions in this country."

Representatives of the Department of Labor contend that under this provision it would be possible to select immigrants that would be admitted into the United States and that in many cases it would be impossible to fill the quota. The provision

does not apply to non-quota immigrants. The bill further provides that nothing in the act shall be construed as a modification in any manner whatsoever of the alien contract labor law. In all probability this bill will be pressed for final passage at the next session of Congress.

There are a number of people friendly to restrictive immigration legislation, some of them connected with governmental departments, who have expressed themselves as favorable to the enactment of a law that would permit citizens of foreign countries to reside in the United States for the purpose of establishing new industries and to bring employees to work in these new industries when it is alleged persons who are qualified to perform the class of work required can not be obtained here.

In connection with this matter we are reminded of the fact that an alien contract labor law is in effect which provides:

"That skilled labor, if otherwise admissible, may be imported *if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country*, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Labor upon the application of any person interested, such application to be made before such importation; and such determination by the Secretary of Labor to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case."

The Executive Council is of the opinion that there has been a tendency to interpret this law altogether too broadly. As a result, instances have been brought to our attention where workers have been admitted under the provisions of this act when an investigation disclosed that there was an available supply of workers already residing in the United States as American citizens qualified and capable of doing the work required. When these cases were brought to the attention of the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor protests were filed with the Immigration Department and an investigation demanded.

We are constantly on the alert in an effort to prevent the unnecessary admission of a special class of labor under the provisions of the alien contract labor law as a result of an altogether too broad interpretation of the provisions of the act.

Professional singers and artists, including musicians, are exempted from the provisions of the alien contract labor law. A measure was introduced and favorably reported to the House which would have extended the protection of the alien contract labor law to the musicians and artists of the United States, but notwithstanding the appeal of this group the bill failed of passage.

Selective immigration will be an outstanding issue during the next session of Congress. Because of its importance, the provisions of any bill providing for selective immigration introduced and considered in the Congress of the United States must be closely studied and carefully examined. The selective immigration measure contains a clause within it which provides that the president shall be clothed with power and authority to control the number of immigrants admitted annually.

The agitation which has been carried on during the past two years in favor of restrictive Mexican immigration seems to have influenced the State Department in favor of a more vigorous enforcement of existing immigration legislation. As a result Mexican immigration has been reduced from an average of 56,000 a year to approximately 12,000. The Executive Council urges the State Department to continue its policy of rigorous enforcement of the immigration law so that this class of immigration may be reduced to the minimum requirements under existing statutes.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that when an employer desires to establish a new industry in the United States which would not compete with any other industry, he should be permitted to secure employees under the preference clause in the quota law. All actions connected with this matter should be in accordance with the strict requirements of the Immigration Act. No employer should be permitted to secure the admission of aliens to perform labor when there is an abundance of labor in the United States equipped and ready to perform the work required, and furthermore in accordance with the literal legal provisions of the immigration statute.

Unemployment—Notwithstanding the acute unemployment existing throughout the United States, the United States Congress failed to pass two measures dealing directly with this subject. Senator Wagner introduced three unemployment bills which passed the Senate without any particular opposition. S. 3059 provided for advance planning of public improvements, and \$150,000,000 was to be appropriated and thus made available for immediate use when unemployment became acute. The House passed this bill after emasculating its principal features. It is now in conference. S. 3060 providing for the establishment of a national employment system and for cooperation of the states in the promotion of such a system, failed of passage in the House. S. 3061 is the only bill that became a law. It provided that the Bureau of Labor Statistics shall publish at least once each month changes in the employment.

Prevailing Rate of Wages—Several bills were introduced in the House to bring about the payment of the prevailing rate of wages on public works and buildings of the United States. The House Labor Committee reported a bill providing that wages should be based on "agreements between employees and employers who are members of labor organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor." Immediately after the report was made by the Labor Committee intense opposition arose from every organization of employers as well as those who invariably fight every bill advocated by labor. The Rules Committee refused to grant a rule to vote on the measure and it therefore failed of passage in the House.

Building Contracts—The bill providing that Government contracts should be awarded those contractors who submitted bids considered as most advantageous and satisfactory to the Government, was supported but was not brought to a vote. The present law provides that contracts should be awarded to the lowest "responsible" bidder. A "responsible" bidder is one who can give a bond. Any contractor who secures a Government contract has no difficulty in securing a bond. This permits contractors who employ handy men at very low wages to erect some of the most important structures erected for the Government.

Longshoremen's Compensation Law—Efforts were made to amend the Longshoremen's compensation law. President Joseph P. Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association urged its passage. Chairman Graham of the House Judiciary Committee, however, refused to permit a favorable report on the bill. The amendments proposed were approved by the United States Employees Compensation Commission.

Panama Retirement Bill—The retirement bill for the employees of the Canal Zone was introduced. Hearings were held by a subcommittee and a favorable report made to the House but no action was taken.

Post Office Laborers—A subcommittee of the Post Office Committee voted to report an increase of \$50 a year for post office and railway mail laborers, watchmen and messengers. The Chairman of the subcommittee explained the reason he did not report to the full committee. He said that it would interfere with the President's economy plans. While the \$50 increase is entirely inadequate, it is hoped that some relief can be gained in the next session.

Border Patrol—Bills were introduced providing for the unification of the immigration, customs and prohibition patrols on the Canadian and Mexican borders. It was first proposed that the Coast Guard patrol the borders but this aroused so much commotion that the plan was dropped. At the same time the proposed amalgamation of the border patrols will be under the control of the Assistant Secretary having supervision of the Coast Guard. The American Federation of Labor opposed the bill on the ground that immigration enforcement would be sacrificed to prohibition enforcement. Apparently there has always been friction between the customs and immigration patrols. The proposal to take the immigration patrol out of the Department of Labor and place it in the Treasury Department is objectionable. If in the past the customs and immigration patrols have found it difficult to work in harmony it is reasonable to conclude that these difficulties would increase if the control of immigration was placed in the Treasury Department. The Executive Council will make strong protestations to the Senate Committee handling the bill in the regular session in December.

Maternity and Infancy—The maternity and infancy act came to an end June 30, 1929. Before that time, however bills were introduced to extend the life of the law. In December, 1929, President Hoover made a recommendation that the maternity and infancy act be restored but that part of its provisions come under the control and supervision of the Public Health Service. Bills to that effect were reported in February, 1930, but there was such opposition that nothing was done. It was contended that maternity and infancy laws should be administered by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This contention became so controversial that action on the measure was postponed until the next session.

Shorter Saturday Workday—Four bills were introduced in Congress providing that four hours should constitute a day's work on Saturday for Federal employees. The bill providing that mechanics and unskilled workers should have the shorter workday passed the Senate but was held up in the House in order that investigation could be made of the costs to the Government of the change.

According to the chairman of the subcommittee handling the Postal Employees shorter workday, it will be passed in December. The general impression is that Congress will enact a law providing for the application of the shorter workday to practically all Federal employees in the coming session.

Federal Prisons—Several laws were enacted providing for a reform in Federal prison methods. Amendments were made at the request of the American Federation of Labor to prohibit any Federal convict working on any article sold on the open market while incarcerated either in a federal or state penal institution. These laws embody within their provisions the policy of the American Federation of Labor that there shall be no sale of prison made goods from one state to another or to the Federal Government or from the Federal Government to any of the states.

Retirement—After months of controversy Congress passed a liberalized retirement bill for Federal employees which was approved by the President. It increased the maximum annuity from \$1,000 to \$1,200 per year. There were other beneficial features made to the retirement act regarding ages and time of retirement.

Coal—H. R. 12061 to prohibit importation of anthracite coal from Russia was not acted upon by the Ways and Means Committee. It was said that an investigation was in progress by the Government that would be reported to the next session of Congress.

Good Roads—Congress appropriated \$250,000,000 to build good roads. While the expenditure of this money will not solve the problem of unemployment it is helpful in relieving distress. Unfortunately some road contractors have sought to employ men at indefensibly low wages. This aroused such a protest in Indiana as to cause the Indiana Highway Commission to declare by resolution that contractors on state road construction who "pay their employees less than a living wage are not worthy of receiving contracts for public work." Bids are submitted with the understanding that 50 cents an hour would be paid. The difference between the figure and the amount paid is additional profit to the contractor.

The Indiana Commission approved of a suggestion to employ farmers, who had suffered from the effect of the recent drought, on state road projects. In all estimates of contracts, it is said, wages are included for all employees, and the Commission declared it did not consider a contractor worthy of receiving a contract for public work who does not keep up the standard of wages. The Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor unsuccessfully protested against the 25 and 30 cents an hour paid by contractors for road building. The matter was taken up with the Agriculture Department, but it was said that the Government had no power in the premises to bring about a change; that it was all within the power and authority of the states, whose officials entered into all road contracts.

Officials of the State Federations of Labor are urged to enter protests whenever it is found that inadequate wages are being paid or the employee forced to work more than eight hours a day on road construction.

Safety Bureau—The Labor Committee of the House reported favorably a bill to establish a safety bureau in the Department of Labor. The bureau would collect information that would be of value in preventing accidents. All safety devices would be made known to the manufacturers throughout the country and as fast as new inventions developed they would also be made public. The opposition appears to emanate from those who are agitating for a national museum to contain samples of machinery and transportation equipment. The Executive Council does not see where the safety bureau in the Department of Labor would interfere with the proposed national museum and, therefore, will continue to advocate the measure before Congress.

Equal Rights—A number of women who are associated with an organization called the Women's Party have announced that they intend to press for passage the "equal rights" amendment to the Constitution of the United States during the next session of Congress. The most important part of their program is the repeal of all laws that protect women in industry. They do not believe in limiting the hours of work, the

abolition of night work or a minimum scale of wages for women workers. Should such an amendment be ratified it would mean that Congress would have complete control over all legislation for working women. The states could not legislate in any way to protect them. It is doubted that the agitation will succeed. A number of Congressmen have expressed themselves as emphatically against the amendment, saying it is a preposterous proposition. There are a large number of labor organizations composed of women and every one of them has condemned the proposed "equal rights" amendment. The American Federation of Labor will continue as in the past to oppose this most objectionable amendment.

Free Text Books—For many years free text books have been furnished pupils in the Washington elementary and junior high schools. Congress in this last session extended the law to cover public senior high schools which will be supplied free with text books and other necessary educational works and supplies.

Gag Law for Teachers—The Washington Board of Education issued an order that school teachers should not appear before Congressional Committees unless they had the sanction of the board or that members of such committees had invited them to appear. This caused Senator Blaine who introduced S. 4588 to protect the school teachers of the District of Columbia against this reactionary policy of the school board. Charges had been made against several teachers but after the introduction of the Blaine bill the matter was not pressed. The Board, however, later intimated that the teachers would be obliged to comply with the ruling in the future.

Vocational Education and Rehabilitation—The vocational education and rehabilitation act was extended by Congress. This has proved to be one of the most beneficial laws ever enacted as it has made assets out of thousands of injured persons who would have been liabilities on the state.

"Lame Ducks"—The joint resolution which passed the Senate several times providing that the President should be inaugurated in January after his election instead of waiting for March and that Congress shall meet in January failed of passage again in the House of Representatives. Support for this change is growing and it is believed that the resolution will pass Congress in the not distant future.

ANTI-INJUNCTION LEGISLATION

After more than two years of earnest efforts a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate prepared an anti-injunction bill which if enacted into law will provide a large measure of protection for the wage earners of the United States. It is understood that the bill will be considered in December when Congress convenes. The subcommittee in making its report had this to say:

"Thus far there is no disagreement in the committee. In other words, the entire committee agreed to the foregoing substitute bill. The disagreement has come upon motion to report the bill after being thus amended."

This statement is most encouraging. The bill is a substitute for Senate bill 2497 and was prepared after extensive hearings and many conferences between Senators and prominent legal talent from various parts of the country.

The Executive Council has great hopes of the passage of the bill. But it will require

aggressive action on the part of the entire labor movement to secure its enactment. The substitute bill is as follows:

That no court of the United States, as herein defined, shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except in strict conformity with the provisions of this act; nor shall any such restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction be issued contrary to the public policy declared in this act.

SEC. 2. In the interpretation of this act and in determining the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States, as such jurisdiction and authority are herein defined and limited, the public policy of the United States is hereby declared as follows:

Whereas under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association, the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment, wherefore it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; therefore, the following definitions of, and limitations upon, the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States are hereby enacted.

SEC. 3. Any undertaking or promise, such as is described in this section, or any other undertaking or promise in conflict with the public policy declared in section 2 of this act, is hereby declared to be contrary to the public policy of the United States, shall not be enforceable and shall not afford any basis for the granting of legal or equitable relief by any court of the United States, including specifically the following:

Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, express or implied, constituting or contained in any contract or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation and any employee or prospective employee of the same, whereby—

(a) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization; or

(b) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from an employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, or remains a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization.

SEC. 4. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in cases involving or growing out of any labor dispute to prohibit any person or persons participating or interested in such dispute (as these terms are herein defined) from doing, whether singly or in concert, any of the following acts:

(a) Ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment;

(b) Becoming or remaining a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in section 3 of this act;

(c) Paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person participating or interested in such labor dispute any strike or unemployment benefits or insurance or other moneys or things of value;

(d) By all lawful means aiding any person participating or interested in any labor dispute who is being proceeded against in, or is prosecuting, any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any State;

(e) Giving publicity to the existence of, or the facts involved in, any labor dispute;

(f) Assembling peaceably to act or to organize to act in promotion of their interests in a labor dispute;

(g) Advising or notifying any person of an intention to do any of the acts heretofore specified;

(h) Agreeing with other persons to do or not to do any of the acts heretofore specified; and

(i) Advising, urging, or inducing without threat, fraud, or violence the acts heretofore specified, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in section 3 of this act.

SEC. 5. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction upon the ground that any of the persons participating or interested in a labor dispute constitute or are engaged in an unlawful combination or conspiracy because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated in section 4 of this act.

SEC. 6. No officer or member of any association or organization, and no association or organization participating or interested in a labor dispute, shall be held responsible or liable in any court of the United States for the unlawful acts of individual officers, members, or agents, except upon clear proof of actual participation in, or actual authorization of, such acts, or of ratification of such acts after actual knowledge thereof.

SEC. 7. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, as herein defined, except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court (with opportunity for cross-examination) in support of the allegations of a complaint made under oath, and testimony in opposition thereto, if offered, and except after findings of fact by the court, to the effect—

(a) That unlawful acts have been threatened or committed and will be executed or continued unless restrained;

(b) That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow;

(c) That as to each item of relief granted greater injury will be inflicted upon complainant by the denial of relief than will be inflicted upon defendants by the granting of relief;

(d) That complainant has no adequate remedy at law; and

(e) That the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainants property have failed or are unable to furnish adequate protection.

Such hearing shall be held after due and personal notice thereof had been given, in such manner as the court shall direct, to all known persons against whom relief is sought, and also to those public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property: *Provided, however,* That if a complainant shall also allege that, unless a temporary restraining order shall be issued without notice, a substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will be unavoidable, such a temporary restraining order may be issued upon testimony under oath, sufficient, if sustained, to justify the court in issuing a temporary injunction upon a hearing after notice. Such a temporary restraining order shall be effective for no longer than five days, and shall become void at the expiration of said five days. No temporary restraining order or temporary injunction shall be issued except on condition that complainant shall first file an undertaking with adequate security sufficient to recompense those enjoined for any loss, expense, or damage caused by the improvident or erroneous issuance of such order or injunction, including all reasonable costs (together with a reasonable attorney's fee) and expense of defense against the order or against the granting of any injunctive relief sought in the same proceeding and subsequently denied by the court.

The undertaking herein mentioned shall be understood to signify an agreement entered into by the complainant and the surety upon which a decree may be rendered in the same suit or proceeding against said complainant and surety, the said complainant and surety submitting themselves to the jurisdiction of the court for that purpose. But nothing herein contained shall deprive any party having a claim or cause of action under or upon such undertaking from electing to pursue his ordinary remedy by suit at law or in equity.

SEC. 8. No restraining order or injunctive relief shall be granted to any complainant who has failed to comply with any obligation imposed by law which is involved in the labor disputing question, or who has failed to make every reasonable effort

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

to settle such dispute either by negotiation or with the aid of any available governmental machinery of mediation or voluntary arbitration, but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to require the court to await the action of any such tribunal if irreparable injury is threatened.

SEC. 9. No restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction shall be granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except on the basis of findings of fact made and filed by the court in the record of the case prior to the issuance of such restraining order or injunction; and every restraining order or injunction granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute shall include only a prohibition on such specific act or acts as may be expressly complained of in the bill of complaint or petition filed in such case and as shall be expressly included in said findings of fact made and filed by the court as provided herein.

SEC. 10. Whenever any court of the United States shall issue or deny any temporary injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, the court shall, upon the request of any party to the proceedings, and on his filing the usual bond for costs, forthwith certify the entire record of the case, including a transcript of the evidence taken, to the circuit court of appeals for its review. Upon the filing of such record in the circuit court of appeals, the appeal shall be heard with the greatest possible expedition, giving the proceeding precedence over all other matters except older matters of the same character.

SEC. 11. In all cases where a person shall be charged with indirect criminal contempt for violation of a restraining order or injunction issued by a court of the United States (as herein defined), the accused shall enjoy, upon demand, the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed: *Provided*, That this requirement shall not be construed to apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice or to apply to the misbehavior, misconduct, or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to the writs, orders, or process of the court.

SEC. 12. The defendant in any proceeding for contempt of court is authorized to file with the court a demand for the retirement of the judge sitting in the proceeding, if the contempt arises from an attack upon the character or conduct of such judge and if the attack occurred otherwise than in open court. Upon the filing of any such demand the judge shall thereupon proceed no further, but another judge shall be designated in the same manner as provided in case of the approval of an affidavit of personal bias or prejudice under section 21 of the Judicial Code. The demand shall be filed prior to the hearing in the contempt proceeding.

SEC. 13. When used in this act, and for the purposes of this act—

(a) A case shall be held to involve or to grow out of a labor dispute when the case involves persons who are engaged in the same industry, trade, craft, or occupation; or who are employees of the same employer; or who are members of the same or an affiliated organization of employers or employees; whether such dispute is (1) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; (2) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employers or associations of employers; or (3) between one or more employees or associations of employees and one or more employees or associations of employees; or when the case involves any conflicting or competing interests in a "labor dispute" (as hereinafter defined) of "persons participating or interested" therein (as hereinafter defined).

(b) A person or association shall be held to be a person participating or interested in a labor dispute if relief is sought against him or it and if he or it is engaged in the same industry, trade, craft, or occupation in which such dispute occurs, or is a member, officer, or agent of any association of employers or employees engaged in such industry, trade, craft, or occupation.

(c) The term "labor dispute" includes any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, or concerning employment relations, or any other controversy arising out of the respective interests of employer and employee, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee.

(d) The term "court of the United States" means any court of the United States whose jurisdiction has been or may be conferred or defined or limited by act of Congress, including the courts of the District of Columbia.

SEC. 14. If any provision of this act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the act and the application of such provisions to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 15. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

No legislation means so much to the labor movement of the United States. Every international and national union, state federation of labor, city central body and local union would be benefited by this anti-injunction legislation. It would give labor the same protection as is given now to organizations of employers.

For the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor we have submitted to every candidate for Congress a questionnaire as follows:

"Will you support the anti-injunction bill introduced by members of the Senate Judiciary Committee and recommended in the minority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee?"

These questionnaires were submitted to the candidates through the officials of the State Federations of Labor. When this report was written it was too early to determine the result of the questionnaire. The Executive Council, however, believes that every member of organized labor should take an interest in this legislation and do whatever they can to secure its enactment into law.

Candidates for Congress who decline to support the measure should be defeated. Those who agree to support anti-injunction legislation provided in the Senate bill should be elected. The issue is now before the wage earners. Let us not say after the elections that we have been false to our cause.

CONVICT LABOR

Although little more than a year has passed since the Hawes-Cooper convict labor act became a law the governors of many states have accepted its provisions and State Legislatures are enacting legislation which will make vital and effective the provisions of the law.

The Hawes-Cooper act does not go into effect until January 19, 1934, and at that time it is expected that the majority of the states will have adopted the state-use system in the employment of convicts and will also prohibit the importation within their states of convict made goods from other states. Among the most bitter opponents of the Hawes-Cooper bill was the Governor of Missouri, who sent a delegation of officials to Washington to protest against the legislation, but after a year's study of its provisions he has changed his attitude. He communicated with the governors of all the states asking for opinions of the law.

At the Governors' conference in Salt Lake City in July, the Governor quoted some of the answers he had received. The great majority of the answers regarded the law in a philosophical way and stated they were endeavoring to meet the conditions that will come when the law goes into effect. Governor Caulfield said:

"It would seem evident then that each state as a protective measure must bar from its market the prison made goods of other states and to avoid an unconstitutional discrimination must withdraw its own prison made goods from its own open market.

. . . The state-use system seems to offer the greatest possibilities for stabilizing

the present employment situation. My inquiries reveal that most of the states will turn to that system in preparation for the Hawes-Cooper act."

He also said

"The state-use system will no doubt result in greater diversification and this will give better training to the prisoners for life."

Only two governors suggested that the law was unconstitutional, but a careful reading of the minutes of the conference shows that the governors of most of the states have accepted the law as constitutional and will seek to introduce the state-use system and the prohibition of convict made goods manufactured in other states being sold on their open markets.

The Hawes-Cooper act is an enabling act. It gives the states the power to forbid the transportation within their respective borders of convict made goods from other states. The New York legislature passed a bill in the last session and it was signed by the governor prohibiting the importation of convict made goods into that state after January 19, 1934. The working people of New Jersey and Ohio, which have the state-use system, will endeavor to have the same law enacted next winter.

We urge state federations of labor in states where the state-use system is not in force to have bills introduced in the legislatures to introduce the state-use system and also to prohibit the importation into the states of convict made goods from other states.

In states where the state-use system is in effect, bills should be introduced to prohibit the transportation into the states of convict made goods from other states. Some thirty-eight legislatures meet next winter and the work should begin immediately.

Foreign Convict Labor Products—The House refused to amend Section 307 of the tariff act so that not only manufactured goods but all that are mined and produced by convicts should not be entitled to enter at any port in the United States. When the bill reached the Senate representatives of the American Federation of Labor took the matter up with the Senate Finance Committee and the words "mined and produced" were inserted in the Section. When the bill reached the Senate floor another amendment was inserted which would also prohibit the entry of such articles as were mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part by "forced or indentured labor under penal sanctions."

Still another amendment was made which postponed the taking into effect of the forced or indentured labor provisions until January 1, 1932. When the bill reached the conference committee this further amendment was made:

"But in no case shall such provisions be applicable to goods, wares, articles, or merchandise so mined, produced or manufactured which are not mined, produced, or manufactured in such quantities in the United States as to meet the consumptive demands of the United States."

This exemption would apply to rubber and certain other articles not produced in the United States, but would prohibit lumber, coal and manganese from entry if produced by forced or indentured labor.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has aggressively entered the campaign for the election of members of Congress feeling assured that it will meet with a large measure of success. It is particularly noticeable and gratifying

that the officers and members of the rank and file of the trade union movement are earnestly aiding in the election of friends of the people.

The Executive Council has been exceedingly active in placing before the members of organized labor and their sympathetic friends the records of those Senators who voted for the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker as a Justice of the Supreme Court. The dangers of the "yellow dog" contract are known to every worker in our land and thus the issue has been raised with every candidate for the United States Senate. Copies of the Minority Substitute bill submitted to the United States Senate by a minority of the Judiciary Committee have been sent to all of the officers of the respective State Federations of Labor with a request that they submit the questionnaire to all candidates for Congress in their respective states. The legislative record on measures of interest to labor of every member of Congress has been sent into the various states and congressional districts to all organizations of labor.

After the last convention the Executive Council immediately began an investigation of the prospects of electing forward-looking candidates for Congress. April 2, President Green and Secretary Morrison sent a circular letter by direction of the Executive Council to all organized labor in the United States urging them to be active in the campaign. The circular contained the action of the 1929 convention and set forth labor's wishes as to the anti-injunction bill and other issues. The circular with the exception of the action of the 1929 convention is as follows:

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor requests that all national and international unions, state and city central bodies and local unions immediately prepare themselves for activities in the coming elections in November of members of Congress.

All members of the House, 435 in number, must be reelected. Thirty-five Senators will be elected from the following states:

Alabama	Iowa	Minnesota	North Carolina	South Dakota
Arkansas	Kansas (2)	Mississippi	Ohio	Tennessee
Colorado	Kentucky	Montana	Oklahoma	Texas
Delaware	Louisiana	Nebraska	Oregon	Virginia
Georgia	Maine	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania	West Virginia
Idaho	Massachusetts	New Jersey	Rhode Island	Wyoming
Illinois	Michigan	New Mexico	South Carolina	

Every state and city central body and local union should appoint a non-partisan political campaign committee or direct its legislative committee to perform the necessary duties during the campaign.

There is one important issue which for many years the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have strived to have enacted into law. That is, a law to prohibit the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

To that end we have decided that every candidate for Congress shall be asked his attitude on such a measure and whether, if elected, he will vote for an anti-injunction bill approved by the American Federation of Labor.

The following question should be submitted to every candidate for Congress no matter what his political faith:

"Will you vote for a bill to amend the judicial code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, which will provide as follows:

"That no Court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute."

Every candidate in every district should be asked the above question. State federations of labor and city central bodies should submit the question to candidates for the United States Senate.

We urge all members of trade unions and all sympathizers with labor's hopes and

aspirations to enter the non-partisan political campaign with the determination to elect friends of labor and the people and defeat those whose records show that they are disregardful of the rights of the people.

Support by your vote only those candidates who have proved the genuineness of their service, or their desire for service, to the people and labor. There must be no apathy.

In past elections labor has received the support of many farmers and farm organizations. Labor's attitude toward economic and political relief for the farmers is well known.

"Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices; whether executive, legislative, or judicial."

Let your slogan be:

We will not vote for a candidate for Congress who is opposed to a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

Let every member of every trade union delegate himself a committee of one in addition to the local non-partisan political campaign committee to carry out the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor.

After the primaries and elections of 1930 have been held let it not be said that trade unionists have been disloyal not only to themselves but to their fellow wage earners and their fellow citizens.

Special circular letters have been sent into all states giving the records of candidates for Congress and especially of members of the Senate who voted to confirm Judge John J. Parker as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. From communications we have received we find that the organized labor movements in the various states have taken a most sincere interest in selecting the proper candidates in the primaries and will urge their election in November.

The success of our anti-injunction bill depends upon the election of candidates who will support our measure. It is the greatest issue to be faced by organized labor and upon its members and their friends depend whether we will secure the relief so necessary for the success of future activities of labor.

All national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions should make it their duty to carry out the non-partisan political campaign policy of the American Federation of Labor and that policy demands:

"Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices; whether executive, legislative, or judicial."

We also wish to repeat the slogan given in our letter of April 2, which requires this pledge:

"We will not vote for a candidate for Congress who is opposed to a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes."

Upon the carrying out of this policy much depends, and the Executive Council urges the convention to take such a firm stand on the non-partisan political policy that every member of organized labor will become active in selecting favorable candidates for Congress.

MODIFICATION OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly set forth in several conventions of the American Federation of Labor its attitude toward the failure of the Volstead Act to promote true temperance. The developments of the last year, as shown in the

evil social conditions which have followed failure of the enforcement of the Volstead Act, have confirmed the position heretofore taken by the American Federation of Labor in favor of the modification of this Act so as to provide for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight. The Executive Council in its report to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Los Angeles, California, in 1927, recommended that the convention reaffirm its declaration of the past and insist upon Congress amending the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

Nothing that has transpired since this recommendation was made has caused the Executive Council to change its opinion or its attitude toward this important social and economic question. On the other hand, the faith and belief of the Executive Council have been strengthened in the position it has heretofore taken. For this reason the Executive Council again recommends that this convention most emphatically and unmistakably reaffirm its declaration of the past to urge upon Congress that the Volstead Act be amended so as to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

During the past year a communication was addressed to the Chairman of the National Law Observance and Enforcement Commission by the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, calling the attention of the Commission to the evils which have followed the enactment of the Volstead Law in its present form. In this communication both the social and economic evils and distress which have resulted from the failure of Congress to modify the Volstead Act were pointed out. It was shown that many industries, including mining, agriculture, transportation, building and other miscellaneous industries were seriously affected; that thousands of men employed in the breweries of the country were forced out and have been compelled to seek employment in other lines. All of this has seriously aggravated the unemployment situation. The social effect resulting from a violation of the law, the making of home brew, the speakeasy, and the illegal manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, has had a depressing and demoralizing effect upon our national and social life.

In submitting the position of the Executive Council in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act so as to provide for the manufacture of beer of 2.75 per cent alcoholic content by weight, the Executive Council wishes to state clearly that it is in no way demanding the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We stated in our declaration in 1923, which declaration was endorsed by the delegates in the convention by a practically unanimous vote, that "it is our contention that the Eighteenth Amendment under a reasonable and proper legislative interpretation would be beneficial to our country and would have the support of the great majority of our people." We are of the firm opinion that the Volstead Act could be amended without violating the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment. Such an amendment would provide for the manufacture of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight and as a result we are of the opinion that temperance would be promoted and the demoralizing and destructive effects which follow the excessive use of intoxicating liquors purchased and manufactured illegally would be reduced to a minimum.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Agitation for the protection of those who are unable to take care of themselves after they have reached the retirement age, spread throughout the nation during the past year. The demand for old age security reached Congress and for the first time in the

history of that body an extensive hearing was held at the request of the American Federation of Labor on the question of old age pensions.

Experts from many organizations appeared and gave conclusive evidence that those who are unable to care for themselves after reaching old age should be protected. Already ten states and one territory have enacted old age pension laws but none of them is of such a practical character that the American Federation of Labor can unequivocally endorse them as model laws. The states leave it to the counties to determine whether they shall pay the pension provided for in the acts and many of the counties take no action.

During the hearings before the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives a bill was considered that would give power to the Federal Government to aid those states that pass laws in the interest of the aged. This measure provides that the Federal Government appropriate certain amounts of money which would be available to the states in an amount equal to that appropriated by each state. This bill was introduced by Senator Dill in the Senate but was discussed in the hearing. While no bill was prepared or other action taken the hearing brought forth the necessity for such legislation.

The Executive Council has considered most carefully all the laws that have been enacted. It has not endorsed any of the measures thus far proposed as a standard act. We hope to draft a measure which will be practical, constructive and adequate.

RAILROAD CONSOLIDATION

The decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the proposed merger of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, in which members of the Commission conspicuous in their efforts to protect public interest dissented, puts squarely up to Congress the issue of defining public policy.

The policies proposed through this merger meant contraction of service, serious loss to many communities and shippers, loss of jobs and transfers of employees without compensation for loss of homes and other investments.

Discussion made plain the ruthless purposes which the merger would serve in order to take care of financial interests through reduction of expenses and inflation of values. As railroad represent an investment by the public and by employers who give their services and organize their living around their work, Labor believes that social considerations are equally as important as financial and that there should be balanced consideration given to all elements involved.

The movement for consolidation and unification was a natural response to the development of competing types of carriers and need for economies. Development of business activity had not always followed lines anticipated by railroad construction. A number of railroad short lines after having served very necessary purposes had become a serious liability to their owners. However, it seems probable to some railroad experts that much of the agitation for consolidation has been artificially stimulated by financiers who saw a way of retrieving losses and possibly making good profits.

Proposals for consolidation and unification must by law be submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for approval. However, the railroads found in the new holding company organization a way to effect practical consolidation without going through the legal forms over which the Interstate Commerce Commission had control. Congress thus defied by the financiers and the railroads began an investi-

gation into holding companies. While the House Committee was holding hearings Senator Couzens introduced a joint resolution to stop all rail mergers.

After extended hearings and in view of facts presented by witnesses for the public, labor, and railway executives, the resolution was amended to suspend the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to approve or authorize consolidations or acquisitions of control except in conformity with prescribed conditions to protect the interests of Labor and the public.

Many proposed efficiencies and economies resulting from consolidations and unifications are at Labor's expenses. As Mr. Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad told the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce: "It ought to be borne in mind that the savings which will come from consolidation are chiefly from two causes: one, probably from the reduced necessity for new capital." . . . "The other economies which can be lumped in one item, are labor and material, less of both being needed, probably—particularly labor. In fact, the only way economies can be made to any extent in railroad service is by the use of fewer employees, and with that would always go the use of some less labor. Our figures show that the wages paid for labor constitute about 60 per cent of our total operating expenses, and material about 40 per cent. It is safe to say that of that material probably 50 per cent represents wages paid to labor, so that when a railroad reduces its operating expenses by a dollar, it is a safe thought that 80 per cent of that represents less wages being paid to somebody." . . . "We must recognize that in accomplishing these economies that seem to have been thought desirable in the public interest, they will be brought about largely by the employment of fewer men, and that certainly does present a problem in which the men have a right to be concerned. As has been stated, I have expressed my views on that on different occasions and I have said that I thought it would only be fair and right if Congress, in legislating on this whole matter, pursued action somewhat similar to that taken by the English Parliament in connection with their amalgamation act. In that act, in round terms, it was provided that men who had been in the employ of the company for five years should not be displaced, and should not be reduced in rank or in compensation, and they should be worked around in such a way as might be until they could be taken care of."

Railroad unions recognizing the need for consolidation and unification, believe that Congress should enact additional substantive legislation defining policies for the guidance of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that the interests of the public and Labor should be conserved and giving the Interstate Commerce Commission control over all consolidations including the formation of holding companies to achieve that purpose.

The Railroad Labor Executives Association maintains that consolidations should be approved only when the findings of the Commission indicate that "it will (a) promote better service to the public, or (b) economy in operation without deteriorating essential service and (c) that it will not substantially restrain or lessen competition and (d) that it will not be inconsistent with the public interest in any material respect."

The railroad unions endorsed S. J. Res. 161 introduced by Senator Couzens to suspend until March 31, 1931, the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission to approve consolidations except when granted in conformity with the following specifications:

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

(a) The commission is specifically authorized and directed to prescribe in its order approving and authorizing any consolidation or acquisition of control such terms and conditions as may be found necessary to prevent the dismissal, lay off, or demotion of employees, and/or uncompensated losses of rights, privileges, and conditions of employment, resulting from the anticipation or consummation of such consolidation or acquisition of control; and/or to compensate employees for all losses and expenses sustained by them (including losses and expenses sustained through change of residence, or disposition of home), as a result of the anticipation or consummation of such consolidation or acquisition of control, to the extent that the commission determines that such losses result from the consolidation or acquisition of control and not from other economic factors. The term "employee" as used herein means a person defined as an employee in the Railway Labor Act.

(b) The commission is further specifically authorized to make it a condition of any consolidation or acquisition of control that existing through routes and channels of trade and commerce shall be maintained, and also to require as a condition precedent to its approval and authorization of such consolidation or acquisition of control that the applicant or applicants shall make a binding offer, upon such terms as the commission shall prescribe, to acquire control of, or to consolidate or merge with, or to purchase the properties of any other carrier or carriers by railroad, not included within the application, which are assigned to the same system with applicant or applicants in the commission's plan of consolidation. In the event of such a condition precedent, the commission is also authorized in its discretion to approve and authorize the acquisition of control or consolidation or merger or purchase specified in such condition precedent with or without other proceedings under this section.

(c) The commission shall not approve or authorize any such consolidation or acquisition of control where, except for such approval and authorization, said consolidation or acquisition of control would be in violation of any of the antitrust laws as designated in section 1 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the approval and authorization by the commission of any acquisition or control of railroad properties required as a condition to any acquisition of control or consolidation heretofore or hereafter approved and authorized by the commission; be it further

Resolved, That any consolidation or unification, or common control, or any exercise of common control, of carriers by railroad engaged in interstate commerce, or the properties thereof, however accomplished, whether directly or indirectly, through a holding company or holding companies, by a voting trust, or in any other manner whatsoever, and which the commission is not empowered to approve and authorize, or which the commission, if empowered, has not approved and authorized, is hereby declared unlawful and may be enjoined by any court of competent jurisdiction at the suit of the United States, the commission, any commission or regulating body of any State or States affected, or any party in interest: Provided, That the provisions of this paragraph shall apply only to consolidations, unifications and common control effected or exercised subsequent to February 28, 1920; be it further

Resolved, That the commission is hereby directed and authorized to execute and to enforce the provisions of this resolution in the same manner and to the same extent as though they were written into the interstate commerce act.

Railway unions urged the adoption of the Couzens resolution for the following reasons:

1. The Interstate Commerce Commission has not adequate authority to protect the public interest under existing law.
2. Further consideration of consolidation legislation has been suspended until the holding company investigation by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House can be completed.
3. The Commission has recently adopted a comprehensive plan for railroad consolidations (December 9, 1929), under which many consolidations are now being projected.

4. The Commission, on February 11, 1930, authorized the practical consolidation of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific systems.

5. The passage of S. J. Res. 161 is an appropriate measure of emergency relief. Presumably more extensive presentations will be made to the Congress on this particular subject because of the widespread opposition which has developed since the commission acted.

6. The demoralizing effort of extensive railroad consolidations in adding to industrial and agricultural depression should be sufficiently evidenced by testimony as to the imminent effects of the proposed Great Northern-Northern Pacific consolidation.

The passage of this resolution is a logical step by which Congress could assume control of railroad policy which has drifted away from public control.

We recommend that this convention call upon Congress to enact legislation necessary to protect employees, shippers and communities served by railroads and to prevent inflation of railroad values.

PORTO RICO

Porto Rico is under the United States flag and is a responsibility to all agencies that can help in the solution of the Island's problems. These problems are serious.

Porto Rico averages 35 miles in width and 1000 miles in length. It was originally densely wooded and well watered but, now large areas are arid waste lands. The mean annual temperature is 76 degrees—73 degrees for the winter months and 79 degrees for summer. It is one of the most densely populated countries in the world—nearly 400 to a square mile.

The population of Porto Rico is 1,543,913. The latest figures available indicate the following unemployment situation:

Persons available for work in the industries.....	460,940
Working in the sugar industry.....	75,000
In the coffee, tobacco and fruit industries.....	51,421
Permanently employed in other industries.....	55,000
Office employees at fixed salaries.....	10,000
Professionals and their employees.....	8,000
In public service and enterprises.....	6,000
Mercantile industry.....	30,000
Out of 23,000 chauffeurs licensed by the Department of the Interior there are working.....	15,000
Domestic service in private homes and in hotels and restaurants.....	40,000
Total.....	290,421
Available persons in need of employment.....	170,519

The wages of those employed are low—60 per cent of all workers—rural and urban—receive wages not exceeding 80 cents a day.

The chief agricultural industries are sugar, tobacco, citrus fruits and coffee. Men employed in sugar and citrus fruit agriculture are paid from 60 to 85 cents per day; women from 50 to 65 cents; and children from 20 to 35 cents; workers in the tobacco industry receive on an average 10 per cent below this scale, and those in the coffee industry 25 per cent below.

In big urban communities craftsmen, such as carpenters, bricklayers, painters, plumbers, blacksmiths, molders, machinists, printers receive from \$1.50 to \$4.00 per day of eight hours, while similar craftsmen working in rural communities are paid from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per day.

In the dressmaking industry, working on contracts from New York City, about 35,000 are employed in their homes who are paid piece rates that average from \$1.25 to \$2.50 per week. Garment workers in shops receive more. In the straw hat industry, wages are similar.

The majority of Porto Rican workers live in two-room dwellings. These low incomes with the high cost of living in Porto Rico result in malnutrition and lowered vitality.

Polished rice is the chief food staple and is largely responsible for the inability of the population to withstand disease.

The fundamental difficulty is poverty. This seems to be due to insufficient native capital, lack of industries, absentee ownership, incompetent management in agriculture and industry and illiteracy.

Since the Island became a part of the United States there has been progress in extending educational opportunities; school houses have been built and the school enrollment increased nearly 500 per cent. There is under way an effort to provide courses that will fit boys and girls to do effective work. The Island is anxious to have the benefits of our federal education assistance extended to the citizens of the United States residing in Porto Rico. As incomes increase, boys and girls can be kept at school longer and they will be better fitted to cope with their problems.

The cultural life of Porto Rico has been dominated by Spanish traditions, but the working people of Porto Rico look to the institutions of the United States for help. Those wage earners of Porto Rico who belong to unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which has been helpful in securing justice for Porto Rico politically as well as economically. There are now about 236 unions with a membership of about 35,000.

Porto Rico is one of the best Latin-American customers of the United States. In 1928, the Island ranked fifth among these countries, buying from the United States \$82,000,000 worth of goods.

As a result of the recent cyclone, Porto Rico was in dire distress which accentuated the need of constructive planning to get the industries of the Island on a sound financial and economic basis so that the people of Porto Rico might have the means to control greater opportunities and achieve higher standards of living.

Porto Rico has made progress since it has been under the United States Government. Workingmen have had the right to organize to advance their own interests and the Island has become a good field for business development. What is needed is constructive planning and industrial expansion and diversification to utilize the resources of the Island to the best advantage. One big handicap in the past was that profits were exported and not reinvested locally. The industries doing business in Porto Rico should help support the institutions of Porto Rico.

The present governor of Porto Rico, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, has studied local conditions and has made presentations to our government and country that should be followed by constructive plans. We recommend that this convention urge upon the Administration and Congress the need for fundamental constructive policies.

LABOR'S SPECIAL DAYS

The three special days which Labor observes are Labor Day, Labor Sunday and Labor Memorial Sunday. The oldest is Labor Day, the first Monday in September. On this day there is a general stoppage of work which serves to visualize Labor's contributions to our civilizations. Increasingly all groups have participated in our celebration of Labor Day. The day is universally observed throughout the United States and Canada. The central labor organization in each locality undertakes responsibility for the local program. Our celebrations have changed greatly with changing times and customs. The community generally shares in the holiday, often taking part in our special programs. This is manifestation of growing appreciation that wage earners are an integral part of the community, whose well-being is of concern to all. The broadcasting of Labor Day programs and addresses over nation-wide hook-ups, has enlarged the opportunity for influencing public opinion. It is of utmost importance that increasing emphasis should be given to advancing the spirit and purpose of Labor Day through our special celebrations.

We urge every central labor union to make our next celebration one of outstanding importance in commemoration of fifty years of achievements under federated trade union leadership. To make this celebration worthy of the occasion, the local labor movement must be functioning to capacity during the whole year. Preparations should begin not later than the first of the year. Every central labor organization has an opportunity to be an energizing center for the community, supplying suggestions, information and enthusiasm that will help start a labor forward force that will advance the ideals and purposes of Labor.

Labor Sunday, our second special day, we share also with the community. The purpose of this day is set forth in Labor's claim to the fullness of life through the organized channels of the church. On the Sunday preceding Labor Day, such churches as recognize the spiritual problems involved in human relations in work and daily living, provide special sermons on Labor and some times special labor speakers. Some of the best known churches have used their influence in this way to emphasize that religion is manifest in daily living and that spiritual progress brings greater equity and freedom in life. We hope that observance of Labor Sunday will become an increasingly effective method for helping all to understand the guiding purposes of the labor movement which are its great power.

Labor's Memorial Sunday, the fourth Sunday in May, is the day on which our trade unions pay their tribute to the pioneers and faithful members and representatives who gave us our great institution—the American trade union movement. Because these trade unionists were devoted to the cause, the influence and good will to unionism have advanced. Devotion to a purpose means concentration of time and energy; it means resistance to obstacles and other opportunities which appeal; it means living illumined by a purpose. Men and women whose lives are glorified by a purpose, have earned respect and consideration.

Each union by setting aside a special memorial day will provide its membership with an opportunity for inspiration that will lead to renewed devotion and activity.

As this custom becomes widely established, our leaders and our activities will gain in dignity and honor.

In addition to these special Labor days, the Federation takes great pride in Child

Health Day which by national law is observed on May 1. The Federation proposed this legislation which found favor with Congress and was enacted into law. Conservation of human life and the promotion of human progress is of primary concern to our nation and this properly begins with the child. We hope Labor will join in all local celebraotins of Child Health Day.

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL

We are able to report that with the cooperation of the Commission of Fine Arts, Robert Aitken of New York, has been selected as the sculptor to create a design of a Memorial to Mr. Gompers. If this design is acceptable to the Memorial Committee and to the Commission of Fine Arts, Mr. Aitken will then be authorized to proceed with the work of the Memorial. He is now working on the design.

CELEBRATION—200TH ANNIVERSARY BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

In 1924, Congress enacted a law creating the "Commission for the Celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington." The Commission is composed of four Senators, four Representatives, eight appointees of the President, the President of the United States, the presiding officers of both houses and William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House.

On February 21, 1930, the President signed a bill which directs that the Commission, in carrying out the provisions of the Act, should "procure advice and assistance from and cooperate with individuals and agencies, public and private."

The American Federation of Labor has been asked to endorse the plan for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

We recommend that this be done and that your Executive Council give such aid and assistance as may be possible to the Commission in this patriotic work.

OFFICIAL CHANGES

The sudden and tragic passing of Eighth Vice-President Noonan early in the year, again made necessary the re-grouping of the remaining members of the Executive Council, by which according to well established custom, each Vice-President is advanced when a vacancy occurs. We were therefore required to select some one to serve as Eighth Vice-President.

The Executive Council selected G. M. Bugnizet, Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, to fill the vacancy upon the Executive Council and to serve as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has continued its constant and systematic correspondence with the labor organizations of all the American Republics. Petitions or suggestions to defend human rights and for improving labor conditions in any country have been received from time to time and have been considered and acted upon with all possible care. In many cases our services have greatly benefited the working peoples, who have requested our cooperation in a constructive and appropriate manner.

Although it is the general feeling in several of the labor centers of the Pan-American countries that the Sixth Pan-American Labor Congress which was postponed in October 30, 1929, should take place in January, 1931, we have so far received definite answers from only eight: Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Haiti and Santo Domingo stating that the Congress should be called and they will send delegates while Honduras says that they may be unable to send a delegation of five for lack of funds, and Colombia states that owing to the fact that a new administration was inaugurated in their country therefore beg to request the postponement of the Congress for another year. The other countries have not yet sent reports on the matter up to this time.

In accordance with the consensus of opinion expressed in letters and labor press from the Latin countries, the international economic problems faced by all the organized peoples in the two Americas and the need of uniting all the organized labor centers are the most important matters to be considered in the Sixth Pan-American Labor Congress. They believe that international collaboration should be developed among all those peoples to further a concerted program to secure economic and social betterment with political freedom for all groups and all peoples.

The most important achievements of the Pan-American Federation of Labor have been to obtain the creation of governmental labor agencies in several countries. The creation lately of a Department of Labor by the President of the Dominican Republic was the result of our collaboration and in accordance with resolutions approved by the last Pan-American Labor Congress. In their reply to expressions of congratulation from President Green, the President Estrella Urena and the appointed Secretary of Labor, Mr. Pina Chevalier pledged their support for the betterment of the wage earners.

The Electrical Workers' Union of Havana, as well as other organizations appealed to President Green to lend his cooperation in obtaining a fair hearing and better conditions of work from the Cuban Electric Company, American owned. The President of the corporation has informed President Green, who had suggested to him to use the method of conciliation and arbitration that he would be willing to agree to that method.

Our Pan-American Labor movement is important and influential in the world's affairs and every support should be given to the next gathering of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for the purpose of assuring the defense and protection of sacred human interests that should prevail throughout all nations.

CONCLUSION

The coming year will mark the end of fifty years of achievement for American trade unions under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Due to our efforts wage earners have been able to work together in establishing the principle and agencies for social progress. The social achievements of the trade union movement are a credit to our ideals and purposes. We have succeeded in securing general acceptance of the high wage principle and of the shorter workday. Our organization has become a national institution whose integrity and constructiveness are a national asset.

We urge every trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to do its utmost during the coming year to increase trade union membership so that our

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Golden Jubilee Convention in 1931 may record a new high peak in trade union history.
Make ready for Labor's Golden Jubilee Convention.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK DUFFY,
First Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT,
Second Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Third Vice-President.

JAMES WILSON,
Fourth Vice-President.

JOHN COFIELD,
Fifth Vice-President.

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,
Sixth Vice-President.

JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Seventh Vice-President.

G. M. BUGNIAZET,
Eighth Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.
Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The Chair desires now to introduce just briefly the fraternal delegates and their wives who have accompanied them from Great Britain and from Canada. They were here yesterday and will remain with us during our entire proceedings. I want you to know them and to be acquainted with them, so that you can meet them, entertain them, and talk to them from time to time.

President Green then formally introduced to the convention Mr. A. A. H. Findlay and Mr. A. Shaw, fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, and Mrs. Findlay and Mrs. Shaw. He also introduced Mr. William E. Stephenson, fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. A special badge was presented to each fraternal delegate as a gift from the officers and delegates.

Delegate W. E. Bryan, President of the Leather Workers' International Union, was added to the Committee on Industrial Relations. Delegate Bryan had been appointed on the committee, but through an oversight his name was omitted from the printed list.

Following is a list of subjects in the Report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees:

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report

Introduction.

Benefit Services of National and International Unions.

Jurisdictional Problems.

Stationary Firemen—Engineers.

Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers.

Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers. Theatrical Stage Employees vs. Electrical Workers and Some Other Organizations Affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

Hod Carriers—Independent Bricklayers' Helpers.

Teamsters—Railway Clerks

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Change in Titles.

Longshoremen's Compensation Law.

Official Changes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Matthew Woll, Chairman.

Unemployment.

Unemployment World Wide.

Unemployment in the United States and Canada.

Causes of Unemployment.

Seasonal Unemployment.

Comparing the Depressions of 1924 and 1930.

Comparing the Depressions of 1921 and 1930.

Increasing Efficiency.

Part Time Work.

Moral and Spiritual Consequences.

Dependence on Charity.

Loss in Purchasing Power.

White House Conferences.

Labor's Unemployment Program.

Unemployment Statistics.

Yellow Dog Contracts.

Legislation:

Conscription.

Immigration.

Unemployment.

Post Office Laborers.

Border Patrol.

Anti-Injunction Legislation.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign.

Modification of the Volstead Act.

Old Age Pensions.

Railroad Consolidation.

Referred to Committee on Organization

Right to Organize.

Organizing Work.

Organizing Methods.

Southern Campaign:

Inaugurating the Campaign.

President Green's Southern Tours.

Birmingham Headquarters.

A. F. of L. Literature.

Organizing Local Activities.

Response of Southern Workers.

Program for the Coming Year.

Referred to Committee on Education

American Federationist.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.

Monthly Survey of Business.

Library.

Notes for Speakers.

Organizing Literature.

Legal Information Bureau.

Committee on Education.

Workers Education Bureau.

Maternity and Infancy.

Free Text Books.

Vocational Education and Rehabilitation.

Labor's Special Days:

Child Health Day.

Samuel Gompers Memorial.

Celebration—200th Anniversary Birth of George Washington.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Older Workers.

Porto Rico.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

**Referred to Committee on Building Trades
Building Contracts**

tion recess until 9.30 o'clock Wednesday, October 8.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday

Five-Day Week.
Shorter Saturday Workday.

RESOLUTIONS

Proposing Declaration in Favor of a 5-Hour Work Day

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, One of the necessary and legitimate purposes of the trade union movement is to regulate the hours of labor in industry; and

WHEREAS, Trade union activity in the United States replaced the hours of labor from sunrise to sunset by a 10-hour day; pressed forward and established a 9-hour day, and continuing its efforts established an 8-hour day which is now generally applied; and

WHEREAS, Many wage earners now work less than 8 hours per day, and in a large number of instances have established the 5-day week through agreement with their employers; and

WHEREAS, During the entire period in which the hours of labor have been gradually reduced the per capita production in industry has greatly increased instead of decreased; and

WHEREAS, Under existing industrial methods the use of power applied to machinery has trebled and quadrupled, and will be greatly increased in the immediate future, this increasing use of power being accompanied by new types of machinery and the application of chemical and other processes which of themselves greatly increase the per capita productivity of those employed in our industries; and

WHEREAS, The capacity of industry to produce has been so rapid that a steadily growing condition of unemployment has been established which operates regardless of the cycles of business; and

WHEREAS, The most reliable statistics gathered by the Federal Government, associations of employers, economists working independently and the American trade union movement indicate that if our industries with their present equipment of machinery and use of power were to work at full capacity 150 days in the year the total volume of production would be greater than it has been; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, after giving these economic and industrial facts careful thought and exhaustive examination in its Twenty-second Annual Convention just adjourned, through a unanimous vote declared in favor of a basic 5-hour day, with the provision that where necessary two or more 5-hour shifts may be established in industries requiring partially continuous or continuous production, or where the demand may

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations

Pan-American Federation of Labor.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the Committee, read the following:

James Haugh has been substituted on the delegation of the United Hatters of North America, in place of M. F. Greene, and Samuel Moore in place of Martin Lawlor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green announced that resolutions could be submitted to the Secretary up to eleven o'clock Tuesday evening.

A motion was made to extend the time to eleven o'clock Wednesday evening. The motion was seconded and adopted.

President Green: It now appears to the Chair that we have completed the work of this morning's session. I know you are all anxious to witness the great parade of the American Legion which will take place today. I think we all would like to see it, and it appears to the Chair that we might decide to suspend the rules when we adjourn and adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9.30 o'clock.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I move that the rules be suspended and that the conven-

require a greater production during certain periods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare for a basic 5-hour work day, and pledge itself to take the necessary steps to bring about its operation and establishment at the earliest possible day.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Favoring Maintenance of Efficiently Manned Navy Yards and Arsenals for Adequate National Defense

Resolution No. 22—Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Nation's defense requires the maintenance of navy yards and arsenals equipped to produce efficiently and manned by competent mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The subject of maintenance of adequate national defense is injured alike by the propaganda of extreme pacifists, and that of extreme militarists and private interests whose principal purpose is to make profit from the manufacture of war munitions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is opposed to all forms of propaganda which interfere with a sane, well-balanced policy for national defense;

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring the full development and upkeep of all navy yards and arsenals, the adequate remuneration of all civilian employees, and the adequate remuneration of all enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy; be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the manufacture of war munitions and naval vessels in our arsenals and navy yards so that the element of private profit will place this department of national defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may make greater profits; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, and to all United States Congressmen and Senators.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Labor Policy of Grigsby-Grunow Company, Chicago, Ill.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Grigsby-Grunow Co. and Majestic Household Appliances, manufac-

urers of Majestic Radio and Electric Refrigerators, are unwilling to consider employing union machinists, steamfitters, and other metal tradesmen; and

WHEREAS, This company and its subsidiary have since they started in business enjoyed the patronage of the organized workers of Chicago and elsewhere, and at no time has there been any discrimination shown by the organized workers against their product; and

WHEREAS, It is now proven conclusively that this company does not desire to enter into harmonious relations with trade unions and their representatives; and

WHEREAS, Gunmen, thugs, special police and stool pigeon detectives patrol every entrance, fire escape, the roof, grounds, and mix with the employees to prevent any possibility of their organizing or protesting against cuts in wages and piece-work rates; and

WHEREAS, On Wednesday, September 10, 1930, two brothers were shot and one of them killed by one of these gunmen because they resented the foreman's right to discharge them; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Council of Chicago, in regular meeting assembled, placed this company and its products on the unfair list; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, asking that they likewise place the Grigsby-Grunow Co. and all its products on the unfair list, and to so notify all Unions within their jurisdiction, so that trade unionists and their friends will cease to purchase the radios and electric ice machines of this company.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Endorsing Bill Providing for Modernization of U. S. Battleships

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A bill, H. R. 12964, the object of which is to modernize three battleships, the "New Mexico," the "Mississippi" and the "Idaho," is now pending in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The enactment of this legislation is in harmony with the Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament, signed at London on April 22, 1930; and

WHEREAS, A discharge of approximately 5,000 employees at certain navy yards will take place in the event the modernization program sponsored by the Navy Department is interrupted; and

WHEREAS, The serious unemployment conditions at present confronting the country warrant the continuation of this modernization policy which has been carried on for a long term of years by the Navy Department; therefore be it

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse H. R. 12964, and the corresponding bill S. 4750, introduced in the United States Senate, and that every effort be made to secure their enactment early during the forthcoming session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Bill Providing for 4-Hour Day on Saturdays Throughout the Year for All Federal Employees

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We believe that the present serious unemployment situation has to a large extent been brought about by the introduction of improved processes and improved machinery in industry, due to the inability of industry to make readjustments necessary to absorb the hundreds of thousands of workmen discharged because of such improved processes, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the shortening of the hours of labor is one of the most important methods by means of which the unemployed may find an opportunity to participate in industry, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the United States Government should at present as in the past take the lead in shortening the hours of labor for those in its employ, and

WHEREAS, A bill, S. 471, is now pending, the object of which is to establish a 4-hour work day on Saturdays throughout the year, without loss of pay, for all employees of the Federal Government excepting those in the Postal Service and a few others whose interests are taken care of in other bills of similar import, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record in favor of the early enactment of S. 471 in the forthcoming session of Congress, and be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as President Hoover is expected to submit a report to Congress early in December, commenting upon the feasibility, desirability, cost, etc., of this legislation, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to request the President of the United States to recommend the enactment of this measure.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing That the United States Build a Navy in Conformity with Maximum Provisions of London Naval Treaty

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The treaty for the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, signed at London on April 22, 1930, imposes upon the people of the United States the obligation

faithfully to perform their full duty in the maintenance of conditions that tend to insure the peace, progress and civilization of the world, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of world peace depends in large part upon the comparative naval armament of nations, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of the American standards of living enjoyed by our workingmen depends in large part on the maintenance of free avenues of trade with other nations, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of such free avenues of trade depends upon our comparative power to protect our lanes of ocean-borne commerce, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the paramount duty of the United States under the aforesaid treaty is to build and maintain a navy in full conformity with the maximum provisions of this treaty; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States is obligated to retain in active service, efficiently equipped and manned, the maximum Navy provided by said treaty.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Passage of House Bill No. 9039 Proposing Restriction of Employment of Enlisted Men in Navy in Competition with Civilian Workers

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Due to economy methods the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy is being used to a greater and greater extent for repair and maintenance work on vessels of the United States Navy in violation of the spirit of the Act of Congress dated August 22, 1912, which restricts employment of enlisted men on repair work on vessels at navy yards and stations; and

WHEREAS, This employment of enlisted men is unfair and not in keeping with their purpose of enlistment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in opposition to the employment of enlisted men and officers of the Navy in the performance of repair and overhaul jobs on vessels of the United States Navy, thereby depriving skilled mechanics and their helpers of the opportunity for continuous employment in the navy yards and stations of the country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the immediate passage of Bill H. R. No. 9039, which proposes to regulate and restrict such work, and gives greater employment to civil employees of the navy yards and stations on vessels of the Navy; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That we request the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use

their best efforts to secure the immediate passage of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Protesting Unfair Attitude of Hotel Managers Association of Cleveland, Ohio

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes McInnis of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, On July 14, 1930, the members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union, of Cleveland, composed of waiters, waitresses and cooks, were locked out by the following hotels: The Cleveland Hotel, the Hollenden Hotel, the Statler Hotel, the Winton Hotel, the Olmsted Hotel and the Allerton Hotel, all members of the Hotel Managers Association of Cleveland; and

WHEREAS, Before July 14, the workers in these hotels had for 17 years been given the right of collective bargaining through their Trade Unions, and no intimidation was advanced by the managers of these hotels that trouble was to be expected, even during negotiations by the leaders of the Unions for a continuation of the relations, the wages and the conditions prevailing prior to July 14, 1930, and the Union officials received a warning, just before the expiration of their verbal agreement with the hotels, from outside sources that the managers were preparing for trouble; and

WHEREAS, On July 14, the managers of these hotels called their help into the office and demanded that they sign a "yellow dog" contract if they desired to continue as employees of these hotels, and the Union men and women, upon their refusal to sign these individual contracts, which were intended for the sole purpose of preventing them from dealing with the hotels through their Unions, were locked out and their places filled by non-union workers from other cities; and

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor movement always has held that these individual contracts are pernicious and against public policy, and the right of collective bargaining has been recognized by our National and State Government, and the justness of Trade Unions has been upheld by the public generally; and

WHEREAS, The action of these hotel managers in locking out their Union workers is an effort on the part of these managers, supported by the non-union employers of Cleveland, to disrupt and destroy if possible the Trade Union movement and bring about a condition of servitude and wage reductions that have long been held as un-American by all progressive people; and

WHEREAS, The injustice of the action of these hotels has met with the solidification of all Union workers by the withdrawal of the Engineers, the Firemen and the Musicians from these hotels, in sympathy with the Cooks, Waiters and Waitresses; and their action has been condemned by the press and all fair-minded citizens of Cleveland; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, place the Cleveland Hotel, the Hollenden Hotel, the Statler Hotel, the Winton Hotel, the Olmsted Hotel and Allerton Hotel, all of Cleveland, Ohio, on the unfair list, and that the delegates to this convention be instructed to keep the names of these unfair hotels ever before their membership and request them to do all in their power to inform the traveling public of the unfair attitude of the hotels and their attempt to force the "yellow dog" contract on their employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render such moral and financial service as may be necessary in aiding to bring about the recognition of the principle of "collective bargaining" by the hotels herein named and for a favorable adjustment of the controversy for the unions involved.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Declaring for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott and Agnes McInnis of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance:

RESOLVED, That we shall work first and foremost for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end of casting out this solitary sumptuary statute, the intrusion of which into constitutional realms has so severely hurt our country. The question of whether prohibition or regulation is the more effective relation of Government to the liquor traffic is utterly subordinate to the distortion of our Federal Constitution by compelling it to carry the burden of a task which is an affair for the police powers of each of our forty-eight separate and sovereign States, and never should be the business of the Federal Government.

The ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor lies beyond the mere modification of any enforcement statute in any jurisdiction, State or Federal. The cancer of the present and the threat of the future remain with us until this invasion of our Federal Constitution is repealed and removed. We will not stop in our efforts until the operation is complete.

In passing we favor any and all modifications of enforcement acts corollary to the Eighteenth Amendment which will temper the fanatical excesses and absurdities of these acts. Sensible and creditable modifications of this kind will soon become facts. But they will be aided by us solely as measures of temporary and partial relief, antecedent to the ultimate and entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That, in place of the Federal Prohibition, we favor the installation by the States of a method of controlled and restricted distribu-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

tion which will prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for unconscionable profits, and not only do away with prevailing speakeasies and secret drinking, but prevent the reappearance of any unregulated system and the political iniquities which accompanied it.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declaring in Favor of House Joint Resolution 354 Proposing Radio Broadcasting Rights for Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior for Apportionment to Stations of the Most Representative Groups

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates H. H. Broach, E. D. Bieretz, Emil Preiss, Charles M. Paulsen, Martin T. Joyce of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor" Radio Broadcast Station, operating on 970 kilocycles, and W9XAA, its recently installed short wave relay broadcast station, operating on 6080 kilocycles, is the only radio station in the world which is owned, controlled and operated by the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, WCFL-W9XAA, endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national, international and state organizations, is justly entitled to one of the national, cleared, unlimited time channels, out of the ninety available, and

WHEREAS, Radio takes its place alongside of the development of the printing press and the establishment of the public school; it is the super-means of entertainment, education and propaganda. Whoever controls radio broadcasting in the years to come will control the Nation. For good or ill, radio will pour into the homes of the land, into the minds and hearts, of the people, a constant stream of song and story, of history, science, economics, politics and propaganda. Overshadowing and out-reaching all other means of communication, radio has become the unrivaled master of human destiny, and

WHEREAS, Radio broadcasting is the most effective means known to man for influencing public opinion. More people listen to the radio than read all the daily newspapers in the land. The mind cannot conceive of the influence which radio is destined to exert upon the thinking, the habits, the character and the progress of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The public interest, necessity and convenience requires that this marvelous new means of communication should not be placed within the control of a few great monopolistic corporations, or handed out as a free gift to a few hundred private business concerns for commercial exploitation, and

WHEREAS, The "public interest, necessity and convenience" requires that radio broadcasting provide not only entertainment but information, not only music but science, history, economics and all other things that make for human welfare. It requires that the serious problems of life shall be presented, not from

one group or one viewpoint only, but from many groups and many points of view, and

WHEREAS, The "public interest, necessity and convenience" is nation-wide, it is age long, it has to do with the physical, mental, moral, social and economic welfare of all of the people; and

WHEREAS, The "public interest, necessity and convenience" which the law fixes as the sole test for granting radio licenses is the same as the "public welfare," being that which contributes to the health, comfort and happiness of the people, which provides wholesome entertainment, increases knowledge, arouses individual thinking, inspires noble impulses, strengthens human ties, breaks down hatreds, encourages respect for law, aids employment, improves the standard of living and adds to the peace and contentment of mankind, and

WHEREAS, Like the air we breathe, or the sunlight that gives us life, radio must be charged with a public trust—the heritage of mankind—and no man or corporation must be permitted to appropriate it, any more than they should be permitted to appropriate the air or the ocean; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has contributed immeasurable service to the Nation; it has vastly improved working conditions, raised the standard of living, infused hope and courage and patriotism into millions of hearts; it has battled for needed reforms, sane and useful legislation, and social and economic justice for all who toil; it has established principles, policies and ideals which are essential to the welfare of our country as is sunlight to the growing fields; it has a message for all mankind; it asks no monopoly, no special privilege, no right to exploit the air for commercial profit, but asks only that it be allowed to use one of the ninety available radio channels in order that it may freely promulgate the principles and ideals and thereby protect and serve the entire public, and

WHEREAS, Evidence of the tendency of the Federal Radio Commission to allocate the most desirable wave lengths to private corporations, in disregard of the public interest, necessity and convenience, is demonstrated by the fact that the forty "cleared radio broadcasting channels" established by the Federal Radio Commission have been allocated as follows (some for part time only):

- (1) Twelve channels to corporations formed for the specific purpose of operating a broadcasting station;
- (2) Seven channels to corporations manufacturing radio equipment and supplies;
- (3) Ten channels to corporations dealing in merchandise of various kinds;
- (4) Eleven channels to corporations publishing newspapers;
- (5) Three channels to public utility corporations;
- (6) Five channels to insurance corporations;
- (7) One channel (limited time) to a fraternal corporation, and
- (8) One channel to a municipal corporation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fiftieth Annual Convention, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, this 7th day of October, 1930, endorse House Joint Resolution No. 334, introduced on May 9, 1930, by Congressman Reid of Illinois (who was impelled to introduce this resolution on account of the arbitrary and biased action of the Federal Radio Commission in denying a cleared channel to the station of Organized Labor, WCFL), to amend the Radio Act of 1927, by providing that the Federal Radio Commission shall assign three cleared-channel broadcasting frequencies to the Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior, which shall be licensed to the radio stations recommended by the heads of those Government Departments as being most representative of the labor, agricultural and educational interests of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Protesting Employment of Prison Labor on Construction Work for the Federal Government

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates William J. Bowen, George T. Thornton, Harry C. Bates and John J. Stretch of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly condemned the employment of prison labor in competition with free labor and has lent its support and given of its leadership in every campaign to bring an end to that evil; and

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, held in Montreal, Canada, had before it a resolution condemning an important phase of the prison labor problem, namely the employment of prison labor in the construction of federal prisons and reformatories, unanimously adopted by that convention in language as follows:

"WHEREAS, On January 7, 1925, Congress passed a law which makes it mandatory for the Attorney General to employ prison labor for the construction and maintenance of all Federal Prisons and Federal Reformatories, wherever possible; and

"WHEREAS, Such prisoners are not competent mechanics to do such class of work, and do not care to do such work, are taking a great deal of work from civilian mechanics who are entitled to this work, which greatly affects our members and which is not helping the unemployment situation in any way, and does not seem to be in line with President Hoover's plan; and

"WHEREAS, It seems in the past, when such bills were up for passage that provided for prison labor, that there was no opposition to such bills; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That this convention go on record against prison labor doing work

that requires building mechanics on all Federal construction work, and the delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Boston, Massachusetts, be instructed to present a resolution at said convention requesting the A. F. of L. Convention to go on record against prison labor and to amend the Bill that was passed January 7, 1925, to eliminate the words prison labor, and to oppose any Bill that provides for prison labor that requires the employment of competent mechanics; and further

"RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. notify all International Unions in the future of any Bills that provide for prison labor so that the respective International Officers can oppose any bill that provides for prison labor, which work rightly belongs to the Building Mechanics."

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED by this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we approve the above quoted resolution, making its resolutions the action of this convention, to the end that further progress may be made in the elimination of prison labor in competition with free labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Building the Full Limit of Armament Allowed Under the London Naval Treaty

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate John L. Barry of the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Senate of the United States in its wisdom has seen fit to ratify the London Naval Treaty; and

WHEREAS, It has been shown beyond doubt that our navy in its auxiliary classes is far inferior to the other powers, and in order for the United States to have a parity with the other powers it will be necessary for the United States to build up her navy, and

WHEREAS, For the protection of her commerce and her rights upon the seas, the United States should not allow her navy to become inferior to that of any nation; and

WHEREAS, In order to hold our force of skilled mechanics in the various navy yards together, because if these men are discharged and scattered to the distant parts of the country, it would be detrimental to the safety and welfare of the country, it being almost impossible to replace this class of highly skilled artisans, upon whom the nation depends to a great extent for protection and security; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this body do hereby pray and entreat the Senate of the United States to build the full limit of cruisers, aircraft carriers, all destroyers and submarines permitted under this treaty. And be it further

RESOLVED, That we believe our national navy yards and arsenals are a vitally impor-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

tant element of our national defense and therefore should be maintained in an efficient and effective condition. This can only be done by employing a full force of skilled mechanics. We therefore urge that not less than 50% of all Government work, both new construction and repairs, be done in Government shops.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing Appeal of Actors and Musicians for Support of Popular Movement Against Mechanizing of Cultural Arts

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Jos. N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, John W. Parks, Chas. L. Bagley, Edward Canavan, W. Ralph Fetterman of the American Federation of Musicians, Paul Dullzell of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, and J. W. FitzPatrick of the Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Histrionic and Musical Arts are a cultural agent of unquestioned value in the progress of all nations; and

WHEREAS, The perpetuation and the further progress of these Arts depend upon the professional actor and musician and the continued development of young talent to professional proficiency; and

WHEREAS, The mechanizing of these Arts is destroying all incentive and opportunities for young actors and musicians to develop their talent by centralized employment opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor deplores the tendency and purely commercial motives that are undermining and destroying the foundations of our cultural structure and that are debasing the arts of our people, that we approve the undertaking of musicians, actors—indeed all employed in the theatrical, entertainment and musical profession in arousing the people to the dangers involved in placing those arts upon the altar of greed and under the guise of scientific and mechanical advancement are destroying the very soul and life of the human qualities and opportunities that have made for these higher and finer sensibilities of mankind and that we call upon all wage earners as well as all others deeply interested and seriously concerned in the preservation and further development of these arts to join in this appeal against the dehumanizing of the arts and for the enlargement of opportunities and incentives to the youth of our land for a constantly higher and finer cultural life by preserving for all time the very spirit of soul and of the fine human attributes and qualities involved in these arts and which so greatly contribute to the enchantment and enrichment of life itself.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Labor Policy of Fox Theatres in Wardrobe Department

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Idabel Hall Early of the Theatrical Wardrobe At-

tendants' Union No. 16770, New York, N. Y., Bertha C. Fearn, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17298, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mary Cronin, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 18050, Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Unions are making every effort to convince the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this resolution and suggest ways and means be provided, whereby our organizations will be protected against the unfairness of Fanchon and Marco employing non-union wardrobe women on the Fox Theatre Circuit; and

WHEREAS, The Fox Theatres Corporation are enlarging their circuit of houses throughout United States and Canada, and employ non-union labor in the wardrobe department, thus destroying our working standard, also lowering our wage scale, which is against all principles of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the Delegates and Representatives of our organizations most respectfully ask that the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to gain us recognition in all theatres, and to support us in our fair and just fight for our rights as trade unionists.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Protective Legislation for Union Labels in District of Columbia

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is no law in the District of Columbia which protects the membership of unions in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor against the misuse of their emblems, that is, their Union Labels, Shop Cards and Working Buttons; and

WHEREAS, These union emblems have been misused by parties not authorized to use them in the District of Columbia, and no redress can be had for the abuse of these emblems under present conditions except by procuring injunctions or a suit at law; and

WHEREAS, Such remedies are costly and cumbersome and do not yield the immediate and effective result that the registration laws of the several states do with regard to the protection of the Union Label, Shop Card and Working Button; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced such bill or bills in the Congress of the United States, and try to secure their adoption, that will protect the Union Label, Working Button and Shop Card from misuse or imitation in the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Camden, N. J., for the 1931 A. F. of L. Convention

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Joseph V. Egan of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The first Monday in September, 1931, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the advent of Labor Day, being first held in the City of New York on September, 1882; and

WHEREAS, The father of the movement that brought about this National Holiday as a tribute to Labor, our late Brother Peter M. McGuire, the first International Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and whose residence, during the greater part of his life was situated in the City of Camden, New Jersey, and his remains are now interred in Arlington Cemetery in the same city; and

WHEREAS, It was through our late Brother McGuire's efforts, in addition to others, that the American Federation of Labor came into being, and his courageous fights in behalf of labor in the early days of its existence have helped in a great measure to bring about our present-day conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, in this Fifty-second Annual Convention, assembled this 15-16-17th days of September, 1930, at Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record to present a resolution to the American Federation of Labor at their next convention in Boston, in October, 1930, that the 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in the City of Camden, New Jersey, as a tribute and as a pilgrimage to Camden, to honor the memory of our late Brother Peter J. McGuire.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Employment of Civilian Workers on Mechanical Work for Army and Navy

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is considerable unemployment in the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War are constantly assigning repair work to enlisted men that was formerly performed by civilian labor; and

WHEREAS, If this governmental repair work was performed by civilian labor it would reduce considerably the ranks of the unemployed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual Convention assembled in Boston, Mass., in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty (1930), that the Officers of the American Federation of Labor correspond with the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War and endeavor to have the repair work of the Army and Navy Departments per-

formed by skilled and experienced civilian workers, thereby relieving to some extent the unemployment situation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Study of Remedial Legislation to Relieve Unemployment

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The present period of unemployment existing in the United States is causing untold privation among the wage earners and their dependents; and

WHEREAS, The modern trend of American Industry is towards mergers and consolidations, with a corresponding increase of mechanization and elimination of the use of man power; and

WHEREAS, Modern methods of business accounting provide for setting up funds to take care of depreciation, interest, and cash reserves, but make no provision for the human element in times of depression; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., in the year 1930, to request the Executive Council to appoint a Committee to make a study of the question of remedial legislation, having for its purpose the establishment of the unemployment situation upon Industry, to the end that the rights of wage-earners to regularity of employment and wages be co-equal with all other fixed charges accepted by Industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Building Trades Department vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The following resolution was ordered submitted by the Building Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, affiliated to this body, but not in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, having withdrawn some time ago; and

WHEREAS, This organization has repeatedly violated the jurisdiction of the various International Unions of the Building Trades who are also affiliated to this Federation; and

WHEREAS, The said Brotherhood of Carpenters have refused to adhere to or obey any jurisdiction that has been handed down by the late Jurisdiction Award Board or of the Building Trades Council of the Department; and

WHEREAS, By their actions on jurisdiction matters they are attempting to break down the morale and weaken the militancy of the members of the various building trades

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

mechanics within the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Recently in the City of Washington, D. C., they permitted the members of their Washington, D. C., locals to infringe on the jurisdiction of some of the trades on what is known as the Garfinkle job and the Tower Building. After repeated efforts by the representatives of that Association and the official of the local Building Trades Council to adjust the difficulty, the trades working on this job were compelled to stop work. Then the unfriendly contractor procured an injunction, and the Building Trades Council was restrained from compelling the contractor to obey the laws of the Building Trades Council, the Council claiming that the carpenters' representatives assisted the contractor in procuring the restraining order. The local council also was put to considerable expense to fight the case; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of the City of Washington, D. C., have protested to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department against the carpenters' organization infringing on all the jurisdictions of the various unions affiliated with that council, claiming that it has cost the body considerable in fighting injunctions forced upon them by the action of this organization. The Council have requested that they be given some redress or remedy by the Department, so that the rights of those locals in affiliation with the Council shall be protected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention notify the Brotherhood of Carpenters through the officers of the Federation that they must cease infringing on the jurisdiction of the various International Unions who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, at once, and to obey the decisions handed down by the Building Trades Department in favor of the respective International organizations, failure on their part to carry out the decisions of the Convention, that the penalty be invoked in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Eight Hour Day for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Edward J. Looney of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The fire fighters of the United States and Canada are now working what is known as the "two-platoon system," that is, an average of twelve hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters are practically the only body of civic employes who work such long hours, other employes' work being such that they shall not exceed eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters has gone on record as favoring an eight hour day for all paid fire fighters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in

Boston, Massachusetts, does hereby go on record as approving of the eight hour day for all paid fire fighters in the United States and Canada, and further instructs the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils to assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when the campaign is made for the eight hour day for fire fighters.

Referred to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

To Protect Interests of Union Labor in Boulder Dam Work

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Operations on the Boulder Dam project, involving construction costing over \$165,000,000 and which will provide employment to thousands of men for the next eight or ten years, will be practically in progress next year, and

WHEREAS, It is yet undetermined whether the construction is to be by private contract or force account, under the supervision of the Reclamation Service Department of the Federal Government, and

WHEREAS, There is need for concerted effort on the part of Organized Labor to create and institute protective measures in order that this gigantic Governmental project be constructed under conditions favorable to Organized Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual session assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty (1930) hereby requests its Executive Council to make a thorough research and investigation of same and endeavor to put into effect all elements tending to safeguard the interests of Organized Labor on this project; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council recommend to each National and International Union whose jurisdiction is and will be affected by the Boulder Dam project, that they assign a representative to protect their interests and the interests of Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing Senate Bill Providing Pensions for Crews of Transportation Vessels Used in U. S. Military Service

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is now in the Senate of the United States a Bill entitled H. R. 6997, granting pensions to the men who manned the ships engaged in the transportation of troops, supplies, ammunition and other materials of war during the period of our war with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the Chinese relief expedition and other purposes, and the

Bill cited above was passed by the House of Representatives, and

WHEREAS, It is thirty years past since these wars; and these men, owing to economic changes in industry, and due to their age, are nearly all incapacitated to follow their crafts, and

WHEREAS, This Bill has received the endorsement of several State Labor Federations and of numerous employee organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty (1930) request the Executive Council to instruct the Legislative Committee to use their best endeavors to have this Bill (H. R. 6997) pass the United States Senate favorably.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Eight-Hour Day for New York City Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Edward J. Looney of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The establishment of an eight-hour day in the New York fire department, as provided by a bill now before the Board of Aldermen, will help relieve the distress of unemployment while increasing the efficiency of the fire force and giving relief to men who now work eighty-four hours a week in protecting the lives and property of the people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, hereby directs the attention of the officials of the City of New York to the importance of early enactment of the Fire Department Eight-Hour Law and call upon all trade unionists to urge the adoption of an eight-hour day for firemen as in keeping with labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Declaring in Favor of House Joint Resolution 334 Proposing Radio Broadcasting Rights for Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior for Apportionment to Radio Stations of the Most Representative Groups

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized labor with some four million members and comprising with their families almost one-fourth of the entire population of our country and representing not only its actual membership but the many other millions of men and women who toil, has

asked the Federal Radio Commission for just one channel of the ninety available in this country, together with ample power and adequate time of operation; and

WHEREAS, The commission however has denied this petition and has granted to WCFL—Labor's station—the right to broadcast on only 1500-watt power during the daytime only, while it has granted to the radio trust six or seven clear channels with unlimited time of operation besides numerous other broadcasting stations with part time operation; and

WHEREAS, Metropolitan newspapers which already have powerful means of communication but which are nevertheless local institutions have been given the choicest wave lengths with ample power and unlimited time of operation, and hundreds of private individuals and corporations who are seeking to make a private commercial profit out of radio have been granted choice channels with ample time of operation; and

WHEREAS, The great body of millions of working men and women in the country represented by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have been told that it is not "in the public interest, necessity, and convenience" for them to have a voice on the air; and

WHEREAS, House Joint Resolution No. 334, now pending in Congress, proposes to amend the radio act of 1927 by providing that the Federal Radio Commission shall assign three cleared-channel broadcasting franchises to the Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior, which shall be licensed to the radio station recommended by the heads of those departments as being most representative of the labor, agriculture and education interests of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the fiftieth convention assembled does hereby urge the passage of House Joint Resolution No. 334 and instructs its Executive Council to make a determined effort to secure prompt action on the said Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Passage of King Bill Providing for Appropriation for Border Patrol to Enforce Restrictions Against Mexican Immigration

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, Percy J. Pryor of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, It is known that a very large number of immigrants are smuggled into this country over the Mexican border because of an insufficient border patrol; and

WHEREAS, Some fifty thousand immigrants yearly come into this country as seamen for the purpose of mingling with our population in violation of law; and

WHEREAS, These immigrants are such as can obtain no visas, being for sufficient reasons excluded from this country; and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, We have repeatedly petitioned for relief and have submitted efficient remedies without obtaining action; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, demand that the King Bill be passed and sufficient money appropriated to provide an efficient border patrol; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Resolution be sent to our Senators and Members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Adjustment of Patent Laws to Offset Destructive Effects of Automatic Machinery and Scientific Processes

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Automatic machinery and scientific processes are destroying the artistry and craftsmanship that have been created through the ages; are demanding speed for worth; are increasing the unemployed, and would doom to habitual idleness men who are over 40 years of age, and who have developed an initiative and capacity that have made our country great; and

WHEREAS, This new industrial revolution has been largely made possible by the people, through our patent laws, which give monopoly to individual and corporate owners of the automatic machine that, if not unchecked, seems destined to continue displacing workers and destroying skill; and

WHEREAS, The operation of our patent laws places the people in the paradoxical position of legalizing any anti-social conduct the machine owner may elect by arbitrarily enlarging the army of unemployed who must either die or be supported by the state; and

WHEREAS, Patent laws of a past individualistic age are not applicable in an age of corporations who fail to accept new social outlooks, duties and responsibilities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorizes the Executive Council to study the feasibility of asking Congress to adjust our patent laws so that workers and society may be benefited by the machine which now causes unemployment and enlarges the charity budget of voluntary associations and of every unit of government in the land.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Patronage of Fair Concerns in Full Fashioned Hosiery Industry

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Real Silk Mills, manufacturers of women's full-fashioned hosiery, have a policy in their factory which includes a "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The Real Silk Mills of Indianapolis have secured an injunction in the Federal Courts restraining the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, a department within the United Textile Workers of America, from approaching their employees to explain the benefits of trade unionism to them; and

WHEREAS, A large part of the hosiery manufactured by the Real Silk Mills of Indianapolis is sold from door to door, to the wives, sisters and daughters of the American Labor Movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftyith Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn the labor policy of the Real Silk Mills of Indianapolis, Indiana; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to all affiliated local unions and city and state bodies along with a letter urging our membership to purchase only such full fashioned hosiery as appears on the "white list" issued by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Patronage of Pequot Products

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America in Salem, Massachusetts, are seriously handicapped and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills making the same product at a lesser cost, with longer hours to work and lower wages, and

WHEREAS, The local unions of Salem and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade union movement, and suggesting a means whereby our organization can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy our union and place this mill in the same class as the other low-paid mills which drive their workers with the speed-up or stretch-out plan, in order to secure mass production at low cost, with the inevitable glutting of the market; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its former action to urge the delegates to keep in mind Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases in order to assist the United Textile Workers of America in promoting their patronage throughout the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention reiterate the previous action of the American Federation of Labor in authorizing the promotion of

Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, and again urge all delegates to take a personal interest in assisting the United Textile Workers of America to resist the attack of non-union sheeting mills; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Enactment of Legislation Restricting Filipinos and Mexican Immigrants

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Percy J. Pryor of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Millions of workers of this country are unemployed and are being gradually driven to abject poverty and increasingly, by lack of physical necessities, to serious crime, and

WHEREAS, While this is progressing an increasing number of immigrants arrive from the Philippines and from south of the Rio Grande, and

WHEREAS, The failure to pass effective immigration restriction laws and the lax enforcement of existing immigration restriction laws are largely responsible for the growing heed and desperation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Annual Convention assembled, that we demand from Congress the immediate exclusion of Filipinos and of the immigrants from south of the Rio Grande and from the Government the strict enforcement of immigration restriction laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pavers vs. Hod Carriers and Building Laborers

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag-Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb-Setters:

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is infringing upon the jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag-Layers, Wood Block and Brick Pavers, Bridge and Stone Curb-Setters, Asphalt Workers and Road Builders by intimidating the membership of asphalt workers' local unions in Chicago, Illinois, affiliated with the International Union of Pavers, etc., and compelling them to join Laborers' Local Union No. 381, located in Chicago, Illinois, affiliated with the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made by the officers of the International Union of Pavers, etc., to carry out the provisions of

Article 3, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor (held at Baltimore, Maryland, November 13th to 26th, inclusive, 1916), on a roll-call vote upon the report of the Committee on Adjustment, recognized the jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, etc., over the men engaged in the laying of sheet asphalt pavements (Resolution No. 140, Page 333, Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor); therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America be instructed to revoke the charter of Laborers' Local Union No. 381, of Chicago, Illinois, and refrain from interfering with the workers and jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, etc.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Proposing Endorsement of Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate T. A. Slavens of the Newport, Rhode Island, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Under our present economic order standards of production are constantly improving; and

WHEREAS, The working class has not yet perfected its labor organization to insure a proper distribution of this increased production; and

WHEREAS, This increased production is most generally reflected in three channels of our business structure: first, increased dividends or earnings in business; second, increased values of stocks and bonds above par or original selling value; third, increased bank deposits and reserves; and

WHEREAS, This increased production invariably leads to unemployment, bringing hunger and misery on the worker, depression and lower values upon business; and

WHEREAS, This condition could be partially remedied by the adoption in each state of an unemployment insurance act, revenue for the operation of such an act to be derived from a tax on the above named three sources, and to be administered by a commission of three, one of whom shall be selected from the recognized trade unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring the adoption of such legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge State Federations of Labor to use all possible efforts to cooperate with all other agencies or fraternal organizations to secure the enactment of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Protesting Modification of Packers Consent Decree

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Patrick E. Gorman, M. J. Kelly and Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, Several years ago the United States Government, during the Wilson administration, made an agreement with certain American meat packers; namely, Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson and Cudahy packing companies, whereby these companies confine their activities to the packing industry and divest themselves of all interest in unrelated lines and refrain from carrying on a retail meat business; and

WHEREAS, This agreement known as the "Consent Decree" has worked out and is now working out beneficial to the public and to the retail meat dealers of the country; and

WHEREAS, During recent months these same packers have petitioned the government to modify the "Consent Decree" so that these packers could engage in the retail merchandising of meats; and

WHEREAS, To allow the packers their petition would be granting these packers monopoly of the meat trade and would work out to the detriment of the meat consuming public and to the thousands of small merchants who have been engaged all their lives in the retail merchandising of meats; and

WHEREAS, To grant the packers' petition would create serious hardship upon the retail meat dealers of the country because these packers could, and would, undoubtedly, use their great force to drive the independent merchant out of the meat business. Fully seventy-five percent of the product handled by the independent meat dealers is now purchased directly or indirectly from these same five packers, and to allow the packers' petition would put these retailers in a most unfavorable competitive position; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of independent present day retail meal dealers are friends of organized labor while these five large packing companies, by their past actions and declarations, are bitter enemies of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It was in the plants of these five packing companies that so-called "company unions" were formed to supplant the legitimate trade unions, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in its recent convention held at Detroit, Michigan, in June of 1930, made a strenuous protest to the government, through the office of Attorney-General, that there be no modification of the "Packers Consent Decree" that would permit these packers to engage in the retail merchandising of meats; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and raise their voices in the name of all labor by a protest to the Attorney-General,

of the United States, President Hoover and all Administration officers who are charged with the enforcement of the "Packers Consent Decree" that is now in effect.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Legislation for Disposition of the Muscle Shoals Project

Resolution No. 53—By the Tri-Cities Central Labor Union, Sheffield, Florence and Tuscaloosa, Ala.

WHEREAS, There has been an inexcusable delay in the settlement of the great Muscle Shoals project by Congress, and

WHEREAS, The activities of lobbyists for selfish interests in bringing about this delay are a national disgrace, and

WHEREAS, The proper settlement and development of this project would be of immense benefit to the entire Southeast and would in a large measure relieve the unemployment situation which is most distressing in this section; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members and officials of the Tri-Cities Central Labor Union, which body represents all labor crafts of the Muscle Shoals district and vicinity, in regular meeting assembled on this the 24th day of September, 1930, urge the members of Congress to take action at the next session of Congress convening in December, 1930, that will bring about immediate settlement and disposition of this project in such a way as will fully protect the rights of the public; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the officers of the American Federation of Labor with the request that such a Resolution or similar Resolution be presented to the American Federation of Labor while in session at Boston, Massachusetts, in annual Convention, and that this Convention be urged to adopt and support such a Resolution. The adoption of such a Resolution being in harmony with the past conduct of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Request the President of the United States to Create a Long Range Planning Committee of Public Works to Avert Unemployment

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates M. J. Coleran, W. A. O'Keefe, J. E. Rooney, T. A. Scully, Duncan Payne of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, and Arthur M. Huddell of the International Union of Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment and how to cope with it is one of the major problems of this Convention; and

WHEREAS, President Hoover in his address to the convention stated that the Government was doing all in its power to relieve the present depression; and

WHEREAS, Consistently for the past twenty-eight years we have been visited by a depression every seven years; and

WHEREAS, In 1921 President Hoover, acting as Chairman of a Committee to study future unemployment appointed by the late President Harding, brought back twelve principles of a probable solution; and

WHEREAS, The sixth principle of the twelve proposed a long range planning Committee of Public Works; and

WHEREAS, Nothing has been done to

create such a board, who in the opinion of many would be the means of averting future depressions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor with the President of the other departments call on the President of the United States and request that a long range planning committee of Public Works be created so as to avert future unemployment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11.00 o'clock the convention recessed until 9.30 o'clock Wednesday, October 8.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts,
October 8, 1930.

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Delegates Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Wenzel, Reagan, Tracy (W.), Kasten, Schulte, Coulter, Schlesinger, Marshall, Hogan, Rode, Scully (J. J.), Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Lewis, Hannah, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Evans, Stingle, Graham, Wilson (T. A.), Anderson, Bowden, Moses (C. J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G. C.), Laude, McEwen, Machado, Sweeney, Mueller, Taylor, (C. O.), Becker, Katz, Souza, Augustino, Summer (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P. F.), Dacey, Sheehan, Shave, Thompson, Draper, Finan, Kelly (W.), Beauregard, Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Fitzpatrick, Callahan, Jones, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M. G.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Roberts, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Webster, Lawson (O. L.), Hampton, Taylor (S. M.), Mitchell (T.), Miller, Vaccarelli.

COMMUNICATIONS

The following telegrams and letters were read by Secretary Morrison:

Kansas City, Mo.,
October 7, 1930.

Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L.,
Statler Hotel.

John T. Smith passed away five thirty a. m. Please convey this sad news to his many friends, especially the Kansas City delegation.

F. D. BROWN.

Salt Lake City, Utah,
October 6, 1930.

President Wm. Green, A. F. of L. Convention
Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

The Salt Lake Building Trades Council wishes every success to the Fiftieth A. F. of L. Convention and hopes for the support of Salt Lake City for the 1931 Convention. Come to Salt Lake City, the center of scenic America, the home of hospitality, and the historic landmark of the old west.

F. A. NOLLER,
Secretary.

A letter signed by John O. Ogg contained an invitation from the 48th Annual Session of the Ohio Typographical Conference, held in April, 1930, asking that the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Columbus, Ohio. The letter contained the statement that the American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 15, 1881, when a meeting was held at

Columbus, Ohio, at which the present name and type of organization of the American Federation of Labor were chosen.

The following letter was received from the Ohio State Federation of Labor, addressed to Secretary Morrison:

The Ohio State Federation of Labor joins with the Columbus Federation of Labor, the city officials and the civic and commercial bodies of Columbus, Ohio, in extending to the American Federation of Labor a cordial invitation to hold its 1931 annual convention in the Capital City of Ohio.

Fraternally,

THOS. J. DONNELLY,
Secretary-Treasurer Ohio State Federation of Labor.

The Secretary read a letter from A. P. Nowozny, Secretary of the Lorain, Ohio, Central Labor Union, urging that the 1931 convention be held in Columbus, Ohio. These letters were supplemented by invitations from The Columbus Chamber of Commerce, signed by Ralph H. Hoyer, President, and Fred W. Connolly, Executive Director. A similar invitation was read from the Inter-Club Council, Columbus, Ohio, signed by Joseph E. Cross, President, and Paul H. Deering, Secretary.

Invitations were read from Mayor John C. Porter, Los Angeles, Calif., and from Mayor D. J. Pearce, St. Petersburg, Florida.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: After listening to the invitation from the Chamber of Commerce of Columbus, Ohio, and other organizations and hotels, I notice that they do not say you will be served by union waiters, waitresses and cooks if the convention is held in that city. We haven't a member in the city of Columbus. We have tried repeatedly to organize that city, but did not succeed. Please consider this when you are selecting a city.

Vice-President Duffy: That is a good thing to have in mind when selecting the city.

The following letter, addressed to Secretary Morrison, was read:

The recent convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor instructed me to convey to you, and through you to the delegates of the convention, our desire that the City of Camden, New Jersey, receive consideration as the city in which to hold the 1932 convention.

Peter J. McGuire, the sponsor of Labor Day, rests in Camden. The year 1932 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of Labor Day. What would be more fitting, then, than that the hosts of Labor should assemble in convention near the shrine of one of its founders and on the semi-centennial of our great day.

With best wishes for a successful convention, I am,

Fraternally,
HUGH V. REILLY,
Secretary.

President Green: It is quite apparent that none of the committees are ready to report this morning. We have a little time on our hands, and fortunately we have with us one of our stalwart trades unionists and he has a message for the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. The older delegates who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years and the younger ones will remember with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction our genial secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. He has been a familiar figure at conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years. Those of us who know him well understand that he has always been a student of the trades union movement and has given the subject of injunctions, yellow dog contracts and the decisions of our courts on matters relating to labor very careful and serious attention. We have always listened to his addresses with feelings of very great pleasure and satisfaction. I am glad he is prepared to speak in a most illuminating and instructive way this morning. I know you will be very glad to hear him. It therefore affords me great pleasure to present to you the secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Brother John P. Frey.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN P. FREY
(Secretary-Treasurer Metal Trades
Department)

Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Five years ago at a convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City, I had the privilege of bringing to the attention of the convention the legislative measure adopted by the Ohio State Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing an end to the use of yellow dog contracts. During these five years there has been an extraordinary development of interest in connection with the yellow dog contract. A number of state federations of labor introduced what was known as the Ohio Bill, as it had been first introduced by the Ohio State Federation of Labor. This measure to declare yellow dog contracts null and void received the attention of the staffs of attorneys employed by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades Association, the National Founders Association, and the legal staff of practically every national employers' association opposed to our trade union movement. In several states the measure received much consideration by the legislatures and in several it passed one branch. In one state only, Wisconsin, has the law been enacted. The lower courts have held the law to be constitutional, and up to the present time the Employers

State Association of Wisconsin has not had the courage or its legal advisors have lacked the courage to carry the question of the constitutionality of the Wisconsin law to the Supreme Court of that state.

Not only has there been this legislative interest in the yellow dog contract, but the American public became aware during the year that it was a subject of tremendous national importance. I think it is no exaggeration to say that since the great debates preceding the Civil War, there have been no debates in the Senate of the United States upon a fundamental question which so shook the minds of those in authority, as the debates in the United States Senate over the confirmation of Judge J. J. Parker. There were perhaps incidental matters brought into that discussion, but the main argument, the main defense, the main attack were all over the yellow dog contract, the methods by which lawyers and some courts had made it possible that an alleged form of contract could be used and supported by the judiciary to deny American citizens the right to trades union organizations.

The effects of the debate over the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker reflected themselves in the primaries which have been held this year. Some senators who supported Judge Parker's confirmation will not be voted for this fall. They were defeated at the primaries. Some who voted to confirm him will be defeated in November. Senators who earned the enmity of organized business in this country because they supported the position of the American Federation of Labor, that Judge John J. Parker was unfit to sit upon the Supreme Court bench because of his opinion in the Red Jacket Case, after encountering all of the opposition that could be brought to bear against them, won in the primaries and will unquestionably be elected next month.

This yellow dog contract legislation, beginning originally in a motion which I was privileged to introduce in a convention of this Federation five years ago, has become one of the greatest political questions that have come before the United States Senate. I would not be taking up your time this morning merely to make reference to the yellow dog contract itself, but something has taken place, originating in this state, which, it seems to me, must receive the attention of this convention.

Regardless of what Congress may do, the effort of our trades union movement to eliminate yellow dog contracts must be carried on through our state federations of labor. The members of the several state legislatures are just as sensitive to influences brought to bear by chambers of commerce and employers' associations as senators and congressmen are in Washington. If any comfort could be given to those legislators who would like to evade any discussion on the question in their legislatures, if anything could be done which would stem our efforts to introduce and successfully fight for anti-yellow dog contract bills in the coming sessions, then that is exactly what the anti-union forces of this country desire. That is what the attorneys for the associations of employers are looking for. That is

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

the comfort and assurance that all of the opponents of our trades union movement desire.

Unfortunately, that comfort and that assurance and that assistance have recently been given by the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts. As the decision of this Supreme Court will undoubtedly be printed by hundreds of thousands, spread throughout the country, placed upon the desks of every state representative and every state senator, it seemed to me that while we were in convention in Massachusetts it might be well to bring into this convention not only what the Supreme Court of this state has done, but to bring together the references, the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and the tendency of those decisions, so that in the several states no one will necessarily need be deceived as to the value and the substance and the unsound and illogical character of the opinion handed down by the Supreme Court of this state.

And so I have tried to bring together for the purpose of the record a number of opinions and decisions which will enable all the distinguished members of the Supreme Court of this state to determine whether they are satisfied or not and whether their own construction of previous decisions is deserving of serious consideration by any competent attorney who is at least 50 per cent American in his belief in our institutions.

The Governor of this state and the House of Representatives jointly requested the Supreme Court of Massachusetts to give its opinion as to whether our anti-yellow dog contract bill would be constitutional if enacted. They handed down their opinion on April 15, a unanimous opinion, and they said that if the bill, which has been endorsed by so many state federations of labor, which is now the law in Wisconsin, was passed by the Massachusetts legislature it would be unconstitutional. There is nothing surprising in such an opinion from the distinguished Supreme Court of this state. For its learned justices to have found otherwise would have been to stultify themselves, would have been to declare that the opinions they have handed down in connection with many injunction cases in this state were unsound, that they had been mistaken in that long series of decisions, particularly during the last twelve years, which made it plain that so far as they were concerned the right of wage earners to trades union organizations and the right of employers to trade associations were two entirely separate and distinct things. This court does not believe, and has not believed, since some of its most distinguished members went to still higher courts, that the wage earner is entitled to the same rights and privileges and opportunities as the man in business or the owner of industrial property. Many decisions have been handed down in injunction cases by this court making this perfectly clear; but it is unnecessary for me to go further as to the attitude of this court. In their opinion now being referred to they indicate it quite clearly, for in one portion they say:

"This court repeatedly has held that the employer is as free to make non-membership in a union a condition of

employment as the working man is free to join the union, and that this is a part of the constitutional rights of personal liberty and private property, not to be taken away even by legislation, unless through some proper exercise of the paramount police power."

And then to justify their opinion they quote three well known labor cases which have been considered by the U. S. Supreme Court: the Hitchman Coal & Coke Company Case, in which the yellow dog contract was involved; Adair vs. United States, in which the Federal law prohibiting the discharge of union employees on railways because of trades union membership was involved, and Coppedge vs. Kansas, which covered the Kansas law denying the right of the employer to discharge a man because of his membership in a trades union.

The Supreme Court of this State gave no consideration, apparently, to the Federal decisions which have been handed down since these famous cases were acted upon, but, influenced by what is certainly a mediaeval conception of the employer's rights, the original conception of master and servant, when the master was the only one who had a voice in making the laws and the servant was provided for to suit the master's desires, they handed down this opinion.

I want to touch for a moment, so that we can better understand just what this court did, on what it would mean if it was carried into effect everywhere. This court, in complying with the request of the House of Representatives and the Governor, acted in accordance with the constitution of Massachusetts. The original constitution of this state was enacted in 1780, or some seven years before the Federal Constitution was enacted, and at that early date there were business men, property owners, who were quite careful that their own interests should not be lost sight of in the struggle to establish human liberty. And so they provided in the first constitution of this state that whenever a question as to the constitutionality or propriety of a legislative measure arose, one branch of the legislature and the Governor could request the Supreme Court to give an opinion, and if the Supreme Court held that such legislation would be improper or unconstitutional, that was the end of the matter.

These men who helped frame the Massachusetts constitution in 1780, who at least put it over, did not believe in giving to the people the full opportunity of presenting reasons why specific legislation should be enacted. This provision in the Massachusetts constitution is the most effective way of preventing the discussion of legislative problems that could be devised, because all the executive head and one branch of the legislature have to do when a majority are opposed to a legislative measure is to go to the Supreme Court, secure its opinion that the measure would be unconstitutional if enacted, and then there can be no discussion of the matter before the legislative body.

A short time ago this same question of the judiciary invading the legislative function arose in connection with the injunction problem and the yellow dog contract. The American Federation of Labor has a measure

before Congress, an anti-injunction bill. The Committee on Judiciary of the Senate which has been considering the question had some members upon it who apparently were unwilling to assume their responsibility as legislators if they could find some way of passing that responsibility to other public officials or some other branch of the government. And so after more than two years' consideration of our bill the majority of the Committee on Judiciary of the United States Senate requested the Department of Justice of the United States to express an opinion as to whether our bill would be constitutional if enacted. The Attorney-General quite promptly notified the committee diplomatically that they could not pass their responsibility as legislators to the judicial branch of the Government. Then he went further and said that this had been the position of all previous Attorneys-General. He might have added that the men who sat in the constitutional convention in 1787 had a much sounder understanding of what was necessary in the government of free men than those who placed in the constitution of Massachusetts the provision enabling one branch of the legislature and the Governor and the Supreme Court to block any consideration of legislation to which they were opposed.

This question of whether there should be any such power lodged in the Supreme Court or lodged in the executive was discussed at great length and with great heat in the Federal constitutional convention. Three times delegates who favored a provision in the Constitution of the United States similar to that now operating in this state brought the question to a vote, and three times the proposition was overwhelmingly defeated. The delegates were determined that the executive and judicial branch of our government would never be permitted to exercise such authority over the legislative.

It may seem like assumption on the part of a layman to criticize a provision of the constitution of this state or to criticize the Supreme Court of this state and to add that apparently their mentality on this question belongs to the mediaeval period instead of the twentieth century. So I want to quote some brief paragraphs from Madison's Minutes of the Constitutional Convention, so that we can see where the founders of our Federal Constitution stood upon this question of permitting the judicial or the executive branch of the Government to interfere with the legislative rights and legislative responsibilities of the people's representatives. Madison, in keeping the minutes, could not keep them verbatim. I am now reading from Madison's Minutes; Mr. Gerry, who I believe was one of the delegates from Massachusetts, said this with reference to the motion to create a council of revision with power to determine in advance whether legislation could be considered on the ground that it might be unconstitutional:

"The motion was liable to strong objection. It was combining and mixing together the legislative and the other departments. It was establishing an improper coalition between the executive and judiciary departments. It was making statesmen of judges; and setting them up as the guardians of the rights of the

people. He relied, for his part, on the representatives of the people as the guardians of their rights and interests. It was making the expositors of the law the legislators, which never ought to be done."

A little later Delegate Strong added his opinion:

"He thought, with Mr. Gerry, that the power of making ought to be kept distinct from that of expounding the laws. No maxim was better established. The judges in exercising the functions of expositors might be influenced by the part they had taken in framing the laws."

And then Delegate Martin I think put his finger upon the principles involved more clearly than did Delegate Gerry and Delegate Strong. He said:

"A knowledge of mankind and of legislative affairs cannot be presumed to belong in a higher degree to the judges than to the legislature. And as to the constitutionality of the laws, that point will come before the judges in their proper official character. In this character they have a negative on the laws. Join them with the executive in the revision and they will have a double negative. It is necessary that the supreme judiciary should have the confidence of the people. This will soon be lost if they are employed in the task of remonstrating against popular measures of the legislature."

And so in this state exists a provision in its constitution directly in conflict with provisions and principles incorporated in the Federal Constitution. It has been possible for one branch of the legislature, the Governor, with the assistance of the State Supreme Court, to prevent any consideration in the legislative body of this state of an anti-yellow dog contract bill. If they had similar provisions in other states we would not have the law as it is in Wisconsin, and if it was in the Federal Constitution then long ago we might have had an opinion that our anti-injunction bill might be held unconstitutional and for that reason there could be no further consideration of it in the halls of Congress.

Now, what is involved in the action of this State Supreme Court? Time and again in injunction cases it is ruled that the wage earner had a legal right to trades union organization, but that the court could not and would not defend the enjoyment of that right if the employer objected. My purpose this morning is not to talk injunctions, but to specifically call attention to the yellow dog contract, but in passing I want to mention briefly two Massachusetts cases. The United Shoe Machinery Company, the most complete monopoly that I know of in the United States, some years ago desired to do unionize its machine shop in Beverly, Massachusetts. The foremen went around and told the union machinists that they must sign this contract, which compelled them to surrender their membership in the union, or be discharged. To prevent enforcement of that yellow dog contract the machinists' union went on strike. They were restrained from continuing on strike and their national union was restrained from giving them support and as-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

sistance. That injunction was upheld by the State Supreme Court of this state.

In the Springfield Foundry case, Springfield, Massachusetts, the firm desired to de-unionize its plant, and without any previous knowledge one morning when the molders reported to work they found a new crew composed of strike breakers in the shop. The molders' union declared the shop on strike. An injunction was issued restraining them from saying that there was a strike or any difficulty whatever in the plant, and that injunction was sustained by the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

So that the wage earners in the state of Massachusetts have no right to trades union organization except in so far as the employer gives his consent. If an employer in this state is opposed to his employees being unionized, if he desires to enforce the yellow dog contract upon them, if he discharges them and places non-union men in their places, then the Supreme Court of this state holds that the employer is within his rights, but the wage earner is not within his legal rights in resisting. Through these judicial decrees they are denied the right to protect their organization from destruction when the organized employers attack them. The Supreme Court of this state has established class distinction, the employer being free to organize for his self-protection, free as an inherent right as a citizen, and the wage earner of this state free to organize only so long as the employer does not object and does not bring his objection into court.

During the discussion of the confirmation of Judge J. J. Parker in the Senate there were some most remarkable speeches made. Probably some of them came as closely to defining what human liberty is, what equality of rights and opportunity consist of, as any debates that have ever taken place in the Senate Chamber. The speeches delivered made it clear that the yellow dog contract was as un-American as peonage or slavery. They made it so apparent that the leading defenders of Judge Parker's confirmation, the Senators, of whom one was from Rhode Island, in their strong defense of Judge Parker took particular pains to personally declare their abhorrence of the yellow dog contract and to stigmatize it as unconscionable and un-American.

For my purpose this morning it is the judicial attitude rather than the Senate debates I want to refer to, but there are a few expressions of opinion that might be called to your attention at this time. It is impossible, with the time at my disposal, to mention the many Senators who so courageously championed human rights. With acknowledgment of profound obligations to all Senators who championed our cause, I will quote but one, as in a paragraph he summed up the attitude of all. Senator Hiram Johnson, summing up his opinion of the yellow dog contract, said:

"Words utterly fail me in the characterization of contracts such as that. I care not whether they have been enforced by the one court or another. Legally, they are void as against public policy; socially, they are wicked and destructive of ordinary human relations; economically, they are unsound as resting upon necessity on the one side and coercion upon the other; and morally, sir, they are infamous, denying

fundamental rights and disrupting the dearest human associations."

There is a gentleman, an attorney who has represented national associations of employers for many years, who also expressed an opinion as to the yellow dog contract not so very long ago through the columns of an official publication. I am referring to Walter Gordon Merritt, one of the best known legal representatives of employers' associations in this country. He has opposed us consistently and energetically for many years, but apparently he has some understanding of the un-American character and of the intolerable condition created through the use of the yellow dog contract. This is what Walter Gordon Merritt has said:

"Recently anti-union contracts so offensive in character as to call for unqualified condemnation have come to our attention. Shall employees be thus driven to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage? Can the resourcefulness of radical leadership devise any means better calculated to influence the workers and the public against the employing class?"

And so we have Walter Gordon Merritt, an outstanding representative of employers' associations, joining with Senator Hiram Johnson in characterizing the yellow dog contract as more calculated than anything else to drive the mass of the people into opposition to the employers' policies, and government agencies which support them.

Before referring to a few decisions of the courts upon the subject of contracts, let me quote another distinguished American who took his definite position on the yellow dog contract. While the late Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, William Howard Taft, was serving as chairman of the War Labor Board, he took up the case of the Omaha & Council Bluffs Railway Company. That company had enforced the yellow dog contract upon its employees. Mr. Taft took the position that they would not be permitted to continue to do so. The company agreed to withdraw its yellow dog contracts and not make use of them in the future, and in the decision which was handed down by Mr. Taft he said in part:

"The practice of the company in times past to make restrictive contracts, such as shown to the arbitrators, if continued, would be contrary to the principles of the National War Labor Board; however, counsel for the company states to the arbitrators that this practice has been abandoned and called for no further action on the part of the arbitrators."

And so Mr. Taft said that the yellow dog contract was contrary to the principles of the War Labor Board.

Now to find fault with the yellow dog contract, to criticize the courts, is a proper thing, but what we want, it seems to me, so that we can meet the arguments that will face us when the opinion of the Massachusetts Supreme Court is placed upon the desks of every legislator in our states, is to have something stronger than criticism. We should present judicial opinions, and so I present a few.

In the case of the P. C. C. & St. L. Railway Company vs. Kinney (95 Ohio State, 64),

the court said this as to this right of contract—and let us keep in mind that the judicial attitude has been very largely that as the wage earner has the right to contract, and that as that is a most sacred right, therefore any alleged contract that the wage earner has entered into must receive the entire support of the courts of the United States Government. And so in this court case just referred to, the court said this:

"Liberty of contract is not an absolute and unlimited right, but upon the contrary is always subservient to the public welfare."

In the case of Heller vs. Lutz (254 Mo. 774), the court said with reference to this right of contract:

"No constitutional right of liberty or property is infringed by a statute forbidding the assignment of wages to be earned."

In the case of State vs. Crowe (130 Arkansas 272), the court said:

"The constitutional right of contract is not infringed by a statute prescribing a minimum wage for female employees."

Those are, however, merely the opinions of state Supreme Courts. The important thing for us is to find where the United States Supreme Court itself has stood upon this question of the right of contract.

Just before we get to that, I find that I have omitted one important state case, the Exchange Bakery & Restaurant, Inc., vs. Rikkin (245 N. Y. Reports, 200). In this case the Supreme Court declares that that kind of contract was little more than a piece of paper. Let me read two paragraphs from the decision of the Supreme Court of New York State:

"After beginning work each waitress signed a paper stating that it was the understanding that she was not a member of any union, pledging herself not to join one, or, if she did, to withdraw from her employment. She further promised to make no efforts to unionize the restaurant, and says that she will attempt to adjust by individual bargaining any dispute that may arise. This paper was not a contract. It was merely a promise based upon no consideration on the part of the plaintiff."

"Even had it been a valid subsisting contract, however, it should be noticed that, whatever rule we may finally adopt, there is as yet no precedent in this court for the conclusion that a union may not persuade its members or others to end contracts of employment where the final intent lying behind the attempt is to extenuate its influence."

And now for the Supreme Court decisions: In Frishib vs. United States (157 United States, 180), the Supreme Court said, in part:

"While it may be conceded that, generally speaking, among the inalienable rights of the citizen is that of the liberty of contract, yet such liberty is not absolute and universal. It is within the undoubted power of government to restrain

some individuals from all contracts, as well as all individuals from some contracts."

That principle is stated in other language, but just as clearly, in Holden vs. Hardy (160 U. S. 366):

"This right of contract, however, is itself subject to certain limitations which the state may lawfully impose in the exercise of its police powers. While this power is inherent in all governments it has doubtless been greatly expanded in its application during the past century, owing to an enormous increase in the number of occupations which are dangerous, or so far detrimental to the health of employees as to demand special precautions for their well being and protection."

In the case of Monitor vs. Oregon (206 U. S. 412), the court said, in part:

"It is undoubtedly true and has more than once been declared by this court that the general right to contract in relation to one's business is part of the liberty of the individual protected by the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, yet it is clearly well settled that this liberty is not absolute and extending to all contracts, and that the state may without conflicting with the provisions of the 14th Amendment make restrictions in many respects of individual power to contract."

In the case of Yick Wo vs. Hopkins (118 U. S. 338), the United States Supreme Court was perhaps a little more definite and they said, in part, in their opinion:

"But the fundamental rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, considered as individual possessions, are secured by those maxims of constitutional law which are the monuments showing the victorious progress of the race in securing men the blessings of civilization under the reign of just and equal laws, so that, in the famous language of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, the government of the commonwealth 'may be a government of laws and not of man.' For, the very idea that one man may be compelled to hold his life, or the means of living, or any material right essential to the enjoyment of life, at the mere will of another, seems to be intolerable in any country where freedom prevails, as being the essence of slavery itself."

The Supreme Court did not say the "famous constitution of the people of Massachusetts," but referred to the "Massachusetts Bill of Rights," which is an entirely different matter, for the latter announces the rights of citizens.

I think we can well place that opinion of the United States Supreme Court alongside the decision of the General Court of this state that the anti-yellow dog law would be unconstitutional if enacted in Massachusetts.

Now this State Supreme Court spent much time in discussing three cases, the Hitchman Coal Company Case, Adair vs. United States, and Coppedge vs. Kansas, basing their opinion entirely upon those three outstanding Federal decisions and giving no consideration to any

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

opinions of the Supreme Court involving the same principle which have been handed down since that time. This Supreme Court is endeavoring to make it impossible for equality of rights and opportunity to exist as between employers and employees. In a way, in my opinion, they are endeavoring to do what the legislators and the Supreme Court of the State of Alabama did when a certain labor contract law was enacted, which was intended to evade through a subterfuge the provisions of the Federal peonage law. The State of Alabama enacted a bill making it a penal offense for a man to secure money or goods and then fail to make equivalent restitution. It was expected under this law that the employer would hire a Negro, that he would advance ten or fifteen dollars to him and then if he failed to work out the loan under a system of peonage, haul him into court, not as a man whose liberty had been taken away contrary to the peonage law of the United States, but as a man who had taken some money and failed to make restitution, and in that way put him in jail. The Supreme Court of the United States held that any subterfuge of that kind would not be tolerated, that the purpose of the law was evidently to attempt to evade the provisions of the Federal peonage law. That opinion was written by the present Chief Justice of the United States, Charles Evans Hughes. In a famous case, supported by a unanimous decision, the Texas & New Orleans Railway Company Case, Chief Justice Hughes has incorporated his opinion in this Alabama law as one of the justifications for the position they had taken in the case originating in Texas.

Coppage vs. Kansas and the Hitchman Coal Company cases have a direct bearing upon this whole problem of the yellow dog contract. Let me say briefly that in connection with the Hitchman Coal Company Case there has been much misapprehension. It is true that the Supreme Court of the United States, William Howard Taft joining with the majority, held that there had been a violation of a contract and that their decision rested upon that fact, but it must be kept in mind that the validity, the legality, the propriety, the public policy involved in the yellow dog contract were not argued before the United States Supreme Court while that case was being heard. It has never yet been argued except in the case of Adair vs. United States. And where do we stand on that now?

In Coppage vs. Kansas there were two dissenting opinions. One was written by Justice Holmes, who in years gone by gave luster and legal breadth and depth to the decisions of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. He merely said he dissented, and added that all of the reasons for his dissent would be found in a number of other dissenting opinions he had written.

Another dissenting opinion, the one which was written in full, was presented by Justice Day. It has a direct and important bearing upon the question we are now considering.

This is an extract from Justice Day's dissenting opinion:

"There is a real and not a fanciful distinction between exercise of the right to discharge at will and the imposition of a requirement that the employee, as a con-

dition of employment, shall make a particular agreement to forego a legal right. The agreement may be, or may be declared to be, against public policy, although the right of discharge remains. . . . I entirely agree that there should be the same rule for employers and employed, and the same liberty of action for each. . . . The law should be as zealous to protect the constitutional liberty of the employee as it is to guard that of the employer."

The important thing in connection with this opinion is that the present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court joined with Justice Day in that opinion, an opinion which is directly the opposite of the one handed down by those distinguished gentlemen and exponents of the law now seated on the Supreme Court bench of the State of Massachusetts.

Let us go one step further. I have but one more opinion I would like to place in the record. We are all more or less aware of the case that arose in the Federal courts as a result of the dispute between the Texas & New Orleans Railway and the Freight Clerks' Union where an effort was made to prevent the organization of railway clerks from having a trades union to represent them under the Federal Railway Act. We know that that case went up from court to court until it finally went to the Supreme Court of the United States where a unanimous opinion was handed down declaring that the right of trades unionists to maintain their organizations would be supported by the United States Supreme Court.

Keeping in mind the interest which the Chief Justice indicated in the case of Bailey vs. Alabama, the interest which he took in joining with Justice Day in the dissenting opinion in Coppage vs. Kansas, a paragraph or two of which was just read, let us see how the Supreme Court of the United States embodies this principle in the latest opinion bearing directly upon the right of trades unionists to maintain their union, despite the employers' opposition, and to be represented lawfully by representatives of their own choosing. This is but a paragraph:

"The legality of collection action on the part of employees in order to safeguard their proper interests is not to be disputed. Such collective action would be a mockery if representation were made futile by interferences."

Those interferences are the judicial opinions which hold that the wage earner can be compelled to sign a yellow dog contract as the price of retaining his job, and if he fails to do so is without recourse, that if he strikes his action is an illegal one and will be restrained by courts of equity.

For some time I have been deeply interested in this question of the yellow dog contract and the injunction, because they are bound up together. I have seen the rights which were guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, sacredly enshrined in our American institutions of human liberty, shaved from us, whirled away little by little through judicial opinions, constructions, and the lawyer's weasel words. I have witnessed the failure, the cowardly failure of legislative bodies to enact the necessary legislation. I have seen the judicial doctrine cre-

ated, and I think it emanated more from the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts than any other body, that the wage earner's right to trades union organization may be a legal right, but it was not an inherent one and that it depended upon the employer's consent. The judicial doctrine that when the employer was unwilling that his employees should be organized and was endeavoring to apply a non-union policy through the use of the yellow dog contract or through discharges, any strike on our part to maintain our organization would be promptly squelched through the use of the injunction.

So we find ourselves as working men, free citizens in a free country, where we are constitutionally equal in our rights and opportunities to all others, with a judicial condition which has been created and which sets us apart as a separate and inferior group or class. The employers are organized. They have a legal right to organize. Their organizations are not only better financed, they not only maintain larger staffs of attorneys, but they are more influential than ours.

Society, modern civilization could not exist without these organizations, and nowhere exists the question of the right to organize questioned except when we attempt to protect ourselves from the greed and the arbitrary attitude of many employers. Then the statement is made that we can only enjoy the right to organize and protect ourselves when our employers give their consent. It is against that judicial doctrine, it is against that condition that this trades union movement of ours is so vitally interested in legislation having to do with the yellow dog contract and the injunction question.

Now may I speak a word personally? I have been interested in this trades union movement for many years. I have been privileged in serving as a trades union official locally and nationally for thirty-five years. I have tried to understand our problems. I have endeavored to learn something concerning the economic forces that affect us and I have some comprehension of what our principal purposes should be.

It seems to me, at the end of these thirty-five years, that regardless of any other question which we may be interested in, regardless of the improvements which should be made to correct many unfortunate conditions which exist, that there is nothing so important as first establishing our right as free Americans to trades union organization. Our legislative bodies, acting in many instances to please the employers, and at the same time gather votes, may endeavor to cajole and amuse us, as the owners of Rome did years ago when they fed the populace corn and oil and wine and gave them shows in the Coliseum, while at the same time fastening the chains of slavery on those who worked. I do not want too many of these favors from the state. I am suspicious of those outside our movement who come to us with legislative propositions intended to ease the harness that is chafing us here and there. I want to see one thing first, and the first thing first, and that is the establishing of our inherent rights, so that they cannot be interfered with by courts with an antiquated

conception of their functions and the law. Until that liberty of ours is declared more clearly by legislative bodies, until it is established more firmly by judicial opinions, there is no question which can be of equal importance. Our existence, our opportunity to continue the humanitarian and patriotic purpose which animates us, depend upon our right to maintain our organization and to make it possible for us to function.

And so as one trades unionist I intend to give what capacity I have, what little energy I possess, to keeping us on the main road so that we can first of all establish our right to organize. I am told sometimes that there is so much suffering among unorganized workers, that there is so much advantage taken of the poor and the helpless and the unorganized, that it is our trades union duty to secure legislation to improve their material welfare.

My own opinion is that this American Federation of Labor can secure no greater protection for the non-union people of the United States, no greater protection for the helpless women in industry, than to first of all secure for them that freedom to organize and protect themselves through organization. So long as some of the decisions of our courts affecting labor are permitted to stand, and so long as the yellow dog contract can be used as a means of taking the wage earners' necessary aid; constitutional right to organize away from them, liberty, equality of rights and opportunities between employers and employed cannot exist.

Give us liberty first, give us equality of rights and opportunities first, give us the opportunity to organize and to have the right to have a voice in determining terms of employment and conditions of labor. Then we will have conferred upon the men and women that can come to human beings, that of equality of rights and opportunities in a nation of equals.

Delegate Sullivan, President New York State Federation of Labor: I listened with a great deal of attention to the very fine address delivered by Mr. Frey. In mentioning those who spoke on the confirmation of Judge Parker's appointment he omitted one very fine speech that was delivered by a very distinguished jurist, one of the best friends of labor in the United States. I thought he would make some reference to the speech, because it was editorially commented upon by newspapers in all parts of America. I have reference to the speech made by Senator Wagner of the State of New York. Mr. Frey quoted the action of many state legislatures, but forgot to mention that the New York State Legislature at its last session passed an anti-injunction act.

President Green: I am sure we all appreciate this forceful and educational address de-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

livered by Secretary Frey this morning. In a most impressive way he has called our attention to one of the most serious problems with which labor is called upon to deal. I am sure that we appreciate our difficulties more than ever following the delivery of this address.

The address of the distinguished senator from New York, Honorable Robert F. Wagner, a former member of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, was one of the most wonderful addresses delivered in the United States Senate during the time given to the consideration of the confirmation of the appointment of Judge John J. Parker. It was so wonderful that the American Federation of Labor included that address in its printed report of the outstanding addresses delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, dealing with the confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker. The trouble is there were so many fine addresses delivered on that occasion that it would be impossible almost for Secretary Frey to include in an address of this kind the proper reference that should be given to what these distinguished men said.

On behalf of the delegates to this convention I want to thank Secretary Frey for his visit here this morning and for the wonderful address he delivered.

I am very much pleased to present to the officers and delegates and visitors the Chief of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in that Bureau, in its functions and in its work. We have been giving this Bureau our unstinted support in a legislative way, as well as in a moral and political way. The work that is being done by Miss Mary Anderson and her associates is very important indeed. She has been serving as Chief of the Bureau for many years. We regard her as an expert in that line of work. She will bring to us a brief message this morning and one that will be instructive and interesting. I am pleased to present to you Miss Mary Anderson.

MISS MARY ANDERSON

(Chief of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor)

Mr. President of the American Federation of Labor and Delegates—I feel that I am one of you, because I belong to the American labor movement and have for many years. I am a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. I was in Boston when this conven-

tion met here in 1903. It was not as large a convention as it is today, but it was a very stirring one, as I remember. It was the first convention of the American Federation of Labor I attended. I have attended many since, and always enjoyed them immensely.

The problem that is confronting organized labor today is one of the introduction of so many women into the industrial field. As we investigate the conditions under which women are employed we find more and more women going into the factories and the workshops of the nation. We find that there are special problems confronting this introduction of women into the industries. One of the problems is that of the low wages that women are receiving. Because they are not so well organized as men are they are working the longer day in the industrial field, and many bad conditions arise as a result of the poor wage and the long day. The women, because they are in the minority, have to endure this because they, too, have to work to live.

Nowadays we find that women often can get jobs when men cannot. In South Bend the other day a man said he went to a factory to get a job where he heard there were some jobs. When he got there he was told, "We don't want men, we want women." He said he hurried home, told his wife about the job and she went to the factory and got it. That, of course, is only one instance, but there are too many such instances. Unofficial returns of the census bureau tell us that ten million women are being employed in the United States today. Whether or not that is correct I cannot tell until we get the official figures. That is a real problem in itself because of the conditions surrounding the employment of women and because of the fact that they are forced into the market to be under-bidders just like any minority of us have to do. In considering women's employment we feel that women are not in there because they want to be the under-bidders, because they want to do these things, for they, too, have to have the jobs to live, and they, too, are helping maintain the families.

In this problem there are special things going along with the employment of women. And I would say here that I hope you will do your utmost to organize the women, because if you do not you are going to meet a proposition you will not be able to overcome.

President Green: On behalf of the officers and the delegates attending the convention, I wish to thank Miss Anderson for her very interesting and instructive address.

The Chair invited a very distinguished gentleman to address the convention, the Secretary of War, Mr. Patrick J. Hurley, at his convenience. He is here now and prepared to appear before the delegates and bring his message to us. I am sure you will be interested in hearing him. I will appoint as a committee to escort Secretary of War Hurley to the platform, Brother Peter J. Brady, Brother George L. Berry and Brother H. C. Fremming.

When the Secretary of War had been escorted to the platform, President Green said: We are more fortunate than I thought we would be. We have other friends with us whom I had invited to come at some opportune time. The distinguished Minister to Canada from the United States, a former Commander of the American Legion, our own good friend Jack MacNider, is here with Mrs. MacNider.

I know you will be happy when I make the following announcement: that the Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, who is now serving as Secretary of War of the United States, was a member of the trades union movement in the state of Oklahoma, and, furthermore, he was identified with one of the most militant, fighting trades union organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—he was Patrick J. Hurley, a member of a local union of the United Mine Workers of America. And so we are proud of that fact, we are proud to have him here, and we are proud of the fact that with that record and that background he is now serving as Secretary of War of the United States.

There are many things I should like to say about this distinguished American citizen who made his way from an humble position, just like other distinguished Americans, to this great position of honor, a member of the President's Cabinet. It is wonderful, indeed, when a boy, born and reared in humble circumstances, can in this great land be given such honorable recognition. Furthermore, he is filling the position with credit and honor, credit to the United States and credit to his friends, and I take pleasure in presenting to you the Secretary of War.

HONORABLE PATRICK J. HURLEY

(Secretary of War of the United States)

President Green, Distinguished Guests, Members of the American Federation of Labor: I am delighted by this opportunity of meeting you. Your President's introduction took me back to the days of long ago. I began work in Mine No. 6, Phillips, Indian Territory, when I was a boy of eleven years of age. When I got big enough and old enough I became a member of the United Mine Workers of America. About thirty years ago we went on strike and I got my traveling card, so I could turn it in wherever I could find a job, but I haven't been back to work since.

In addressing the American Federation of Labor I feel that I am at home. I understand the motives by which you are actuated, and I congratulate you upon the great service that you have rendered in uplifting the stand-

ards of living of Americans. There is not in the world a labor organization that is as patriotically nationalistic in its purpose as you are. Throughout the world today we have certain species of unrest. We have heard rumors and we have seen some evidence of foreign influences working in our own country, but, knowing the labor organizations of this nation as we do, we give little attention to what is being said, for we know that fundamentally the laborers of this nation are its most sincere patriots.

The object of this Government is to establish social and economic justice, to promote education, intelligence, to abolish ignorance, intolerance and crime, to bring to every child born under this flag an equal opportunity for a life of intelligent service, peace, happiness and success.

Those principles, my friends, are not only the principles upon which this Government lives, they are the principles that are upheld and supported by the American Federation of Labor. For many years it was considered that an adequate preparation for the defense of our Government was in some way inimical to labor, but that day is past, my friends, and as Secretary of War we are receiving the most hearty cooperation in our national defense program from the American Federation of Labor.

Our national defense program is merely what is necessary to protect our people from even the fear of invasion and to enable us to maintain and transmit to prosperity those principles that have made us a great and happy nation. We are supporting this Government because it has brought more happiness to more human beings for a greater period of time than any other government that has ever existed. Knowing that our people understand that, we are unmoved by these elements of change and indications of attack upon the Government.

We are now in a period of depression. These periods come occasionally. There have been times in the past where the various elements of our citizenship were at odds with each other. I can remember, you can remember, the times when the laborers would strike and we immediately called out certain elements of the military establishment. We are in a depression now where the Chief Executive of this nation called together the industrial leaders. He asked them for certain agreements among which was this one: That during this depression the industrial leaders of America would not decrease the wages of the workers. On the other hand, he asked that labor would not cause strikes. Up to this time both sides, with very few exceptions, have kept their agreement. The result is that the nation is slowly but steadily and certainly moving back to a state of normalcy.

I congratulate you, my friends, on the splendid record of these conventions, the intelligence with which they have been conducted throughout all of these years, and the splendid contribution you have made, not only to American life, but to the leadership of labor throughout the world.

President Green: On behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention I wish to thank Secretary Hurley for his visit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

this morning and for his very pleasing and instructive message.

Before I present Mr. MacNider, Minister from the United States to the Dominion of Canada, I should like to take advantage of the occasion to introduce to the officers, delegates and visitors his wife, Mrs. MacNider, who is with him.

Mrs. MacNider came to the front of the stage and acknowledged the introduction.

President Green: I am very happy to present to you our other distinguished guest. Many of you know Minister MacNider because of his former association with the American Legion as its leader and its commander. As I recall, at one session of our convention a few years ago he appeared before us and delivered a most pleasing and instructive address. He will repeat that experience this morning. He is visiting the convention of the American Legion, and following the conclusion of that convention he will return to his work as Minister from the United States to Canada. I am sure he will help us very greatly in the development of a friendly understanding between the working people of the United States and Canada, as well as all the people of the United States and Canada. It gives me great pleasure to present Mr. MacNider.

HONORABLE J. HANFORD MacNIDER (Minister from the United States to Canada)

President Green, Members of the American Federation of Labor: I want to explain first that this suspicious sounding voice of mine got in that shape, not from anything going down my throat, but from noise coming out of it trying to explain to all these New Englanders along the line of march yesterday that Iowa is the best state in the land.

No higher privilege came to me when I was Commander of the American Legion than to be allowed to stand up before the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Cincinnati. I feel that there is no stronger or better influence to the country, or one that makes one surer about the future of the Republic, than the American Federation of Labor. If all of America were organized fully into international organizations between Canada and the United States they would not need a Minister either in Ottawa or in Washington. After all, I don't know that they need one anyway. You know old Sam Johnson said of one of these envoys that "he is a fellow who lies abroad for the good of his country." You know I cannot get away with that in Canada. The Canadians know as much about us as we do about ourselves, and they have as good a knowledge of the United States as one of those Iowans from the corn belt, the

Bible belt, or whatever you want to call it, across the Mississippi.

We are up there to try to represent our country, and Mrs. MacNider and I would be tremendously privileged when you come up—although I admit there are other more interesting things up there than Ministers—if you will be good enough to come to see us and we will do what we can for you. I thank you for letting me be here this morning.

President Green: We are always happy to have the Minister with us, and we hope he will find it possible to come again. We enjoy his visits very much, and we always welcome the message he brings. We thank you, Mr. MacNider, for your visit here and for bringing Mrs. MacNider with you.

The Chair will take advantage of this opportunity to call upon one of the fraternal delegates who always attends our conventions and brings to us a most interesting message. I refer to Miss Anna Fitzgerald, representing the Women's Union Label League. She is here this morning and I know you will be pleased to hear her. I will appoint as a committee to escort Miss Fitzgerald to the platform, John J. Manning, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, and Frank Feeney, President of the Elevator Constructors.

When Miss Fitzgerald had been escorted to the platform President Green said:

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat what I have said at so many conventions in introducing Miss Fitzgerald. We are always glad to have her here to bring to us her message and, in a way, her report on the service rendered the labor movement. I know you will be interested in the message she will bring you.

MISS ANNA FITZGERALD (Fraternal Delegate, Women's Union Label League)

President Green and delegates to the fiftieth convention of the American Federation of Labor: I come this morning to bring you the greetings of the Women's International Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary, an opportunity that has been given me for many, many years, and one that I deeply appreciate. I realize in coming into the convention of the American Federation of Labor that I am addressing a group of people who have great problems to solve and whose time during the year is taken up with business concerning their own particular organizations. We feel in connection with the work the Women's Label League is doing that we must come before this great body to tell you some of its possibilities and ask your co-operation.

It is not necessary for me to try to sell the idea to you that the women in the homes of trades unionists must be interested in this

great industrial problem. It has long since been conceded that the women spend about three-fourths or more of the money that is being earned by wage earners. Surely any student of the labor movement will readily see the necessity of educating and interesting the women so that the money may be spent for union made goods, sold by union clerks and delivered to the homes by union teamsters whenever it is possible. Then, indirectly, our activities help in organization work. If a demand for the union label and for union service were sufficient, our problem of organization would be easier than it is at the present time.

I do not wish to tell you of the value of the union label, you are all familiar with that. My purpose in coming here is to keep in mind that there is a movement on foot to help this organization which means so much to us. The women in the homes should be interested in this first. If they are interested we can accomplish a great deal more in the future than we have accomplished in the past. In many cities we find after our label work there is an increased demand for union-made goods and there is an increase in the ranks of the organized butcher workmen and other crafts. When you get the women to thoroughly understand that it means something to them whether they patronize the fair or the unfair concerns, we have accomplished something. I know the delegates who are representing central bodies and are in close contact with our organization realize that we are doing some splendid work. We want help to organize other groups of women. There is nothing that to me is more important at this time. We have heard about the necessity of organizing women. We all grant that that is absolutely necessary and something that must be accomplished, and while we are organizing the women in industry you must interest the women in the homes that spend the money earned under union conditions.

I want to appeal to you in going to your homes to interest the women in this manner. I know what is being brought about by such co-operation and I hope you will continue it so that we can come here at some future convention of the American Federation of Labor and say we have organized 50 per cent of the women in the homes. When you go into the central bodies do not forget this. If you have not already done so, see if it is not possible for you to stir up sufficient interest to get the women into this movement. I hope in the future every central body in every state will have an organization of women so closely allied with it that when we want to put on a campaign we can arouse almost as much sentiment and almost as much feeling as have been aroused by delegates that have been here for the past few days.

President Green: We always appreciate the message which Miss Fitzgerald brings to us and we appreciate more the faithful work she is doing as a representative of the Union Label Trades Department. I want to thank Miss Fitzgerald for her visit and for her message.

The Mayor of the City of Detroit is on his way and will be here in a few minutes for the

purpose of submitting a message to this convention. I hope that we will be privileged to hear him in a short time. In the meantime I will ask Brother Frank Duffy, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, to preside over this convention, as I am leaving to fill an engagement at the American Legion Convention, where I will speak at twelve o'clock. The Chair will appoint as a committee to escort the Mayor of Detroit to the convention, Brother Frank X. Martel, W. D. Mahon and Samuel P. Tobin of the Michigan Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duffy in the Chair.

Vice-President Duffy introduced Eugene P. Carver, Past Commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

EUGENE P. CARVER, JR.

(Past Commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

Mr. President and Delegates: I bring to you the greetings of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and of the Commander, Paul Wolman. I was much pleased to receive a telegram from the Commander-in-Chief instructing me to appear here and bring you the greetings of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. As Commander-in-Chief some years ago, and as a private citizen, I have had a great deal of opportunity to observe the work of your organization. I admit I observed it with a more or less critical eye, because an organization such as you represent can be of great help to the Government or can do a great deal of damage. Now I am happy to admit that your organization is one of the greatest assets of the Government today. I believe the work of your organization has made it one of the greatest functions for the advancement of the United States. The work you have done to combat Communism, to promote Americanism and see that our country is adequately prepared so that in the future you will not have to go through what some of us have gone through, has been a very great asset to our nation. I hope in the future our two organizations may be as friendly as they have been in the past. A good many members of my organization are members of yours and a good many members of your organization are members of mine.

RESOLUTIONS

Favoring Repeal of Acts Giving to the Courts Jurisdiction to Enforce Law by Equity

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Congress in enacting the Sherman Anti-Trust law extended the jurisdiction of Courts sitting in equity so as to use equity to enforce law, and

WHEREAS, Equity when given jurisdiction supersedes law and sets aside all constitutional limitations including the bill of rights and the thirteenth amendment, and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, The fundamental structure of our Government is thereby changed from one of limited powers to one of absolute and irresponsible power, and

WHEREAS, This extension of equity jurisdiction necessarily extends the definition of property so as to include activities and the earnings therefrom; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor demand from the Nation and the States that any legislative act giving to the courts the jurisdiction to enforce law by equity be promptly repealed and that nothing shall be held to be property unless it be exclusive, tangible and transferable; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to Senators and members of the House of Representatives and to the presiding officers of the legislative branches of the various states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hatters Protest Attitude of Sarnoff Irving Hat Company

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates James Haugh, Samuel Moore and Edward Gordon of the United Hatters of North America.

WHEREAS, The Sarnoff Irving Hat Company, manufacturers of hats of felt, wool, straw or Panama hat they look for the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America. In doing this they will be helping to stop firms like the Sarnoff Irving Hat Company from trying to lower the standards of living of American men and women by depriving them of their right to belong to an organization if they so desire.

in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the unfair and un-American attitude of the Sarnoff Irving Hat Company in discharging their employees because they joined a labor organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render every assistance possible to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this controversy, and if unable to do so that Sarnoff Irving hats be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor and the widest possible publicity be given to the matter contained in this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the membership of the American Federation of Labor that when buying a felt, wool, straw or Panama hat they look for the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America. In doing this they will be helping to stop firms like the Sarnoff Irving Hat Company from trying to lower the standards of living of American men and women by depriving them of their right to belong to an organization if they so desire.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes Request Transfer of Sleeping Car Porters Union

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott and Agnes Quinn McInnis, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, gave jurisdiction over Sleeping Car Porters to the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council has organized some of these workers under separate local union charters; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby directed to turn over to the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance all local unions of Sleeping Car Porters now holding charter, and to give such assistance as possible to aid and assist in the further organization of these workers.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Independence of the Philippine Islands

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America; David Levine of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Union; C. L. Bagley of the American Federation of Musicians; Rowland Watson of the Washington State Federation of Labor; Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor; H.

WHEREAS, This year the United Hatters of North America succeeded in organizing the Sarnoff Hat Company employees; as soon as this condition became known to the firm they notified their employees that any of them who attended the meetings of the organization of their craft would be discharged. A meeting was held and attended by most of the Sarnoff Company employees. Next morning ten of the leaders were discharged, and

WHEREAS, We believe that in this enlightened age the time has passed when employers of labor can any longer take the stand that joining the organization of their craft is sufficient reason for the discharge of their employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

C. Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America; Daniel P. Flaggerty of the International Association of Machinists; W. A. Granfield of the San Francisco Central Labor Council; John P. McLaughlin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and C. J. Woods of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

WHEREAS, At the time of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by our government, pledge was made by governmental authorities that the control of the Philippine Islands was to be temporary; and

WHEREAS, The Filipinos cannot be assimilated with our people without creating a mongrel race; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has held them to be Asiatics and ineligible to citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming sentiment of the Filipinos is for their independence, and we believe in the self-determination of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 50th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, while reaffirming its previous declarations on the subject, insist that the pledge made to the Filipinos and the American people be now redeemed by granting complete independence to the Filipinos.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Immediate Enactment of Welch Bill H. R. 13900, Regulating Immigration of Filipinos

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America, C. L. Bagley of the American Federation of Musicians, David Levine of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Council, Rowland Watson of the Washington State Federation of Labor, Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor, H. C. Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, Daniel P. Flaggerty of the International Association of Machinists, W. A. Granfield of the San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council, John P. McLaughlin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, C. J. Welch of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

WHEREAS, Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor the question of Filipino immigration has become even more aggravated in that they are arriving directly from the Philippines to the mainland in continuously increasing numbers, and

WHEREAS, The Filipino is racially unassimilable and therefore will add to the race problem already vexing this country; and

WHEREAS, There has already developed a condition of social concern culminating in tragic race riots due to desires of Filipinos to transgress upon the sanctity of our women in their forced efforts to assimilate; and

WHEREAS, The ship owners desiring to sell transportation are using every kind of attractive propaganda to lure the Filipino from his native land; and

WHEREAS, Unscrupulous employers in their selfish desire for cheap labor are replacing our workers with the ever available Filipinos and are thus further adding to the unemployed and subsequent destitution of our workers; and

WHEREAS, Our health authorities declare that the mode and conditions of life in the Philippines tend to destroy the stamina of these people, making them easy victims of various' contagious diseases endangering the health of our people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 50th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, while reaffirming its previous actions of the 1928-29 conventions on the subject, insists upon the immediate consideration and favorable action by Congress on the Welch bill H. R. 13900.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Endorsement of Provision of Tariff Act Prohibiting Shipment of Convict Made Goods into United States

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Holt Ross of the Mississippi State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States provided in the last tariff act that no goods, products, wares or merchandise made in whole or in part by convict labor, or by forced or indentured labor be allowed to be shipped into this country; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is highly in favor of this clause which prevents said articles being shipped into this country to be sold in competition to goods manufactured or produced by free labor; and

WHEREAS, Certain goods or products have been allowed to be entered in this country wherein it was alleged said goods were manufactured by convict labor, and whereas strong proof was offered to substantiate said allegations; and

WHEREAS, The Treasury Department ruled that the burden of proof was placed upon the parties objecting to said shipments instead of upon the shipper; so therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the American Federation of Labor does hereby heartily endorse this clause of said tariff act; and be it further

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That whenever a case presents itself wherein there is a strong probability that said convict made, forced or indentured labor goods are being or are about to be shipped into this country, that the President be instructed in using whatever means he might deem advisable in carrying out the protective features of this clause of the said tariff act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Memorial Tribute to Samuel Gompers and Deceased Leaders

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Holt Ross, Mississippi State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is always present in every convention the invisible spirit and loving memory of that happy warrior and martyr, our late and revered president, the honorable Samuel Gompers, and other late leaders; and

WHEREAS, We deem it proper to eulogize their unselfish and estimable service to our cause; so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention that the President thereof do appoint a committee to work out fitting plans for the proper tribute to their memory, and that he be further instructed to set aside an hour for the proper observance of any plans submitted by said committee.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Southern Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Holt Ross, Mississippi State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, An organization campaign has been in progress throughout the South as provided at the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This campaign has made wonderful progress notwithstanding an unusual amount of opposition and many handicaps; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the South have indicated an anxiety to become more enlightened as to the benefits of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, American and state rights have been denied thousands of Southern workers because of invoking the yellow dog contract system and through the abusive use of the writ of injunction; so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the executive committee thereof be empowered and stand instructed to continue the said Southern organizing campaign; and be it further

RESOLVED, That each and every international union and department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to lend all cooperation possible in the prosecution of this drive.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Government Contracts Should Provide for Prevailing Wage Scales

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate W. Thos. Polston of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The contract for redecorating the White House has been awarded to a non-union decorating concern; and

WHEREAS, In answer to various protest, Lieut. Col. U. S. Grant III, Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks, stated it was mandatory upon him to award the contract to the lowest bidder; and

WHEREAS, President Hoover has advocated a high wage policy as a remedy for business depression, and pledges of cooperation have been given to him by kings of industry; and

WHEREAS, The action of Lieut. Col. U. S. Grant III seems to be contrary to the advocated policy of President Hoover; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That action be taken to see that in all estimates for contracts to be let by the Government, the bidder shall figure the wages of his men on the basis of the scale of wages prevailing in that locality; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Federation of Labor Convention, now convening at Boston, Massachusetts, for its adoption.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Urging Legislation to Dispose of Muscle Shoals Project

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and Wm. E. Walter of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, There has been an inexcusable delay in the settlement of the great Muscle Shoals project by Congress, and

WHEREAS, The activities of lobbyists for selfish interests in bringing about this delay are a national disgrace, and

WHEREAS, The proper settlement and development of this project would be of immense benefit to the entire Southeast and would in a large measure relieve the unemployment situation which is most distressing in that section; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in National Convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, urge the members of Congress to take action at the next Session of Congress convening in December, 1930, that will bring about immediate settlement and disposition of this project in such a way as will fully protect the rights of the public; be it further

RESOLVED, That all Legislative Agents connected with Union Labor be urged to

bring this matter to the attention of the different members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Textile Workers Appeal for Support of Strike at Danville, Va.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, In Danville, Virginia, the workers of the Riverside and Dan River Cotton mills organized a local union affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, and these workers, almost 4,000 in number, have held their union for eight months against terrific opposition, and were recently compelled to strike when the management tried to install a form of "yellow dog contract" and to replace the members of the union by outside workers; and

WHEREAS, Every effort was made to avoid the strike, but the management supported by the unfair textile employers of the south have decided to halt our movement by the victimizing of the workers who join the union and by the use of the most treacherous methods; and

WHEREAS, We look for a long struggle in Danville, and for several months our organization has carried on relief work to assist those who were discharged for their union affiliation; and now with the strike 4,000 workers and their dependents—totaling approximately 15,000 persons—must be fed and sustained; it is therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention gives its endorsement to the Danville strikers, and all delegates are urged to assist in providing relief for these people who are now making the fight for the right to be members of the union and to secure decent conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to issue an appeal to all affiliated organizations for financial aid in this struggle.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Action to Secure 48-Hour Work Week Law in All States

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr and William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The trend toward shorter working hours is becoming general in many divisions of industry in our country; and

WHEREAS, This movement of the shorter work day and work week is accepted by all fair minded men and women as a real attempt

to stabilize industry and avoid unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The textile industry is at the lowest ebb in its history due in a great measure to the lack of vision of many textile employers in not promoting or assisting to bring about in their various states an equitable and fair work day and work week; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor take up with their various affiliated organizations in the several states not now having the 48-hour work week in the textile industry and request the officers and members of these State and City organizations to start at once a movement to bring about a maximum 48-hour work week similar to the Massachusetts 48-hour law.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Proposing Increase in Per Capita Tax to Create Fund to Promote Southern Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, One year ago the American Federation of Labor at the Toronto convention decided to institute a campaign of organization in the Southern states, and in the report of the Executive Council the success of this campaign is noted by the organizing of one hundred and twelve local unions, affiliated with various international unions, and the creation of several Central Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, During the progress of the campaign in the South many employers have used the most vicious methods in an effort to prevent the workers from organizing, and securing decent working and living conditions; and

WHEREAS, Our movement in the South has been considerably retarded because of the very limited finances available, and the number of organizers necessary to carry along such a gigantic task; and

WHEREAS, In many centers of the South the workers are meeting with bitter opposition in their efforts to become trade unionists, and it is absolutely necessary for the labor movement to devise ways for the protection of these unfortunate people who have been cruelly exploited for many years and are now making a gallant bid for freedom; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council report to this convention indicates that it would be disastrous if the gains already made in the South were to be lost through the lack of financial aid and an insufficient number of organizers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention answers the challenge of the unfair Southern employers by raising sufficient funds to complete and protect organizations through increase of per capita tax; therefore be it

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That this convention moves for the creation of a defense fund by the increasing of per capita tax, one cent per member per month, and that Article X, Section 1, is changed in accordance with this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution shall be effective as of November, 1930.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

To Authorize Formation of Separate Unions of Municipal Supervisors and Inspectors

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Richard D. Carey of Federal Labor Union No. 17710, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, A large number of persons are engaged by municipalities as supervisors and inspectors, and

WHEREAS, A number of these persons are affiliated with Federal labor unions with no special distinction of craft or classification, and

WHEREAS, The position of inspector and supervisor in municipal work has become a distinct and recognized work subject to classification and easily distinguished, and

WHEREAS, It is for the best welfare and interest of the American Federation of Labor and Federal labor unions to classify, separate and distinguish the employment of supervisors and inspectors; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That those members of the American Federation of Labor now affiliated with Federal labor unions who are engaged in the work of supervisors and inspectors of municipalities are hereby permitted and directed to form and organize independent locals, the members of which shall be engaged in the work of supervising and inspecting for and on behalf of municipalities.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Painters Request Extension of Jurisdiction

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates C. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, James P. Meehan, Edward Ackerley, Harry Kauffman and Christian M. Madsen of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, A new product for the covering of ceilings and walls has recently been placed upon the market, and

WHEREAS, This product is being applied with an adhesive under the same principles that apply to the trade of paperhanging; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter issued by the A. F. of L. to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America giving to that organization jurisdiction over cer-

tain classes of work be amended by inserting after the words: "walls and surfaces with liquid," the following words: "all materials applied to walls and ceilings with paste or other adhesives."

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Paving Cutters vs. Granite Cutters

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Albert M. Anderson of the Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.

WHEREAS, A controversy has arisen between the Granite Cutters' Association of North America and the Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada over the jurisdiction of cutting of ashlers in East Weymouth Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, Despite numerous conferences and much correspondence, no agreement can be arrived at as to which Union shall have the jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, The ashler cutters in East Weymouth have asked that this jurisdictional dispute be settled so that they may become organized; and

WHEREAS, Fifty per cent of the ashler cutters working in East Weymouth are paving cutters, and less than five per cent granite cutters, the rest having learned the trade there; and

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the tools used in cutting ashlers are classed as granite cutters' tools, while the remainder are recognized as paving cutters' tools, in many instances paving cutters' tools being used exclusively; and

WHEREAS, If the ashler cutters come under the jurisdiction of the Paving Cutters' Union, they can cut paving as well as ashlers, on account of the similarity in the work, while if the jurisdiction is granted the Granite Cutters' Association, the ashler cutters must confine their work to cutting ashlers only, as they have not learned the granite cutters' trade; and

WHEREAS, Five years ago the Granite Cutters' Association claimed only such work as was done with pneumatic tools and surface machines, which are not used in cutting ashlers in East Weymouth; and

WHEREAS, Two years ago the Granite Cutters' Association promised their co-operation in getting the ashler cutters in East Weymouth organized for the Paving Cutters' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 50th convention assembled grants the jurisdiction over ashler cutting in East Weymouth, Massachusetts, to the Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Condemning Lynching

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18069, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, An alarming and frightful resurgence of lynching and mob violence in the last nine months has swept the country, rendering the persons, jobs and property of colored Americans insecure, thereby defying and nullifying constitutional guarantees of their life, liberty and possession of property, and

WHEREAS, Various un-American organizations styling themselves as Blue Shirts, Black Shirts and Ku Klux Klan, have mobbed, beaten, killed and driven from jobs colored wage earners in flagrant and utter violation of American traditions of fair-play and equal opportunity, which dangerously menaces the permanence of our free institutions, and

WHEREAS, Colored Americans have displayed matchless, heroic and exemplary bravery, patriotism and sacrifice of blood and life on every battle field from the war of Independence to Flanders Field in defense of the honor and cherished institutions of our great Republic, and have, with brain and brawn, contributed to its industrial and commercial development, and to its spiritual greatness in art, music, literature, science, religion and philosophy, as well as demonstrated their capacity for the highest standards of American citizenship, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in harmony with the sound traditions and repeated pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor that the aforementioned practices of economic and civil injustices upon the colored wage-earners and our fellow citizens are herewith unequivocally and sharply condemned and the voice of American labor reaffirms and emphasizes its faith in and devotion to the principles and ideals of equal opportunity, fair-play and justice for all Americans in industry and before the law, without regard to race, creed, color or nationality, as the safest assurance and guarantee of the stability of our institutions; and the American Federation of Labor pledges its forces and calls upon all affiliated unions to employ their great influence and power, in cooperation with various civic and religious organizations, to stamp out lynching and mob violence and industrial discrimination because of race or color as a disgraceful crime and a blot upon American civilization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Shorter Working Week in Postal Service

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, John A. Kelley, Sol Cohen and John F. O'Connor of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnian, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter

Carriers; William M. Collins and Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The trend toward a shorter working week has been marked in recent years, largely due to the intelligent and militant program of the organized labor movement, and it has proved to be a sound economic policy of far-reaching benefit to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government in its capacity as an employer has not kept pace with this beneficial economic development, as evidenced by the continuation of a forty-eight-hour weekly work standard for the large groups of postal employees, to the detriment of the public welfare and the direct disadvantage to postal substitutes whose appointments have been duly deferred; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before the 71st Congress the Kendall-La Follette Bill which seeks to shorten the working hours of postal employees by establishing a four-hour work day on Saturday or the equivalent of a five and a half day week, and which if enacted into law will materially assist in stabilizing the present unsatisfactory postal employment situation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 50th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the need for having the Government establish and maintain advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated postal organizations to the end that the Kendall-La Follette measure may speedily become a law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Urge Law Providing That Only Civilian Mechanics Shall be Employed on Federal Penal Institution Construction Work

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The United States Government is employing prison labor on Federal penal institution building construction, and

WHEREAS, Civilian mechanics when employed on penal institution building construction are required to work with Federal prisoners, and

WHEREAS, Anti-prison labor legislation has been based upon the principle of the prevention of employment of prison labor in competition with civilian mechanics, and

WHEREAS, The employment of civilian mechanics on Federal penal institution building construction is in accordance with the Federal Government's rehabilitation and stabilization program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department in convention assembled recommend to the American Federation of Labor

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

that the following resolution be adopted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED., That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby directs the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to draft and submit to the United States Congress an amendment to existing law which will provide that civilian mechanics shall be employed on all Federal penal institution buildings construction.

Your committee recommends the elimination of the words "Executive Board" in the last paragraph and the insertion of the words, "Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

With this change we recommend the adoption of the resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Tailors Request Assistance to Secure Adjustment of Dispute with Levy Bros., Louisville, Ky.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Gust Soderberg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The firm of Levy Bros. at Louisville have in their employ non-union tailors (busbhelmen) and have refused to employ members of Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 49, and

WHEREAS, This firm, because of its antagonistic attitude, has been declared to be unfair to Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 49, and request made that the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville take similar action, and

WHEREAS, Because of the employment of other crafts, this action has been delayed in accordance with a ruling of the A. F. of L. that pending the expiration of such agreements such concern will not be declared unfair, and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 49, desiring the co-operation of all organizations, and not desiring to injure our sister crafts now employed in the several departments, would renew our efforts to unionize this concern; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as requesting the American Federation of Labor to delegate a representative to Louisville with a view of adjusting this situation, and if possible to have such organizations as now have agreements to delay renewal of same until the Levy Company settle their differences with the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Protesting Unfair Attitude of the Richardson & Boynton Company, Dover, New Jersey

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Richardson & Boynton Co., located at Dover, N. J., locked out the following crafts, namely: Stove Mounters, Iron Molders, Sheet Metal Workers, Pattern Makers and Laborers, December, 1927; the above crafts are continuing their fight against this firm; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record to give this unfair firm all the publicity possible and that the purchasing of their products be discouraged.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, William Smith, James Starr, Francis J. Gorman, United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation has increased to such serious proportion that it has become a most important problem confronting this country; and

WHEREAS, This condition has become a permanent one because of the overdevelopment of industry, introduction of new inventions, and automatic machinery, which in turn have thrown tens of thousands of men out of work each year; and

WHEREAS, These conditions do exist and over which the workers have no control; and

WHEREAS, Private charity and welfare organizations can no longer cope with the widespread distress which unemployment has caused; and

WHEREAS, The diminished purchasing power caused through unemployment is a serious menace to economic prosperity; and

WHEREAS, A vast majority of the most capable social scientists and social workers are convinced that a universal system of compulsory and publicly administered unemployment insurance, either contributory or non-contributory, is the only solution of this problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention take immediate steps to demand the adoption of a compulsory system of unemployment insurance in this country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending this convention pledge themselves to work unceasingly in every possible way for this great and urgently needed reform.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That Officers of the American Federation of Labor Consider Entire Attitude of Congressmen in Regard to Labor Measures in Compiling Records

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate N. P. Alifas of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently adhered to the political practice of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies by supporting or opposing them, as the case might be, for election to public office; and

WHEREAS, For many years a labor voting record of members of Congress has been faithfully compiled by the American Federation of Labor, for reference as to their attitude toward labor legislation; and

WHEREAS, During the last two Congresses only one record vote was taken on labor measures passed or pending, thus leaving our members and friends at a loss to know the present attitude of members of Congress, particularly newly elected members, on Labor's legislative program; and

WHEREAS, The leaders of the House, during the 70th and 71st Congress, appear to have endeavored to establish "Party responsibility" as distinguished from "Individual responsibility" of Congressmen to their respective constituencies, and have, by parliamentary maneuvers, designedly prevented roll calls on labor measures, and have so employed the Rules of the House as to prevent labor measures of great importance from coming before the House for action; and

WHEREAS, These roll calls provide too meager a basis upon which organized labor may properly support or oppose candidates for Congress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor urge our friends in Congress to demand more roll calls on Labor measures and upon controversial questions in which organized labor is interested, and that the labor record of all members of Congress be amplified by taking into consideration their bona fide speeches, bills introduced, committee activity and parliamentary positions taken; and be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the establishment of such more complete labor records as may hereafter be established by the American Federation of Labor, the leaders of the House, the members of the Rules Committee, the members of the Steering Committee and other members holding responsible positions in the House of Representatives be held personally politically responsible, except in so far as they individually may have sponsored labor legislation of major importance, for the failure of the House to enact the several measures in which Labor is interested; and that our affiliated organizations and Labor publications be urged to conduct their political campaigns in such districts as these members represent, with this policy in view; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a list of our outstanding friends and the outstanding opponents of organized Labor's program in the Congress be compiled by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, taking into consideration their bona fide speeches, bills introduced, their activity in committees and their parliamentary activities with a view to concentrating the political influence of organized labor on these two select groups.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Use of Granite in New Post Office Buildings

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Sam Squibb, Granite Cutters International Association, and Fred W. Sutor, Quarry Workers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There exists serious unemployment among the granite workers of New England, and

WHEREAS, Every New England State is a granite producing state, and

WHEREAS, The government of the United States has adopted an extensive Federal Building program which includes several New England post office buildings, among them one for the City of Boston, Mass., and

WHEREAS, If New England granite is used it will furnish employment to a large number of New England workers and put into circulation in New England an amount of money which will go a long way towards the realization of organized labor's and President Hoover's policy for the revival of business, and

WHEREAS, There is no more suitable material than granite for the exterior of this class of permanent building, it being both substantially beautiful and economic of upkeep; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 50th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in the City of Boston, Mass., endorses the use of granite for the exterior of the Boston, Mass., Post Office Building and urges the proper Federal authorities to speed up the building program to relieve the pressing unemployment situation in this basic New England industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor bring this matter to the attention of the proper authorities in Washington.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Omaha, Nebraska, as the City for the 1931 Convention

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Harry J. Gill of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Omaha, the largest city in the state of Nebraska, not far distant from the center of the United States, the fourth city in the United States in railroad facilities, in excess of 225,000 population, with ample hotel accommodations and other facilities for the entertainment of a convention, desires that the 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in this city, and

WHEREAS, It has been a number of years since a convention of the American Federation of Labor has been held in this mid-west territory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor assist in any way possible the Omaha Labor Unions in

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

bringing about the convention of the 1931 session of the American Federation of Labor in Omaha.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, John A. Kelley, Sol Cohen and John F. O'Connor of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnane, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins and Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, John Fitzgerald and John W. Ross of the National Federation of Federal Employees; A. O. Wharton, Fred Hewitt, Chas. Fry, C. B. Cline, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty of the International Association of Machinists; Andrew Fallon of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alfias of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful, objectionable, speed-up practices; the liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; a reduction of night work; the establishment of a civil service employees' court of appeals; the improvement of postal substitute employees' working conditions; the establishment of higher wage standards and shorter working schedules and kindred improvements, and

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of government employees have been introduced and are awaiting action by the 71st Congress, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor that the government establish and maintain employment standards in advance or at least abreast of the highest standards prevailing in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 50th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in ac-

cord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Encourage the Equalization of Labor Standards Throughout New England

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates John J. Egan of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor and John L. Barry of the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The normal and usual results of widely different standards of conditions of labor are the intensification of competition and general degeneration of all standards, and

WHEREAS, The artificial boundaries of state lines are being used in New England to perpetuate the present chaotic industrial conditions, and

WHEREAS, It is the historic mission of organized labor to wherever possible equalize labor standards on a humane basis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 50th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Boston, Mass., does affirm and endorse the proposition that conditions throughout New England indicate that a drive for equalization of labor conditions, including working hours, is eminently desirable and necessary and that the various State Federations of Labor of this district should be encouraged to undertake by joint action to effect this desirable object; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an undertaking of this kind deserves and should receive the sympathetic and friendly cooperation of the various International Unions operating in that field.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

To Assist Sleeping Car Porters Unions

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Sleeping Car Porters' unions have waged a magnificent and splendid fight over a period of five years for the right to organize, a living wage and better working conditions, having presented their case to the U. S. Mediation Board in 1928 for adjustment to no avail, since the Pullman Company in violation of the spirit and letter of the Railway Labor Act, flatly refused to meet representatives of the unions, although Hon. Edwin P. Morrow, Mediator, urged it, to arbitrate the dispute with the unions that had offered valid evidence to the Mediation Board, entitling them to represent the porters and maids;

WHEREAS, Pullman porters receive a meager wage of only \$77.50 a month for which they are required to work nearly 400 hours a month at a time when the labor movement is fighting for the five day week;

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company maintains a company union known as the Employee Representation Plan which denies the porters the right of self-organization and the designation of representatives of their own choosing without intimidation or coercion;

WHEREAS, the Sleeping Car Porters' Unions have sought to enlighten and mobilize public sentiment in support of their cause through systematic education in literature and public mass meetings such as President William Green addressed for them in Chicago and New York; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 50th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled, and the Executive Council, through President William Green, employ their moral and financial forces to assist the Porters' unions to bring their struggle to a successful consummation in securing recognition from the Pullman Company and a living wage and hours of work commensurate with health, comfort and decency, thereby relieving them of the necessity of depending upon the uncertainty of tips for a living.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Proposing Columbus, Ohio, as the City for the
1931 A. F. of L. Convention**

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, W. H. Pope, Wm. F. Bauers and Edward Ryan of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The following resolution is introduced at the request of Local Union No. 172 of Columbus, Ohio:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 15, 1881, and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers Local 172 join with the Columbus Federation of Labor in extending an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its annual convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Local Union request our International Officers to bring this invitation to the attention of the officers and delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and inform them of the hearty welcome that awaits the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the state and city of its birth.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Abolition of Commuting Privileges from Canada for Purposes of Employment

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The present industrial depression in the United States has resulted in the creating of a large army of unemployed, and

WHEREAS, The best thought of the country has been directed towards eliminating this condition, and

WHEREAS, The Government of Canada has effectively imposed regulations for the protection of Canadian workers living in that country, and has on thousands of occasions denied to workers living in America the privilege of entering Canada for the purposes of employment, and

WHEREAS, We believe that it is the duty of the United States to give privileges at this time to citizens of the United States and others legally domiciled in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention ask President Hoover to instruct the Department of Labor, the Bureau of Immigration, to immediately cause a cessation of all commuting from Canada by aliens for purposes of employment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to use its best efforts to the end that workers in the United States living near the border shall be freed from the competition of those not living in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Assist Postal Laborers in Securing Wage Increase

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Toronto convention referred to the Executive Council Resolution No. 24, which called for assistance being given the Postal Laborers in their efforts to secure increased wages, with instructions to use its best endeavors to this end; and

WHEREAS, H. F. 2402 as amended would give each grade of laborers a fifty dollar increase; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council continue its efforts to assist this group in their efforts to secure the passage of H. F. 2402 as amended.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Demonstration for Five Day Week

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Thos. A. Slavens of the Newport, Rhode Island, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, As stated in our Executive Council's report, unemployment is the outstanding economic fact of the past year; and

WHEREAS, The greatest immediate factor for the reduction of unemployment would be the general adoption of the five day week; therefore, be it

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the workers of the United States of America, organized and unorganized, to lay down their tools for one day as a symbol of their determination to secure the five day week as labor's contribution towards the stabilization of unemployment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our Executive Council select a day for this demonstration as near in the future as plans can be conveniently formed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention call upon all State Federations and Central Labor Unions to arrange mass meetings in their respective states and cities at which Labor's program will be explained; and be it further

Resolved, That President Green be instructed to arrange for a national radio hook-up, in the evening of above named day, over which he shall send Labor's demand for the immediate adoption of the five day week.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Pardon for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Thos. A. Slavens of the Newport, Rhode Island, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In spite of the indisputable evidence submitted during the past year to prove the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, these two noble labor patriots remain in prison; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the action of the Los Angeles and the New Orleans and the Toronto Conventions of the American Federation of Labor in relation to this case be reaffirmed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention send the Governor of California a telegram urging Thomas J. Mooney's and Warren K. Billings' immediate pardon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution and the convention's action upon it be immediately sent to Thomas J. Mooney and to Warren K. Billings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Illiteracy

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The amount of illiteracy in our adult population, first made known to us in the draft of 1917, is known to be extensive; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to eliminate, or to reduce, this national menace through federal

and state agencies have not met the need, and have not fulfilled the requirement of the most prosperous nation in the world; and

WHEREAS, The tracing of a name, as suggested by certain agencies, is far too low a test of literacy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare for a national standard of what constitutes a minimum test of literacy, that shall not be lower than the standard accepted by any state; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare for a standard equivalent to that reached by fourth-grade children in the elementary schools and ask that this standard be adopted by the Federal Government, and used in census enumerating and in other situations where literacy tests are required.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Teacher Tenure

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Permanency of tenure for teachers is an important factor in the building of a teaching profession and the establishing of a system of schools that will function for the better training of our children into more competent citizens of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Tenure for teachers has been guaranteed by law in but few of the states of the United States and in certain states where it has been guaranteed by law teachers are regularly dismissed before the trial period of three years is finished in order that a staff of cheap teachers may always be employed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue even more vigorously its efforts to secure permanency of tenure for teachers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor adopt as its policy permanent tenure of office for teachers after two years of temporary service with proved efficiency and that it endeavor to secure the adoption of such policy as the general policy of the country.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Military Training in High Schools

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The proposal to establish military training under the Reserve Officers Training Corps in the public high schools throughout the country has been actively promoted in recent years though strongly opposed by educators generally since they are not in favor of placing in the schools in times of

peace a burden which can be carried only by altering accepted ideals and procedures of education; and

WHEREAS, The compulsory character of military procedures is contrary to an educational environment where flexibility of mind and initiative on the part of children are prime factors in progressive education; and

WHEREAS, Although military preparedness is proclaimed as the objective of military training in the high schools, that objective has little chance of being attained in the short time available to school children who should have more free time for healthful recreation and not less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor record its disapproval of military training in the public high schools of this country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its fullest support to the local central bodies and state federations of labor in their efforts to oppose the introduction of military training into the schools.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Organization of Teachers

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, reactionary forces in control of certain public school systems have proclaimed a ban against teachers' unions; and

WHEREAS, Teachers have been compelled to sign contracts in which they promise not to belong to a teachers' union within the period of the contract; and

WHEREAS, In the fight against the yellow dog contract in industry, the labor movement will carry along its fight against the yellow dog contract in education; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers has more than doubled its membership in three years under great handicaps, financial and other; and

WHEREAS, 750,000 teachers in the United States, the guardians of the children of the nation, need our message and progressive, constructive program, and the social education which makes for betterment of teachers, of schools and of society; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor promote a widespread campaign in support of the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to organize into unions the teachers of the nation.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled at Memphis, Tenn., in July, 1930, placed itself on record in favor of government unemployment insurance and urged that this matter be taken up by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, We are in the midst of a serious economic depression which is causing untold suffering to American workers, and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are walking the streets in a vain search for the opportunity to work and millions of others who may not be altogether jobless are nevertheless out of work or on short time, and

WHEREAS, All economists of any standing now recognize that even in the best of times, no matter what measures for the stabilization of employment may be taken, there will be for years to come many hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of these workers, many of them displaced by new machinery designed to benefit society, is rightfully a charge upon industry and society, and such workers if protected from unnecessary suffering can be expected to co-operate in social and industrial progress, and

WHEREAS, The conditions creating unemployment can be dealt with only if society as a whole through governmental action concerns itself with the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as favoring a system of unemployment insurance inaugurated and controlled by the states and supported by the Federal government, said system of unemployment insurance to embody the following features:

1. The insurance to be a charge on industry in the same way as workmen's compensation for accidents. If it is legitimate that a business should accumulate reserves in good times so as to be able to pay dividends in periods of depression, it is equally legitimate that industry should accumulate reserves to tide over unemployed workers during slack times.

2. Contributions to be graduated, industries and establishments having more unemployment to pay a larger percentage of their payrolls into the fund.

3. Unemployed workers to receive not less than 40 per cent of their prevailing weekly wage, with 10 per cent additional for a wife and 5 per cent for each child up to two. Insurance to be paid for not more than 26 weeks in each year.

4. Anyone who has worked and for whom contribution has been paid in the state for a period of 32 weeks (not necessarily consecutive) shall be entitled to insurance, and workers receiving insurance to be free to refuse to take jobs where a strike is in progress.

5. Administration of the funds to be in the hands of a Bureau of the State Department of Labor, assisted by an advisory board consisting of two employers, two representatives of organized labor and one of the public, said

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

board to be in each instance appointed by the governor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Examination of Practitioners of Healing Arts

Resolution No. 93 by Delegate Chas. F. Wills of the Building Service Employees International Union:

WHEREAS, Since all government tends to arrogate to itself more and more power, depriving the individual of his rights; and

WHEREAS, History shows that minorities always tend to use governments to further their own selfish wants; and

WHEREAS, History shows that on American soil religious liberty had to be suffered for and won; and

WHEREAS, Since today our laws make no provision to guarantee to each individual the absolute right of physical liberty; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that the United States Legislative bodies and the Legislative bodies of each individual state enact laws guaranteeing each and every person full physical liberty, and eliminating all laws of compulsory medication, vaccination and inoculation, passing laws putting the Drugless Method of healing on an equal basis before the law with Medication and Surgery, by refraining from passing any law abridging the right of any American citizen to have the Doctor or Healer of his choice; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the proper qualification of the practitioners of various methods of healing can best be determined by examination before qualified bodies of practitioners of their own methods and we are opposed to the examination before dual boards and before mixed boards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Promote Enactment of Injunction Relief Legislation

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Roy Horn of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; F. H. Fljozdal of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, B. M. Jewell of the Railroad Employees Department; J. A. Franklin for International Brotherhood of Boilermakers Delegation; A. O. Wharton for International Association of Machinists Delegation; Matthew Woll for International Photo-Engravers' Union Delegation.

WHEREAS, In order to protect the freedom of labor and to make it possible for the workers to organize for mutual aid and protection, it is primarily necessary to assure

them of the right to organize and to guarantee them full freedom of association; and

WHEREAS, Although, as the Supreme Court has recently held "the legality of collective action on the part of employees in order to safeguard their proper interests is not to be disputed," nevertheless there is a widespread, persistent, ruthless campaign of associated employers to prevent their employees from organizing and to discredit and cripple all legitimate labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Through the use of injunctions in labor disputes such employers misuse the judicial powers of government and induce the courts to render unfair and partisan aid to employers seeking to deny liberty of contract and freedom of association to their employees; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has endorsed Senate Bill 2497 to define and limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes and to outlaw the so-called yellow dog contract; and

WHEREAS, Similar bills should be introduced in the several states so as to enforce the same public policy in the state courts; and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of forty-four states meet in the year 1931 and the full force of organized labor should be exerted to advance this legislation in the national and state legislatures and to bring into cooperation all possible support to the end that this legislation may be enacted into law; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and it is hereby authorized and directed to take such action as shall be necessary and appropriate in conjunction with State Federations, central bodies and national legislative representatives and other sympathetic representative organizations to bring to the active support of Senate Bill 2497 and state legislation modeled thereon, all the forces now organized, or that can be organized, in and in aid of the American Labor Movement which seeks through legal, peaceful means, consistent with our democratic institutions of government, to bring to the American worker full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty for which the constitution of the United States was written to secure for all our citizens.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has created a Commission to arrange a fitting nation-wide observance of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, in 1932; and

WHEREAS, The Commission so created, composed of the President of the United States,

the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, four members of the United States Senate, four members of the House of Representatives, and eight citizens appointed by the President of the United States, is charged with the duty of planning and directing the celebration; and

WHEREAS, The high purpose of the event is to commemorate the life, character and achievements of the most illustrious citizen of our Republic and to give every man, woman and child living under the Stars and Stripes an opportunity to take part in the celebration which will be outstanding in the world's history; and

WHEREAS, The George Washington Bicentennial Commission, desiring the full cooperation of the people of the United States, has extended a most cordial and urgent invitation to our organization to participate in the celebration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby endorse the program of observance of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, to take place in 1932, accept with appreciation, the invitation of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and pledge this organization to extend earnest cooperation to the United States Commission in all possible ways, so that future generations of American citizens may be inspired to live according to the example and precepts of Washington's exalted life and character, and thus perpetuate the American Republic; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be incorporated in the official proceedings of this meeting and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, Washington, D. C.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Cuba

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Thos. E. Burke of the United Association of Plumbers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always taken a consistent and effective stand for just relations between the United States and our Latin American neighbors, especially when they have been struggling for liberty; and

WHEREAS, A struggle for freedom is now in progress and is rapidly approaching a climax in Cuba, which is practically a bordering country; and

WHEREAS, A special legal relation exists between the United States and Cuba, bringing the danger that American financial interests in the island will successfully urge some form of American intervention or pressure in favor of the present government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That our representatives in the Pan-American Federation of Labor be instructed to use all diligence in opposing all forms of intervention and interposition, including diplomatic pressure and government-approved loans, in behalf of the existing government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Columbus, Ohio, as the City for the 1931 A. F. of L. Convention

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly of the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 16, 1881, and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio (Druids' Hall, 180-182 South Fourth Street); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor extend an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to celebrate its semi-centennial anniversary and hold its annual convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Ohio State Federation of Labor be instructed to bring this invitation to the attention of the delegates of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and inform them of the hearty welcome that awaits the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in the state and city of its birth.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The announcement was made at this point that the Mayor of Detroit, who wished to address the convention, would not arrive in time to address the morning session, the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 9th.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts,
October 9, 1930.

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Gillmore, Birthright, Wenzel, Reagan, Kas-ten, Tracy (W.), Schulte, Kaufman, Schle-singer, Cohen (M.), Katovsky, Marshall, Wolff, Scully (J.J.), Gorman, Kelly (M.J.), Lewis (J.L.), Hannah, Sullivan (H.W.), Evans, Lewis (J.C.), Graham, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson, Bowden, Ryan (J.), Koster, Camp-bell (G.C.), Laude, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Tucker, Becker, Katz, Souza, Augus-tino, Sumner (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Nealey, Shave, Thompson, Draper, Kelly (W.), Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fan-ning, Jacobs, Gatelee, Fitzpatrick, Callahan, Donnelley, Jones, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Brad-ley, Roberts, Hafer, Cohen (M.), Webster, Lawson, Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Mit-chell (M.), Miller, Vaccarelli.

COMMUNICATIONS

The following telegrams and letters were read by Secretary Morrison:

Winston-Salem, N. C., Oct. 8.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel,
Boston, Mass.

The North Carolina State Federation of La-bor extends warmest greetings and sincerest wishes for success in the deliberations of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We are deeply appreciative of the effort being put forth to organize the South, which is resulting in countless workers awakening to the necessity and bene-fits of organization.

I also wish to record in this message our gratitude to President William Green, Secre-tary Frank Morrison, Legislative Representa-tive Edward F. McGrady, Chairman Paul J. Smith and others for their splendid personal presentations of the cause to the workers of North Carolina and the Southland. May your coun-cils result in a program that will continue and enhance the splendid work begun.

R. R. LAWRENCE,
President, North Carolina State
Federation of Labor.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Oct. 7, 1930.

Wm. Green, Pres. A. F. of L.,
Boston, Mass.

Greetings: The Iron Workers, Local 27, of Salt Lake wish the officers and delegates of

the Fiftieth Anniversary of the A. F. of L. every success. We also extend a cordial invita-tion to you to hold your 1931 convention in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fraternally,

WM. QUINN,
Sec. Local 27.

Reno, Nev., Oct. 8.

Frank Morrison,
Sec'y American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel,
Boston, Mass.

The Reno Central Trades and Labor Coun-cil, in regular session, instructed its officers to urge the American Federation of Labor to take up with the Interior Department officials in reference to the situation existing in Las Vegas concerning the Boulder Canyon project, also urge national legislation to limit the em-ployment to American citizens only. Wish-ing you success in your deliberations.

W. A. BURNS, President,
AUGUST JONES, Sec'y.

Fort Worth, Tex., Oct. 8.

Frank Morrison, Sec'y A. F. of L.,
American Federation of Labor Convention
Hall,
Boston, Mass.

Greetings: The Women's City Federation of Labor was organized here today; nearly all crafts represented. We ask that you extend your reorganization and educational campaign to the southwestern states.

BONNY CHILDS, Organizer,
Labor Temple, Fort Worth, Tex.

Reno, Nev., Oct. 8, 1930.

Frank Morrison,
Sec'y American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel,
Boston, Mass.

Nevada State Federation of Labor send greetings to the Fiftieth Convention and trust that the progress in the next fifty years may be as successful. We join with Utah in ex-tending an invitation to you to hold your 1931 convention in Salt Lake City.

GEO TOWNSHEND, President,
LILLIE B. CLINEDINST, Sec'y.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 8, 1930.

Fiftieth Annual Convention,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel.

Mr. President and Delegates: Our local sends a hearty welcome and congratulations to

you all, and wishes you a short session and a big success in the future.

HEBREW BAKERS UNION, Local 45 of Boston.

MAURICE ORENBACH, President,
JULIUS BRISGALSKY, Secretary,

New York, N. Y., Oct. 8, 1930.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Hotel Statler,
Boston, Mass.

In these hard times of depression the American Federation of Labor is confronted with serious problems affecting the very life of the working masses of our country. The United Hebrew Trades of New York sends its sincere wishes that the deliberations and decisions of the convention may prove of lasting benefit to all trades unionists. We trust that the Fiftieth Convention of the Federation will inscribe a glowing chapter in the history of our American labor movement.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES,
M. TIGEL, Acting Secretary.

The Secretary read a telegram from James Rolph, Mayor of the City of San Francisco, urging that that city be selected as the 1931 convention city.

The San Francisco invitation was supplemented by another telegram signed by Leeland W. Cutler, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Marshall Hale, President of the Down Town Association; Paul T. Carroll, President of the Convention and Tourists' Bureau, and John F. Shea, President of the California Northern Hotel Association.

Charles H. Kline, Mayor of the City of Pittsburgh, sent a communication in which he invited the convention to come to that city in 1931.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE FOR SECRETARY OF LABOR DAVIS

President Green: It is expected that the Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, will address the convention at this morning's session. The Chair will therefore appoint a committee to act as a Reception Committee to the Secretary of Labor. On that committee the Chair desires to appoint Brothers Charles Anderson, Plumbers; Philip Murray, United Mine Workers; E. J. Manion, Telegraphers; Arthur Hudell, Stationary Engineers, and M. A. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

National Brotherhood of Operative Potters
—James Turner.

Gloucester, Mass., Central Labor Union—John E. Corrigan.

International Alliance Bill Posters and Billers of United States and Canada—A. Thomas Noonan.

Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union—Cornelius S. Riley.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Auditing Committee for the report of that committee. Secretary Fremming, of the Auditing and Credentials Committee, will submit the report:

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In compliance with Section 4, Article 3, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee, and consisting of three delegates appointed by the presidents of their respective international organizations, at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report for your consideration:

We have carefully examined and audited all the books and records of the American Federation of Labor, covering financial transactions for the fiscal year beginning September 1st, 1929, and ending August 31st, 1930. We are pleased to report that all books and records were found correct in every respect.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

Receipts
Balance on hand August 31st, 1929. \$334,560.57
Per capita tax.....\$377,597.34
American Federationist. 122,864.54
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions 27,222.16
Initiation Fees 6,092.46
Reinstatement Fees 535.00

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Supplies	6,463.71
Interest	10,670.11
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	4,843.13
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	4,315.29
Total Receipts	560,603.74
Grand Total	\$895,164.31

Expenses

General	\$422,635.82
American Federationist	101,122.47
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	3,654.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	4,030.64
Total Expenses	531,442.93

Balance of funds on hand, August 31st, 1930	\$363,721.38
---	--------------

Recapitulation

In General Fund	\$ 61,474.58
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	302,246.80
Balance of funds on hand, August 31st, 1930	\$363,721.38

Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the Secretary and Treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Ryan in the Telegraphers National Bank, St. Louis, Mo., interest bearing certificates	\$ 25,000.00
Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Ryan in the Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates	25,000.00
On deposit in the First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., subject to check	81,310.43
"Fourth" U. S. Liberty Bonds	165,410.95
Interest bearing certificates in the Federation Bank and Trust Company, New York, N. Y.	50,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	6,136.82
Outstanding checks	4,136.82
	2,000.00
Total	\$363,721.38

All the certificates bear interest at the rate of four (4%) per cent. The United States Liberty Bonds yield interest at four and one-fourth (4 1/4%) per cent and two (2%) per cent interest is allowed on the checking account of the Treasurer. The certificates of deposit are guaranteed by Surety Bonds.

Report of Vice-President Duffy's Committee

Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with the established custom of the American Federation of Labor and the instructions of the Executive Council at last meeting of that body held in Atlantic City, N. J., in September, 1930, the undersigned examined the accounts of Brother Martin F. Ryan, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, at Kansas City, Mo., on September 25, 1930, for the year ending August 31, 1930, and submit the following report:

3 Certificates of Deposit, Telegraphers National Bank of St. Louis, Mo.	\$ 25,000.00
3 Certificates of Deposit, Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.	25,000.00
3 Certificates of Deposit, Federation Bank and Trust Company, New York, N. Y.	50,000.00
18 "Fourth" U. S. Liberty Bonds.	165,410.95
300 Shares of Stock, Union Labor Life Ins. Co., Washington, D. C.	15,000.00
Checking Account First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., August 31, 1930	\$50,215.64
In Transit from Washington, D. C., Deposited Sept. 2, 1930.....	31,004.79
	81,310.43

Total in hands of Treasurer....\$363,721.38

Respectfully submitted,
FRANK DUFFY,

First Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; General Secretary United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

JOHN J. PFEIFFER,
Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Leather Workers.

CHAS. F. SCOTT,
Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25th day of September, 1930.

T. G. CAPE,
Notary Public.

My commission expires Jan. 26, 1932.

September 25, 1930.

Mr. Martin F. Ryan, Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
400 Carmen's Building,
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that the balance to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at close of business September 2nd, 1930, was eighty-one thousand three hundred ten dollars and forty-three cents (\$81,310.43).

Yours very truly,

CHAS. C. GRAFTON,
Assistant Auditor.

Woodrow Wilson Memorial Building Fund

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1930, including interest, amount to \$1,704.33. This fund is deposited in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Flag Fund

Receipts from June 10, 1918, to and including August 31, 1930 \$593.16

This fund is deposited in the Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Textile Workers Fund

Contributions in response to the appeal issued May 11, 1929, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to affiliated organizations for financial assistance for the striking textile workers of the South:

Total receipts, May 15, 1929, to August 31, 1930 \$41,520.81
Total checks, May 17, 1929, to August 31, 1930 41,520.81

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Gompers Memorial Fund

By direction of the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 28, 1928, to affiliated organizations for contributions to be used for the erection of a suitable memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers:

Receipts from December 20, 1924	\$114,304.31
to and including August 31, 1930,	
Total expenses, January 12, 1929,	
to and including August 31, 1930	1,275.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1930. \$113,029.31

Funds deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., checking account	\$ 3,029.31
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates	110,000.00

Total \$113,029.31

The certificates bear interest at the rate of four (4%) per cent and are guaranteed by Surety Bonds and U. S. Treasury Bonds.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Balance on hand, August 31st, 1929. \$45,631.10
Receipts 33,724.30

Receipts and balance	\$79,355.40
Expenses	24,284.82

Balance on hand, August 31, 1930. \$55,070.58

(See page 46, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$55,070.58, invested and deposited as follows:

Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates of deposit	\$50,000.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check.	5,070.58

Total \$55,070.58

The certificates of deposit bear interest at the rate of four (4%) per cent and are guaranteed by Surety Bond.

We also personally inspected and counted the interest bearing certificates of deposit amounting to \$50,000.00, and the bank book which showed a balance of \$5,070.58, and found them correct.

Your Committee feels that it is appropriate to make a few concluding remarks in connection with this audit:

The examination of this report will indicate that despite the extraordinary depression which has been visited upon the trade unionists of this nation, the funds of the Fed-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

eration have increased \$29,160.81 over the balance shown in the last fiscal report. The records of the Federation show an increase in membership of 27,551 over the records of last year. This gain in membership and finances has only one answer, that being, extra efforts applied in organizing the unorganized of the United States and Canada.

The American Federation of Labor Building Fund shows a substantial increase over last year in an amount approximating nearly \$10,000.00. With reference to the American Federation of Labor Building, your Committee had the privilege of inspecting it from basement to roof. We were shown through all the departmental activities and very carefully observed the condition in which the building now is. The committee has nothing but praise of the condition of the property of the Federation.

The Committee calls special attention to the substantial condition in which the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is found and urges upon the officers and delegates to put forth every reasonable effort to enlarge the circulation of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST so that it can be made, in the years to come, one of the outstanding economic periodicals of the country.

In concluding the report, the Committee desires to call attention to the splendid organization which handles the affairs at headquarters in Washington. The pleasant atmosphere that permeates every departmental activity registers with the casual observer only one thought, that efficiency, cooperation and industry are the major objective of the personnel itself.

The splendid cooperation given to the Auditing Committee by the bookkeepers of the Federation throughout the many hours of the audit is entitled to the highest commendation.

Finally, the Committee desires to express its profound appreciation for the many courtesies and attentions given by Secretary Morrison, in making the burdens of the Committee lighter by his help and counsel.

Fraternally submitted,

HERBERT RIVERS, Chairman,
ANDREW J. FALLON,
H. C. FREMMING, Secretary.
Auditing Committee.

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

President Green: Following the conclusion of the address by Secretary of Labor Davis, we will hear from the Mayor of the City of Detroit. You will recall that we expected him to appear before the convention yesterday, but because of circumstances over which he had no control he was unable to be with us. He will be with us this morning and the Chair desires to appoint a committee to escort the Mayor of Detroit, Mr. Murphy, to the convention hall. On that committee the Chair will appoint Brothers Frank Martel, Typographical Union; S. P. Tobin, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor; W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees; John Coefield, of the Plumbers; and J. A. Franklin, of the Boiler Makers. This committee can meet and arrange to call upon the Mayor of Detroit and escort him here.

Miss Matilda Lindsay, Fraternal Delegate from the National Women's Trades Union League, is here this morning and I know the convention will be very glad to hear from her. The Chair will appoint Brothers Martin Ryan, of the Railway Carmen, and Thomas McMahon, of the Textile Workers, to serve as an escort committee.

Delegates Ryan and McMahon escorted Miss Lindsay to the platform.

President Green: I know that you are happy that Miss Lindsay is here and prepared to submit her message to us as a fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League. In passing may I say that Miss Lindsay has been serving the cause of organized labor in the Southland and the American Federation of Labor deeply appreciates the splendid, loyal, devoted service which she has rendered in various places in the South during the present Southern organizing campaign. It would be difficult indeed to appraise the real value of the service she has rendered. I was very much stirred when I visited Danville, Virginia, a few weeks ago and attended a magnificent meet of newly organized United Textile Workers. Miss Lindsay, along with others, deserves very great credit for the development of that splendid organization of men and women in the City of Danville, Virginia.

It is not my purpose to take up the time of this convention in indulging in extended introductory remarks, but it occurred to me that the delegates and visitors would be very pleased to know of the splendid service Miss Lindsay has rendered. It is with very great pleasure that I present to you Miss Matilda Lindsay.

Fraternal Delegate representing the National Women's Trade Union League.

ADDRESS BY MISS MATILDA LINDSAY
(Fraternal Delegate, National Women's Trade Union League)

Mr. President and Delegates—I am very glad to be the fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League to this convention here in Boston, because it was the last time that the American Federation of Labor held its convention in Boston, in 1903, that the National Women's Trade Union League was organized. During the twenty-seven years of its existence it has tried to lend its cooperation to the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated bodies, particularly in working with the working women of this country. And while we feel that a great deal of work still could be done in this field we can point with pride to the progress that has been made in bringing the working women into the field of the trades union movement and in bringing about among the public at large an understanding of trades unionists and their problems.

We come to you, as we have so often in the past, trade union women, to discuss the organization problems of working women. This is the fiftieth anniversary of the American Federation of Labor. Last year the National Women's Trade Union League celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. We are half as old as you are. With every year, with every census, this question of the working woman and her relationship to you is knocking more urgently at your door. We do not need the census reports to bring this home to us. Yet it is sometimes helpful, in surveying a situation and planning what we can do about it, to study the facts before us.

In the census of 1840, only seven occupations were listed for women. In the 1920 census, women were listed as having entered 536 of the 672 occupations given, and of these 1,000 or more women were employed in 232 occupations.

According to the 1920 census, there are eight and one-half million gainfully employed women who work outside the home. The 1930 census estimates that the number has increased to ten million, with twenty-three million engaged in the occupation of home makers.

Of the eight and one-half million, 22.6 per cent are employed in manufacturing and 10 per cent in trade and transportation, i.e., clerks in stores. Forty per cent of the women workers are under 24 years of age, 33 per cent are between the ages of 24 and 54. One-fifth of the workers are married. Their wages are from one-third to one-half lower than men's. Of the eight and one-half million women wage earners, it is estimated that 260,000 are organized, or less than 3 per cent. The reasons for the lack of organization among women, as compared with men, you are well acquainted with, and yet let us summarize them again. Briefly they are: that a large per cent of women workers (40 per cent) are very young and do not expect to stay in industry more than three or four years; they do not have a feeling of permanence in their jobs; they are largely in the semi-skilled and unskilled trades and these are not organized even among men. They compete

with each other for jobs. Their wages are low. They suffer some 50 per cent more sickness than men. They have low bargaining powers.

It is our job to raise those bargaining powers to the trade-union bargaining power of the trade agreement, and of Union recognition. This the National Women's Trade Union League has been doing these past twenty-five years, and is hopefully, and with all due modesty, I say courageously, carrying on through its work for organization, education and legislation.

I am, as you know, speaking to you as one who has been on the organizing field in the South for the past three years, and in Danville, Virginia, for the past eight months. It is, therefore, natural that in illustrating my points I use illustrations from the Southern field.

One of the important services of the National Women's Trade Union League is that of educating not only the trade-union workers, but the general public, on the problems of the working woman. It is our concern that that vague and indescribable thing called the "public" is kept informed on the problems of the woman worker. Our monthly *Life and Labor Bulletin* is the only magazine in the United States which is concerned directly and exclusively with giving the public the facts on the woman worker's problems. We should like to see that Bulletin extended so that, for example, as the Bulletin carries the story of the Danville strike this coming year the facts in the case may help to mould an understanding public opinion throughout the United States. The girl in the factory knows how limited that understanding is. A newspaper correspondent relates a conversation he had with two groups of mill girls, in which he told them of the rich ladies who own stock in the mills where the girls toil. He spoke bitterly of the rich lady mill owner, but the mill girls said: "Oh, you let her alone, what does she know about us."

I cannot stress too much the importance of working for an understanding public and giving the "rich lady mill owner"—the absentee owner—the facts on conditions in the mills, that she may know about us; for without that understanding we are working against odds—which will defeat us.

It is because the National Women's Trade Union League recognizes that no forward steps can be made, no gains held, which are too far in advance of public opinion, that we have never abated in our work of education in that field. Our membership, in which trade unionists predominate, also is open to those men and women who are not eligible for membership in a trade union, but who express their agreement with the principles for which we stand. Through them, and they include outstanding men and women in all classes and professions, the public gets word of the conditions under which women are working. We distribute Bulletins and leaflets. There is not a strike of any importance, since the time of our organization in 1903, in which we have not played an outstanding part, not only in direct aid to the strikers but in making known to the public the facts in the case.

The work in the Southern campaign has demonstrated, more clearly than any other work of organized labor, the great need for

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

trained leadership, especially among women. This need for trained organizers, and for women who understood women workers and their problems, the National Women's Trade Union League early recognized by establishing its National Training School for active workers in the Labor movement, to provide the means for development of those showing potential powers of leadership. It was the first school of its kind in the country. The League awarded long and short-term scholarships to selected trade-union girls, giving them opportunities to train for more effective leadership in the trade-union movement.

The school gave scholarships to 44 trade-union girls. Of the 41 living graduates, 32, or 78 per cent have actively served the labor movement; they number among them, Fannie Cohn, Mrs. Agnes Burns Weick, Mrs. Cora B. Hogan, Mrs. Mary Gordon Thompson, Mrs. Julia O'Connor Parker, Mrs. Maud Swartz, Mabel Leslie, Mrs. Agnes Johnson O'Connor, Mrs. Kathleen Derry, Clara Katzor, Florence Barnes and Corabel Stillman.

The school was discontinued in 1926, in order to try out plans to continue and extend the work done by the National School by organizing training classes within the local Leagues, where opportunities for practical laboratory work would give the girls their needed practice.

The New York League this year has taken the lead by organizing a training class for active women trade unionists, which aims to give a picture of the structure, functions and problems of trade unions, an analysis of trade-union leadership, and a study of the various methods used to handle specific problems. The course is limited to a small number. I mention this work in particular at this time because the need of the trained woman worker in the Labor movement is so urgent. We need, moreover, workers trained in their home community under conditions and with people with whose problems they are familiar. Your Executive Council report on your educational work in the South shows that the beginnings are being made there, mainly in the laying of a foundation through labor chautauquas and special classes in public speaking. We, as members of the National Women's Trade Union League, are especially interested in extending that work to women. Mr. E. E. Whitman, a mill owner who has mills in both the North and South admits, in an address to the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, that: "Every . . . destructive force that is bearing down on us (cotton manufacturers) if traced to its source, leads directly to the . . . exploitation of women and children in our mills. The growth of this unfair and selfish utilization of women and children through night employment in the cotton mills of the Southern States is . . . directly the cause of the downfall of this . . . essential industry."

We have here a Southern manufacturer admitting the evils of the exploitation of women and children. The industrial problem of the South is largely the problem of the exploited women and child workers—of women as a

cheap labor supply. I am emphasizing this because of its relationship to the need for trained women who can work in organizing women in the South—and I feel here that the National Women's Trade Union League, in its training school classes, is doing, and has done, pioneering work. We stand ready to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor, and its Federated Unions, in continuing and extending this work.

We should like to suggest at this point that the training of women organizers and the planning of their work involves a continuing and an extension of the work we began in our 1926 convention, when we had a one-day institute on "How to Organize." That needs development, especially, as I have said, in the field of the semi-skilled and unskilled worker. For a large part of the women workers are in this class of the semi-skilled and the unskilled. We need all the statesmanship and all the brains of the industrial leaders in the labor movement, and we are ready to operate to the limit of our ability and funds in this field.

I have stressed here two activities of the League,—the work it does in the education of public opinion, of presenting facts clearly and reliably, and of gaining the confidence of an ever-larger public, so that through this education the way to organization is made possible; and secondly, the training for leadership in organization, in which we presented both an account of the work we have done and are doing, and a plea for a closer, more intensive co-operation between the American Federation of Labor and the National Women's Trade Union League. Everywhere I turn I see evidence of what trained women leaders could do in the organization of women. More than 50 per cent of the 300,000 textile workers in the South, for example, are women. The field, with all we have done, is still the field for pioneers. It is our job, yours and ours, to find those pioneers, train them, and give them the courage to go on.

President Green mentioned the fact that I have been working with the workers in Danville, Virginia. At this time there are approximately 4,000 of these workers on strike primarily for the recognition of their trades union organization and against the discrimination that has taken place against the workers in those mills. It has been one of the most constructive situations we have had in the South since the going of the organized labor movement to that vicinity. We had an opportunity, with the American Federation of Labor and the United Textile Workers and my own organization cooperating, to build up practically a 100 per cent trades union organization among those workers.

They have been employed in one of the largest and one of the oldest cotton mills in the South, and therefore it makes it a very important situation. During the time we have had an opportunity to build up the organization we have also had an opportunity to educate the public, so that now those workers who are out on strike have the sympathy and the support of the community as a whole. This has not happened in any other southern

situation so far, and we feel that it is one of the strongest points that we have in asking the support of the textile workers in Danville.

During these eight months they have put up with discriminations, they have seen their fellow workers, both men and women, who have worked in those mills for as long as forty-one years lose their jobs, simply and solely because they joined a trades union. The stretch-out system which you no doubt will hear more about from the textile workers themselves has been in practice in that mill for two years, and if you could hear, as I have heard those men and women weavers and the people working in other departments of the mill tell about the strain and stress under which they have to labor under the stretch-out system, you would give them your fullest cooperation in trying to abolish that system in the textile industry.

All other kinds of things have gone on in the mills until the workers got to the point where they felt if they were to maintain their organization there was nothing left for them to do but come out on strike and make a fight for it. The company was gradually getting rid of the trades union members and going out into North and South Carolina and down into Georgia and bringing in other people, giving them the jobs of Danville citizens and Danville workers. Every effort that could be made to bring about a peaceful settlement or adjustment of the differences between these workers had been made. The consulting engineer of the American Federation of Labor came into Danville and used his efforts in trying to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties, not only pointing out what the trades union movement itself could do for the workers, but likewise endeavoring to point out to the manufacturers how his service as a consulting engineer could be used to bring about better conditions in the industry itself.

We know there are many things wrong with the textile industry. We also think we know the reason for some of those things that are wrong, and when we think of the textile workers, particularly in the South, we have to remember that on one side we have the highly organized, yes, over-organized textile manufacturers' associations—one of the best organized industries from the standpoint of the owners that we have in this country. On the other hand you have the unorganized workers who have worked the longest hours for the lowest wages, and along with that problem which I have already told you about, the problem of night work—twelve hours a night in some of the states for the women and children in this industry.

Out of all that we are trying to bring about better conditions and a better understanding in the textile industry in the South. Not only did we endeavor to have the consulting engineer adjust these differences in Danville, but from time to time committees of the workers themselves endeavored to get a conference with the management for the purpose of discussing their differences. Now these efforts met with failure, and so finally the workers voted 95 per cent to come out on strike. They knew what they were facing when they

decided to do this. They knew that it might mean a long and bitter struggle, but if you could see the determination with which they have gone to work and the way in which they have organized that strike and are carrying it on, it would win your admiration and you would feel as we do, that they are a group of people who are worthy of helping and who need your every assistance.

Since they came out on strike the Governor of the state sent a message to the workers and to the management of the mills offering to appoint a board of mediation for the purpose of trying to bring about a compromise. The workers accepted his offer, as they had done with the offer of the United States conciliators of the Department of Labor and of the State Department of Labor to help them in their difficulties. The management immediately turned down the offer of the Governor, and not only did they turn down the offer, but in turning it down made many misstatements about the situation in Danville and about the textile workers themselves.

So because of these misstatements a committee of workers from Danville went to see the Governor and put before him their grievances and their reasons. One very good editorial appearing in one of the papers criticizing the management for the stand they had taken in saying that there were no grievances in Danville, asked the question, "Can 4,000 people be wrong and only one person right?" That is what we are saying now in Danville. These workers that are now on strike know why they are out and they are determined to make a valiant fight for their right to belong to the trades union movement. After all, that is the real reason why we are going through this struggle in Danville. It is going to be necessary to establish that right, particularly in the textile industry, because that is one of the basic industries in the South and we are especially interested in this situation because of the numbers of women and young persons involved.

The United Textile Workers and the American Federation of Labor are putting their best efforts into that situation to bring about victory. No doubt before this convention is over you will hear a great deal more in detail about the things that are going on there and about the way they are carrying on their work. I am going to leave that for the United Textile Workers themselves to tell you. But because of our interest in that situation and because of our close cooperation with it I could not stop speaking until I had an opportunity to let you know exactly what is going on there from first hand information.

Not only is it going to be necessary to win this right of the workers in the South to belong to the trades union movement, but the other thing which I have talked about earlier in my address, the winning of an understanding on the part of the public and the interpretation of the problems of the workers to the public is of great importance in this whole industrial struggle. Everywhere we are beginning to find individuals and groups of people who are beginning to see the light of day as to the rights of the workers in the South, and it is the molding of this public opinion that is going to be one of our biggest jobs in the South as we continue.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

In what I have had to say to you today I have stressed mostly public opinion and the need of education as a means of building up the organization among the workers in the South.

And as in the past, so we will continue in the future to give to the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated organizations our continued cooperation and assistance to the limit of our means in order to bring more women workers into the field of the trades union movement and build up that membership, not only in the South but in the country as a whole, because everywhere that we have a local branch of the Women's Trade Union League they offer their fullest cooperation in that city to the workers.

In closing may I again express the hope that this convention and the delegates will give their earnest consideration to the problems that are to be presented to them in connection with the workers of the South, and particularly the workers in Danville, Virginia. My own organization is going to continue its cooperation and support, with the United Textile Workers and the American Federation of Labor, because we firmly believe that in this situation we have every opportunity to win and establish the right in which we believe and in which you believe—the right of the workers to belong to the trades union movement.

President Green: On behalf of the officers and delegates I wish to express our deep appreciation for the message which Miss Lindsay has brought to us this morning and to thank her for her visit.

President Green: We have with us this morning two distinguished visitors. I am sure you are all waiting in happy anticipation the visit of these distinguished men and the messages they will bring to us. For many years we have been honored with the presence of the Secretary of Labor. He has always set aside other engagements, pressing as they may be, in order that he might come to this great congress of labor and bring to us his inspiring message.

You will recall that last year the Secretary of Labor came to Toronto and to the other conventions which preceded that, and he accepted with enthusiasm and alacrity the cordial invitation I extended him some time ago to come to this great historic convention, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Federation of Labor. Many things have happened since he met with us at Toronto one year ago. It seems almost impossible that a Welsh boy, coming to America in the steerage of a great ship with his parents, accepting employment as a boy and as a young man in the pudding mills of Sharon, Pennsylvania, and other sections of our country, experiencing the pangs of poverty and the alternating feelings of despair and success which all laboring people have to endure,

could be elected—I say elected, because I think it is a sure thing—to the high and honorable position of United States Senator from the great State of Pennsylvania.

Many miracles have happened in politics, but it seems to me this is the outstanding miracle that has happened in the political affairs of our nation. So he comes to us in a somewhat dual capacity this morning, as Secretary of Labor, serving as one of the counsellors of the President, and as nominee for Senator from Pennsylvania. You know his views upon immigration, upon high wages, upon the shorter work day and the shorter work week. He has always shown by his addresses that he is in accordance with the policy of the American Federation of Labor, so I am happy to present to you the Secretary of Labor.

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

(Secretary, Federal Department of Labor)

Mr. President and Delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Since I became Secretary of the Federal Department of Labor nearly ten years ago, it has been my privilege to address you on several occasions. During that time we have witnessed many changes of tremendous importance in all activities of human endeavor. In fact, I consider that period one of the most important in the industrial life of our Nation. We have seen a vast improvement in working conditions and in the standard of living, due to the increased wages that our workers have received. With improved standards, better conditions of labor, and higher wages have come better homes and better home conditions, increased opportunities for recreation, and more leisure in which both the worker and his children could seek educational advantages. Civic improvements have been made, including better parks, better streets, improved highways. Our whole citizenship has benefited from these forward advances in our national life.

When I assumed office in 1921, we were confronted with serious economic problems growing out of the world war. The whole energy of the country had been expended in war and in the manufacture of war necessities. At the close of the war the United States demobilized more than 4,000,000 soldiers who served in the combatant forces, and approximately 7,500,000 men, women and children who served in the non-combatant service.

The great problem then was to shift the mechanism back to the production of peacetime commodities. Nearly six million of our wage earners were temporarily off the payrolls. The air was charged with demands for a return to pre-war wage levels, and from the experience of later years we know it would have been a mistake to have acceded to these demands. You men remember how the Secretary of Labor was criticized for urging the maintenance of the prevailing wage rates

which he believed would bring a return of prosperity.

With the vast number unemployed dissatisfaction among the workers began to loom on every hand which resulted in the great controversy in the packing house industry in 1921 followed by the marine strike disturbance in the textile and coal industries and the ship craft strike of the railroads the following year. The conditions confronting the Nation necessitated immediate action. Congress passed legislation that protected the American worker from cheap manufactured goods from abroad and also began to limit immigration. In round numbers 800,000 immigrants were admitted in 1921, the major part of whom were obliged to seek employment in American industry. With the ship carrying capacity which we then had it would have meant a million and a quarter immigrants coming in each year, so that had it not been for restrictive measures it is a reasonable estimate that in the nine years following twelve million immigrants would have been admitted.

I have long advocated the adoption of a selective system under which no unattached immigrants should be admitted to the United States except to meet actual needs in this country. In my opinion the American wage earner is fully entitled to the protection such a system would afford, and I am confident that before very long you will be found squarely behind the selective immigration and other plans for immigration control which have been advocated by the Secretary of Labor.

In addition to restricting the admission of a vast number of immigrants the immigration law has been humanized. Examinations are made abroad, and no more do we witness the sight of men and women selling their household goods and bringing their children three thousand miles only to find when they knock at our doors that they cannot enter because they cannot comply with the public health and other regulations of the Immigration Service. In many instances limited immigration has been beneficial not only to us but to the immigrant-furnishing countries as well, because it has made them consider their own peculiar problems of over-population.

It has stimulated immigration to countries other than our own, and has turned the world to thinking about the utilization of areas heretofore believed incapable of supporting a large population. Because of our inability to furnish employment to immigrant labor without displacing our own workers, President Hoover has directed the Secretary of State to notify consuls not to issue visas to unattached immigrants coming here to seek employment.

There is still an occasional outburst from some who believe that we should admit all immigrants who desired to come. For instance, the idea was expressed at a convention in Cleveland the other day that we ought to admit millions of immigrants to consume the production of our farms and factories. The speaker did not mention that in these days of unemployment of both native and foreign-born, these immigrants could not become consumers except by taking away the jobs of those already here. He also wanted the protection afforded by the tariff taken from the American worker, which would let the products of other

countries come here and by doing so throw thousands out of employment. Was he interested in those who were formerly the protectionists of America but who now have their money invested abroad? Well, he has a long way to travel before the American wage-earner will agree to remove the protection which he enjoys from the competition with cheap labor and the cheap products of the rest of the world. This gentleman will go far and find but very few who will agree with him that the American standard of living should be lowered. He will find them as few now as in the days immediately after the war when the demand was made that wages be reduced and the standard of living lowered. If I know the American industrial leader and the American worker and the American farmer, this standard of living has come to stay, and whatever is necessary for a government to do to protect it, I am sure will be done. The people of America not only want a high standard of living, but mass production demands it.

It has been estimated that during these past nine years two million wage earners have been deprived of their accustomed vocations because of the tremendous increase in the use of power and the installation of labor-saving machinery, devices and processes. During the last 150 years there have been occasional inventions which temporarily displaced large numbers of workers in a single industry, thus calling for local labor readjustments and for the time being causing suffering among the working population.

Arkwright's loom created panics and riots in Manchester, England. The spinning jenny, Stephenson's locomotive engine, the sewing machine, are cases in point. But these inventions came one at a time. They were a generation apart and while I have no intention, remember, my friends, of trying to minimize their effect we are faced today with a much more widespread, intensive, and general problem along these lines. It is difficult to name an industry or an occupation that is not affected by some new device or new machine.

In my own life I have seen thousands of highly skilled and technical iron workers who had to seek employment along other lines. The iron puddler of my younger days, of whom there are a few left, turned out with one helper 2,500 to 3,000 pounds of puddled iron a day. Then came the iron man, the mechanical puddler, which, although unsatisfactory and practically discarded now, somewhat increased the production.

I have just come from the Pittsburgh district where I spoke yesterday morning at the starting of a new mill that operates a chemical process and entirely eliminated the mechanical idea of puddling. More than three hundred puddlers are thrown out of work in this particular mill, and I urged the management to provide for the older men, because with the new mechanical machine this work is much easier and can be done by a man of sixty as easily as by a man of twenty-five. I told them that there are a lot of new machines to increase production, but that the newest thing in industry is to take care of the displaced aged worker.

This new machine, or rather process, produces the same effect as hand puddling, and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

is reported to turn out as good a quality of iron, with practically no limit of production. A stationary engineer with a lever pours the molten iron from two vats. The iron in the vats has slightly different chemical combinations, and as the two streams meet the chemical effect upon the molten metal is practically the same as we get from hand puddling. The limit of production is the size of the vats and the amount of pig iron you can melt. One engineer has produced 2,400 tons in ten hours, and the future may see this quantity greatly increased.

All along the line of labor in every industry we find the same thing, and there is where the present situation differs so radically from the past. It is not only the skilled man who has been affected by new machines and new processes. The track-layer and the railroad section hand find rails laid by mechanical devices, riveted by acetylene welders, and the dirt tamped around the ties with mechanical tampers. The longshoreman finds the ships loaded and unloaded by mechanical devices and the freight laid upon conveyors that carry it from the ship's hold into the storage warehouse on the dock. The hod carrier finds the brick and mortar dumped into boxes, automatically pulled by a chain into an elevator and scooted up to the top of the building without his assistance. The concrete mixer finds the mix poured into a great cylinder which is a part of an automobile truck and is mixed by the same power that propels the car from the material yard to the place where the concrete is to be used. The worker on the highway finds the grades all cut and made with shovels that will tear through a hill while he was formerly filling a wheelbarrow.

The production of steel is so improved that you can now toss a five ton ingot around like Grove of the Philadelphia Athletics tosses a baseball from the pitcher's mound. If the steel that is made today in its many ramifications were produced under the conditions and by the methods used when I worked in the mills, it would give employment to a million workers, whereas they now do it with half that number. The machine enables the automobile manufacturer to make ten automobiles where he formerly made one by hand. The hand process for making window glass is gone, and the automatic machine has taken its place. Production in plate glass has doubled or more than trebled, depending on the machines to be used. We find the same thing in textiles and boots and shoes—yes, and on the farm. The corn husker does the work of five men. The binders in the wheat fields of Kansas with 10,000 men will do what 30,000 men were employed to do before.

This development of the machine has affected every line. The fact is I could go on and on making these illustrations. It has even affected the skilled musician. It has affected office occupations. A hundred men in the Bureau of Labor Statistics with adding machines can do the work of 500 brain workers. There is a machine in the Census Bureau that with 1,000 employees does the work of 10,000 employees.

And so it is not only in the industrial field but in every avenue of our commercial life. The Department of Commerce figures of 2,000,000 displaced are surely right. Wherever

you turn, drills, machinery, conveyors, processes, and chemicals are doing the work. Common labor today is really more seriously affected than skilled labor. Dozens of other examples could be cited in industry upon industry, all to the same end—the constant release of hand labor. The business executive and the office men have not been free from it, because merger after merger has sent them to the street seeking employment.

However, most of this mechanization, I am sure will be for the best. What isn't for the best will pass away. We will always demand to see the artist at work and to have those things which are a personal enjoyment to us. We need have no fear of the modern machine as long as the worker is compensated in full to enable him to buy the products of the machine.

But we have not been exercising our brains very much in this mad rush for the displacement of labor over what is to become of the labor that we have displaced in our eagerness to master studies of efficiency in labor methods, time studies, and efforts to prevent waste motion. Our tendency is to regard labor merely as energy which should be conserved. Human labor, however, is something more than mere energy and cannot be disassociated from the human beings that produce that energy.

In the face of this condition we have upon us, none the less, the obligation of protecting from all jeopardies, economic or otherwise, the great body of those who are both producers and consumers. In these days of great changes that affect both our foreign born and our native born, why should we admit to our country people from other lands simply to swell the tide of those who are seeking work? The volume of production in the United States in proportion to the number of people employed is rapidly increasing every year. Over ninety per cent of the many new articles and kinds of goods which we are producing to meet the new wants and desires of our people are practically confined to our own markets for consumption. The workers in European countries call them luxuries, but with our high standard of living they are necessities. Immigration from those countries or from any country does not add to our markets for these new things.

Two millions of our boys and girls are coming of work age every year. We must find work for them to do. A quarter of a million workers come from the countryside to the city, and the cities, under this limited immigration program, are now recruiting their help from the countryside of America rather than from the cities of the Old World.

Some of our industries are working only part time in our most prosperous times. In 1921 we had nearly six million workers off the payroll. See the change that has come over the country since that time. Prosperity was on every hand. Today we are passing through another unemployment period, but it has been world wide. In Germany, Great Britain and practically every other European country unemployment conditions are worse than in our own country, and have been of longer and greater severity. The dole system in England and unemployment relief in Germany are becoming almost unbearable burdens. We were

the last country that was affected by the world wide depression and the first country that started to come back. This was largely due to the leadership of President Hoover in calling together our business, industrial, labor and agricultural leaders. The first conference brought forth the suggestion that we must maintain the present wage levels and maintain the American standard of living. Labor joined in and said they would be content with it in order to provide work for our people. Out of that has come a public and private construction program amounting, the Secretary of Commerce has reported, to seven billions of dollars. It is the first time in recorded history in a depression that we did not have wholesale reductions in wages. It is the first time in recorded history that a great program of this kind has been put over. Our construction program amounts to \$160,000,000 more than we had in boom times. Would we not have had just a repetition of past depression—reduction in wages and a lowering of living standards—except for President Hoover's prompt marshalling of the business, agricultural, and labor activities of the country? Ten years ago a few of us were criticized for saying that high wages made prosperity. Today no reputable economist will question it.

During my ten years of service I have had business with most of the delegates who sit in this convention. We have differed at times, but it has been an honest difference of opinion. Yet I know that no one will deny that today the relationship between employer and worker is better than it has ever been before. We are recognizing more than ever each other's rights. We are sitting around the council table rather than turning the batteries of hate on each other. Only a few weeks ago the anthracite coal industry took a great step forward toward stabilization of that industry when a five and one-half year agreement was entered into by operators and miners, thus assuring an ample supply of anthracite coal to meet all our needs, and with resultant benefits to both operators, mine workers, and the business interest of the anthracite region; nor has our legislative machinery been dilatory in giving attention, wherever possible, to these questions, as is evidenced by the creation of the Farm Board and many other agencies and activities which will vastly aid in the improvement of general conditions.

If we can but stabilize our industry and agriculture, our more than forty-five millions of gainfully employed people, comprising as they do the bulk of our buying power, will automatically stimulate business and enterprise. Their steady employment at a wage which safeguards their buying power means a strong foundation for our whole economic structure; and while new avenues of employment through the satisfying of new wants and desires are constantly being opened, yet we cannot forget that we are short at the moment by more than two millions of abolishing unemployment—the solution to which we are bending our every effort.

In conclusion, let me just summarize what we have passed through during this period. At the beginning of my term of office in 1921, we had nearly six million workers off the payroll. We were faced with the necessity of reabsorbing into our economic life the four

million men who served in the military forces of our country during the World War. We have had the two million boys and girls coming of working age each year and the workers who were released from farm and industry because of the machine, estimated at two million more. Yes, and before the war, there were 4,000,000 women in industry and the recent census shows more than ten millions; even with restricted immigration in force we have had \$4,100,000 immigrants come to us since 1921, and the quarter of a million from the countryside who come to the cities to seek employment. When we consider all that we have achieved in stabilizing employment, we can just say we have done well. I am one of those Americans who believe in the future greatness of America, because we have unlimited natural resources; we have skill and intelligence; we have the highest type of managerial genius and craftsmanship, and our industrial leaders have vision. I am one who believes that we will soon emerge from this period of depression and enter upon a new and lasting era of prosperity, surpassing perhaps all former periods of prosperity in the history of our country.

President Green: We are indeed grateful to the Secretary of Labor for his splendid, inspiring, educational and instructive address. It will appear in the proceedings of today's session. I am sure that most of the delegates and visitors here who are exceedingly interested in the work and the proceedings of this convention will examine this address carefully, because it contains much valuable information. I said in my introductory address that the Secretary of Labor was nominated for the office of United States Senator from Pennsylvania. We feel that that nomination is equivalent to his election. I wanted to add this to what I said then, that labor looks forward with hope and expectation to the wonderful service we believe the Secretary will render as a member of the United States Senate to the working men and women of our country. We confidently believe and expect him to be another outstanding champion of the cause of labor upon the floor of the Senate of the United States. Surely a man whose life has been cast along such humble lines, associating with workers and with poverty in his early life, and then serving as Secretary of Labor, coming in close contact with those industrial, social and economic problems that so vitally affect the welfare of the workers, could not in the high and exalted position of Senator of the United States forget labor. We know he will not. We are glad to have his message this morning; we thank him for his presence, and we are happy to know that he will be seated as a Senator in the Congress of the United States from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

My good friend, Mike Tighe, never overlooks anything, and he is a very good prompter. I took for granted that he knew just what he told me—that the Secretary of Labor has long been a member of organized labor, that he is now a member of organized labor and will continue to be a member of organized labor. Somebody asked what organization he belongs to. Mike Tighe says the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and that the Secretary of Labor pays his dues in advance.

And now we have another visitor. He comes to us as the chief executive of a great city. He was recently elected as mayor of Detroit. You know they take politics very seriously in Detroit—they kick them in and kick them out. Recently they recalled a man and then looked around for his successor. They seemed to direct their attention toward this distinguished man who will address us. I am happy over the result. I am mighty glad the people of Detroit selected our good friend, Judge Murphy, to serve as mayor of that city.

It has been my pleasure and privilege to know Judge Murphy. I met him on several occasions, but I enjoyed a delightful visit with him during the time the convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in Detroit. In my discussion with him I found that he entertained the most sympathetic and friendly feeling toward labor and toward labor problems. I was surprised at his understanding and knowledge of the problems of labor. He comes to us as a sympathetic friend, a man who is willing to earnestly apply his talents and his ability toward the solution of these great problems that affect so vitally the social and economic life of our nation. At the present time he is grappling with the problem of unemployment in the city of Detroit in the most helpful and constructive way. He tackled the problem quickly and has organized the forces of relief. He seems to be determined that every man who wishes to work in Detroit shall be given an opportunity to do so. I know we all wish him a full measure of success in his wonderful work, we wish to assure him of the complete cooperation of labor.

I am happy indeed to present to you the mayor of Detroit, our good friend, Mr. Frank Murphy.

HONORABLE FRANK MURPHY (Mayor of Detroit)

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary, and my Friends—May I first thank you for this privilege and honor. I consider it a privilege and an honor to address the representatives of organized

labor of this nation, and I shall always remember and be grateful for it. I would be doing less than my duty while here before you if I did not express my gratitude to organized labor in the City of Detroit for the constant support over a period of half a decade they have given me in public life. It was representatives of organized labor that first petitioned me to be a candidate for mayor in the recent election, and they stood steadfastly by me during that fiercely contested election.

I have in mind that you were in convention in Detroit two or three years ago, but a great deal of water has gone over the dam since then, and if you come back while the good people of Detroit retain me as their executive you will be in the house of your friends. Detroit would be honored and happy to have you there, believing that your deliberate judgment in this era would be a contribution to what we are trying to do and the service we are trying to put municipal government to in an American city.

Your President said the people of Detroit take their politics seriously. Well, they take their politics much more seriously than they do their politicians, and recently the leaders of public life in Detroit have learned that fact. For my part, I understand my election to mean nothing but a mandate on the part of a great-hearted people to put government to the purpose for which it was created. Now, what may a municipal government do on the question of unemployment? What may a municipal government do when the gaunt figure of want stalks up and down our streets? What shall we do? Is it something to shun, to walk away from? Is it something just to take its course, or can government actually go to the grips with it and do something? I am one of those who believe that it can.

The worst thing, in my opinion, that is taking place in this nation today, next to the gaunt tragedy of unemployment, is the callous attitude of public officials toward it, the participation in the conspiracy of silence, their contribution to keep the facts from the people. Sooner or later every one of us charged with the sacred trust of official life must take inventory of its philosophy and human conception. In other words, we must ask ourselves: Is a public office a personal emolument that you wear as a suit of clothes or as you do your Christianity—something to be paraded on Sunday and put in a closet during the rest of the week? Or is it something you actually need to translate into action for the benefit of all the people? A man claims he is educated because he has a college diploma. No man shows he is educated if he has a diploma from any institution unless his eyes are raised to some new horizon that he sees because these blessings are his.

And so it is with a public servant. Is he a public servant because he is elected to office? Not at all. In a democracy, unless he is fired by the notion that from constable to president every public servant is naught but just a servant of the people and he has no right to put government to selfish ends or to improper purposes for himself or for any group.

And so I have tried to make it plain to the people of my city that my election meant a change. The change has taken place. It means,

not that one man has been given an honor, because as such it may tumble down over night, but as a change it may have a lasting and great significance. It means a new and fresh and awakened insight into the affairs of the people; it means that we must study and perfect the methods by which government, starting even with municipal government, must be placed at the service of humanity.

There is nothing sentimental about this, it is simple, elementary justice, and a government, municipal, state or national that does not concern itself with safeguarding and shielding the people it pretends to govern, the children, the boys and the girls, the men and the women at their work, at their toil, from the processes of life over which they have no control, which they cannot safely cope with or alter, why, such a government is just a gesture. So as I see it, the first purpose of government in the City of Detroit is to actually undertake this question of unemployment. Now we will undertake it with the spirit of youth, with hope and with imagination. We will not try to write a new economic order; we think that unwise; the present economic order, perfected, modified, with restraint, but constantly moving onward and upward, is what we seek. We do not attempt to tear the sheet out of the ledger and put another in its stead, rather we intend to keep searching, to keep on the march, always with reason, with wisdom and with restraint, to keep moving forward and doing things in a little better way.

When I was inducted into official life we called a conference. Detroit has a heterogeneous population. All the peoples of the world have marched in there in the last decade or two, all good people, all human people, all with hearts and souls, regardless of color or race or creed. Detroit has great industries and great wealth. We have had the problems of the machine, of mass production, of unemployment. All these problems are before the City of Detroit today. Why not confide the facts of unemployment to all the people? Why not make it plain? Does it mean that Detroit is worse off than other cities? On the contrary, it means that Detroit is better off, because Detroit is going to solve those problems as much as it is humanly possible to do; Detroit is going to place the facts, not only before all the citizens, but before the entire nation.

Let me ask you this question: Do you know any matter upon which you can give intelligent judgment without having the facts before you? No man of science, no man of the medical or legal profession, no man of objective judgment can give intelligent, balanced judgment to any question without knowing the facts. We proposed to call around the table all segments of our field. We called in the merchant, the banker, the worker, the priest, the rabbi, the doctor and the lawyer. We felt this was not a question of one group, that it belonged to every group. No one can escape it. We took a registration of our unemployment within a week after I took office, and found that 76,000 registered as jobless in Detroit. Then we undertook to find out how many were in immediate need of relief, and some 11,000 signed up that they were in immediate need of either food, clothes, medical or legal aid. As an illustration of what

may be done when a people are aroused, let me tell you that in every nook and corner of Detroit the hearts and the hands and the human energy of the people got behind that movement. There is not a chance that a man who is a resident of our city will go unfed this winter, there is not a chance of one man going without a roof over his head, and as far as it is humanly possible we will put every man we can at work. Now, how shall we do it?

We found that our welfare department is expending one-half million dollars a year in doles. We don't want doles, we want wages. We called the heads of all the departments of the city government together and said: "Find out what work you have planned for the entire year. Anticipate it. Do it now. Government can create jobs. It is much better to spend one million dollars a month in wages than in doles."

And so we are endeavoring to do this, not only because every job is relief, but the first motto of justice in a community should be its government. We are trying to set the pace for the industrial leaders. We want to go before them as we did three or four days later. We called them into one room and told them what the city had done. We said we were advancing all work, because we had a crisis, and they must undertake to do the thing the city was doing. The City of Detroit expends \$160,000,000 a year. We employ 41,000 people. So the city is an employer. We want to set up a model in our city government that we can always go before the great employers of Detroit and tell them we have created jobs and they ought to do the same thing. We can say we do not import cheap labor, that we do not reduce wages, and we will not allow conditions to be demoralized, and we ask them to do the same. And these men responded. There is not a group in our city that has not joined in our movement.

The message I want to leave with you is this: In these great economic questions the battle will be nine-tenths won when the facts are confided to the people. You have got to get the facts before all the people. Those of us who believe in the institutions of popular government and their preservation must depend upon the mass judgment of the people. Some will say: "Well you haven't the cool judgment of the finely disciplined mind." That is true, but we have something more, we have the sentiment, the emotions and the feelings and the experience of a people. That is a great contribution, and out of that will always come good. Nothing but good can come from it, and the reason Detroit will set the pace for the nation, the reason Detroit will come out of the depression quicker than any city in the country is because some movement from the people will solve the question, not some movement from above. The people do not want something done for them, they want to work with people. So we have called into play the judgment of the rank and file of our people, and that is what is going to bring the good results.

President Green: In responding to this address of His Honor, the Mayor of Detroit, the Chair wishes to make this observation: The

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

officers and delegates and visitors at this convention have enjoyed an intellectual treat. We have been privileged to listen to two splendid addresses, and I am happy, indeed, that the Mayor of Detroit came to us with such an inspiring message. He talked our language; he dealt with the problem that is in the minds and hearts of every delegate and every visitor in attendance at this convention, and he spoke about it in the language of the trade unionist. I am happy, indeed, that he brought to us this message.

May I observe that it is my impression, as I know it is yours, that Judge Frank Murphy is going to give the City of Detroit a most wonderful administration. He is a man of vision. He forgot yesterday, he is looking to tomorrow. A man with such a breadth of vision as he has shown this morning is going to make his mark in the public life of our country. Judge Frank Murphy has a future; he is going to be more than the Mayor of Detroit. I know I voice your sincere, earnest sentiments and feelings when I extend to him the thanks of this convention for his visit and for his masterly, inspiring and educational address. Brother Martel has just reminded me that Judge Murphy is an honorary member of an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Printing Pressmen's Union.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

Now I want to take advantage of this opportunity, because there is such a full representation of the officers and delegates to the convention in attendance, and because we have so many sympathetic and interested visitors here, to carry out a beautiful service always participated in by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor conventions. At each convention we call the roll of our departed brothers and co-workers, and after the roll is called we stand a moment in silence, paying our tribute of respect to the memory of those who have left us.

The list is unusually large this year. It impresses us very deeply and very sorrowfully. A number of our people who worked with us and who were in attendance at conventions in days gone by have gone across the great line and to their reward. I am going to ask the officers and delegates and visitors at the convention to participate with us in this brief memorial service, our tribute to our departed dead. Secretary Morrison will read the list, and after it is read

we will arise and stand in silence for a brief time.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

James P. Noonan, Vice-President American Federation of Labor. Died December 4, 1929.

John Scott, former Secretary-Treasurer Rail way Employees Department, A. F. of L. Died January 18, 1930.

John N. Parsons, former President National Association of Letter Carriers. Died January 24, 1930.

Joseph Pope, former President Illinois District United Mine Workers of America. Died February 2, 1930.

Joseph F. Valentine, former Vice-President A. F. of L., and former President International Molders' Union of North America. Died February 7, 1930.

Chris. Kerker, general organizer Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America. Died February 11, 1930.

W. L. Funderburk, former President-Organizer Stove Mounters' International Union. Died February 21, 1930.

Orion C. Merret, Vice-President Louisiana State Federation of Labor. Died February 22, 1930.

Robert Lyons, organizer Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance. Died March 1, 1930.

J. H. Barry, international organizer International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Died March 5, 1930.

M. E. Montgomery, former associate and chief engineer Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Died March 10, 1930.

John T. Fennell, Vice-President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America. Died March 29, 1930.

Walter E. Ames, trustee Union Printers Home. Died April 16, 1930.

Frank Buchanan, former President International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Member U. S. Congress 1911-1917. Died April 18, 1930.

Harry Halton, national treasurer Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada. Died April 18, 1930.

George Hargrove, international representative United Mine Workers of America. Died May 12, 1930.

Wm. J. Brennan, former Vice-President International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers. Director of Public Safety, Newark, N. J. Died May 14, 1930.

Mrs. D. S. Litton, Vice-President Alabama State Federation of Labor. Died May 31, 1930.

Joseph C. Balhorn, former President Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. Died June 5, 1930.

William Larkin, grand lodge representative International Association of Machinists. Died July 5, 1930.

James P. Campbell, general Vice-President United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

ters of the United States and Canada. Died July 6, 1930.

James J. Mulcahy, former Vice-President International Typographical Union. Died July 12, 1930.

James M. Lynch, former President International Typographical Union. Died July 18, 1930.

Timothy Healy, former President International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers. Died July 20, 1930.

S. O. Fox, first grand secretary and treasurer Order of Railroad Telegraphers. Died August 11, 1930.

Frank H. Pease, former editor "The Railway Conductor." Died August 26, 1930.

Wesley Russell, former international secretary 1904-1916, and acting international president, 1928, The Commercial Telegraphers' International Union. Died September 15, 1930.

Clarke Silvernail, councilor Actors' Equity Association. Died September 23, 1930.

A. M. Hull, Vice-President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Died December 5, 1929.

Christian V. Hope, member of International Association of Machinists and secretary of Topeka, Kansas Central Labor Union. Died April, 1930.

William J. Sleep, eighth Vice-President National Federation of Federal Employees. Died January 5, 1930.

Roland Jeffries, fourth Vice-President Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union. Died February 21, 1930.

Joseph Sullivan, Boston, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers. Died January 6, 1930.

Joseph Sheehan, general organizer United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters. Died December 7, 1929.

Will C. Long, Past International President, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

William Conry, Past International Vice-President, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

A. E. Maddux, past executive board member, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

John Smith, Secretary Kansas City Central Labor Union and organizer for the American Federation of Labor.

Jacob McGinley, Vice-President Amalgamated Association Iron Steel and Tin Workers. Died September 29, 1930.

Patrick E. Higgins, former Vice-President Postoffice Clerks' Federation. Died September 15, 1930.

Allen C. Griffith, Secretary Detroit Local Union No. 38, Stage Employes. Died August 19, 1930.

Roy V. Pugh, First Vice-President Oklahoma State Federation of Labor. Died October 28, 1929.

Patrick H. Veasey, Fourth Vice-President Oklahoma State Federation of Labor. Died December 22, 1929.

William E. Monroe, President Local Union No. 1, International Association of Theatrical Stage Employes. Died January 22, 1930.

Henry Sands, former Secretary-Treasurer of Composition Roofers and Secretary-Treasurer of Newark, New Jersey, Building Trades Council. Died July 14, 1930.

William Bloom, President Joint Board Cloak Makers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers. Died July 1, 1930.

Henry Wildburger, Business Manager Electrical Workers Union 501, Westchester, N. Y.

Wm. Chuenside, former Secretary Pawtucket central body.

President Green: The Chair feels it would be quite appropriate to include in this list, as I think we should include in the list of those who have departed, at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, the name of our great leader who led us for so many years —Samuel Gompers. I think we should continually include his name in the list of those we remember and to whom we pay our tribute of respect at each convention.

I know we are all very deeply impressed by the fact that a large number passed away during the last year. We are thinking very seriously about them. We remember their voices as they worked with us and served with us years ago.

Now in conformity with our custom I ask the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, as well as the visitors, to rise and stand in silence for a brief period while we pay our tribute of respect to those who have departed.

The audience arose and remained standing in silence until the drop of the gavel.

Substitutions

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute the name of Brother John J. Stretch, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, for the name of William J. Bowen, President Emeritus of that union, as a member of the Committee on Executive Council's Reports.

The Chair desires also to substitute the name of John Fitzgerald, National Federation of Federal Employees, for the name of John B. Shulte, on the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

At this afternoon's session the fraternal delegates attending the convention from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will deliver their messages of greeting, good will and information. I wish the delegates and visitors would make it a special point to be in attendance at this afternoon's session so that you may listen to these addresses.

At 12:25 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green:

Absentees

Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Wenzel, Reagan, Schulte, Schlesinger, Marshall, Gorman, Kelly (M. J.), Lewis, Hannah, Berry, Sullivan (H. W.), Evans, Graham, Gill, Wilson (T. A.), Anderson, Burns (J. T.), Bowden, Ryan (J.), Johnston, Campbell (G. C.), Laude, McEwen, Mueller, Carigan, Taylor (C. O.), Tucker, Becker, Katz, Souza, Agustino, Dyer, Sunner (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P. F.), Nealey, Sheehan, Distle, Slavens, Shave, Thompson, Draper, Kelly (W.), Scully (J. J.), Bower, Hartnett, Walls, Smethurst, Lawrence, Martinez, Fanning, Jacobs, Gatelee, Fitzpatrick, Callahan, Donnelly (S. J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Mack, Clow, Marquardt, Murphy (M. G.), Walsh, Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carozzo, Roberts, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Webster, Lawson (O. L.), Hampton, Taylor (S. M.), Mitchell (T.), Miller, Vaccarelli.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

In accordance with instructions received from President John B. Haggerty, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, we recommend that Daniel J. Ahearn be seated in his stead until such time as President Haggerty is able to return to Boston.

Your committee have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Samuel E. Beardsley, 8 votes.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Lincoln, Nebr., Oct. 7, 1930.

Harry J. Gill, Delegate American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall.

Am pleased to know you are attending National Convention and wish you and other Nebraska delegates, as well as the general convention, a successful meeting.

ARTHUR J. WEAVER,
Governor Nebr.

President Green: The Chair desires to present to you for just a moment Mr. Hugh K. Martin, former Commander of the American Legion, Department of Ohio. Former Commander Martin desires to supplement the invitation that has been extended to this convention to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in the City of Columbus.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you former Commander Hugh K. Martin, Department of Ohio, American Legion.

ADDRESS BY MR. HUGH K. MARTIN (Former Commander, Department of Ohio, American Legion)

Mr. President and members of the American Federation of Labor—I am not unmindful of the fact that you gentlemen, like me, have lost considerable sleep incidental to the American Legion convention. Thus, I will endeavor to be brief and to the point. The other day when Ex-President Coolidge, upon a demand of our convention, stepped to the platform, he began by saying that he would endeavor to save time, and every one, knowing the Ex-President, took that as quite a joke. I cannot quite approximate the Ex-President's ability of saving, but I shall in a very few words convey to you the message I wish to bring this afternoon.

I would be remiss in my duty if I did not pay my respects to your distinguished President. He spoke to our convention in one of those stirring addresses that awakens in the heart of every American a renewed love of country and that characterizes and marks the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion as having hearts that beat in unison and as standing for one and for all, for justice as opposed to discrimination, for liberty as opposed to license, and for our American institutions, if you please, as the best means of safeguarding both justice and liberty for your children, your children's children and mine. We were pleased with the splendid address that your distinguished President made to our convention.

I happen to hail from Ohio and from the capital city of the Buckeye State, Columbus. At this convention of the American Legion our entire delegation from Ohio unanimously passed a resolution at a caucus to whole-heartedly and enthusiastically join in the many other invitations that have been extended from Ohio to you gentlemen to hold your next national convention in Columbus, Ohio, and they asked me to come before this body and personally convey that invitation.

We are proud of Ohio for many other reasons, but among other things we must not lose sight of the fact that Ohio is the home of your peerless leader and my friend, William Green.

And so Ohio, as the home state of the President of your organization, has its arms open ready to receive with a hearty welcome every delegate and member of the American Federation of Labor.

Columbus has a peculiar significance in American Federation of Labor circles, and while I know you count the birth of your organization back to 1881, I am not unmindful of the fact that in 1886 at Columbus, Ohio, was held a meeting at which a consolidation was effected that really marked the birth of the American Federation of Labor. The cradle of the American Federation of Labor beckons you to come to Columbus next year. I know that in some places it has been said that Columbus has had a reputation as a labor city that is not just what it might have been, and we must admit that that has been true. But, my friends, a recent reorganization has accomplished a marvelous change in a very short time, and the present administration at Columbus is not only decidedly on the up-grade and making phenomenal strides, but it has the whole-hearted backing and cooperation of not only organized labor, but of the American Legion of Ohio and of the public generally without discrimination. We ask you to put your stamp of approval upon such a thing as that by coming to Columbus, Ohio, where everything then will be in such a situation as will augur extremely well for the future of labor in that metropolis.

Gentlemen, I have conveyed my message. I want you to answer the call of that cradle of the American Federation of Labor. Come into the arms of Ohio, come to Columbus, the gateway between the east and west, which contains a lot of people who were born in the south in the Old Dominion State; and their descendants. We all beckon you. Come!

President Green: I know we all appreciate this very cordial and sincere invitation so eloquently extended, and when the convention reaches the order of business where it will consider the selection of a city for the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor I know each delegate will give very earnest and sincere consideration to this most kind invitation. We thank you for it.

Now I want to present to you a distinguished representative of the Orthodox Jewish Church, a student of economics and of social justice and social welfare. He is visiting with us. He is nationally known. His services in the cause of social justice have been appreciated by all those who know him. His heart beats in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor.

I take pleasure in presenting to you Rabbi Edward L. Israel, of Baltimore, Maryland, the Chairman of the Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

ADDRESS BY RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL

(Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis)

Mr. President and Friends: I know that your program is very full and I know it is a mark of extreme courtesy that your President has allowed me to be presented to you. No honor has come to me in recent days that I value more highly and yet, all told, this is the first time that it has been my privilege, or so far as I know, any one's privilege to bring to this splendid group of the American Federation of Labor the greetings of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. I do not feel strange, I do not feel out of place. First of all it was my privilege a year ago to sit directly alongside our capable President in Baltimore as he delivered the Labor Day message that was heard throughout the country. Then it was my privilege to sit directly at the right of your esteemed Secretary while he gave his most competent Labor Day message. Moreover, it has been my opportunity, as Chairman of our Commission of Social Justice, to identify myself closely with the aims and aspirations of organized labor in the Western Maryland situation some years ago, in the full fashioned hosiery workers' strike, in a pockbook workers' strike, and only within the past ten days or so on a visit to the regions of the Carolinas where organized labor is making its fine and noble effort to bring humanity and decency and justice into the textile industry of the south.

And here I am in Boston for no other purpose than to unite with the churches of this city of all denominations in the coming week end to honor your meeting here in Boston by bringing messages of social justice from the pulpits of this city.

Only a few days ago, on the occasion of our Jewish holy days, there was distributed throughout this country a message from our Commission. Thousands of copies were distributed and news reports of it were given in the Associated Press and elsewhere, and it is with a great deal of pride and gratification that I am able to read you part of that message, that you may see how closely socialized religion today, of whatever denomination it may be, is realizing the essentials of the struggle of justice in which organized labor is engaging at this time.

Hear just a moment: "The spectacle which has been unfolding before us of the deadly effect of unemployment, not merely upon possessions but upon all the values of life, raises the struggle against unemployment to a sacred duty. Weighty is the obligation to consider the various expedients deemed helpful; for instance, the steady raising of the age below which children are kept in school and out of industry; mothers' pensions to reduce the number of women and of minors seeking work; old age pensions for those no longer acceptable to a machine industry which rejects age with its fidelity for youth with its vigor; a perfected system of employment exchanges eliminating waste, delays and errors in the linkage of workers needing situations with situations that need workers; unem-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ployment insurance, already tried in foreign lands and in some American industries with good results; prosperity reserves on the part of the governments, and the planning of public construction in such wise as to offer a maximum of public employment when there is slackness of private employment; such bureaus of economic observations as will issue timely warning against the approach of economic decline, and counsel measures of forestalling it. Add to this ampler educational facilities and institutional care for those temporarily or permanently incapable of work.

"The Central Conference of American Rabbis has commended the five-day working week which has already been adopted in various industries with success. If our constantly improving machinery with its displacement of human workers is not to produce unemployment before it produces aught else, not only must the number of working days a week be reduced; there must also be a diminution of the number of working hours a day with corresponding increases of wage rates, enabling all workers to earn sufficiently."

I wonder, my friends, whether you realize just how much that gives us in common, how we whose function it is to approach the problem of a livelihood from the fundamental, the ethical point of view, are approaching it along the same lines as you men and women who are engrossed with it from the hard, practical, economic point of view that cries out for a solution of righteousness if there is to be peace and prosperity in American industry. Again:

"Corollary to this is sympathy with the cause of organized labor, perhaps the most potent of all forces for securing hours and wages requisite for neutralizing unemployment and for the civic and spiritual development of the worker. The issue of organized labor brings to mind the disheartening developments of Elizabethtown, Marion and Gastonia as well as the spirit of social endeavor with which Jewish, Protestant and Catholic religious leaders have, during the past year, joined in applying to the turmoil their common principles of brotherly love. It is our profound hope that these principles may soon be accepted and applied in the southern textile situation and in all industry."

And finally:

"The social creed of the Rabbis suggests yet other ways of aiding those who toil. It urges investors to put humanity first, not dividends first, when deciding which industries to favor. Investments should be withheld from enterprises in which reasonable standards of hours, wages and working conditions are ignored and should be directed to those whose standards are high. Attention should also be given the white lists provided for certain industries. By means of the white lists, we can, as consumers, bestow our patronage where humane conditions prevail and divert it from ventures which lack scruple in the matter of overwork, underpay and unhygienic shop conditions."

In other words, my friends, working along the principle of organized labor we did by means of this message the very thing you are doing by means of displays in your lobby of the goods of those firms that are manufactured under the fine standards of decency and justice

and integrity that are the bulwark of the program for which you stand.

And so, since there is that community of spirit, do you wonder that I say that it is a source of enormous pride to me that I can come before you, not in any spirit of propaganda, not to try to tempt you with this view or that or the other, but to say to you, in the spirit of human fellowship, that the ideas, the aspirations, the goals of human expression which are the very cornerstone of the aims, of the achievements of your great organization have been recognized and are being pursued by socialized religion today.

It is one of the great senses of consecration of my life that it has been my privilege to throw in my portion with that struggle. It is my feeling, and I say it with the memory of what I saw only a few days ago in Greensboro and in other North Carolina towns, that only when the American employer comes to recognize the justice, the decency and uprightness of the program of organized labor as a means of meeting the problems that confront industry today, will we have the foundation of that peace, that unity and that brotherhood which is the goal of religion, the goal of all human happiness.

I thank you.

President Green: I want to thank you, Rabbi Israel, for the wonderfully inspiring address you have just delivered. You touched very closely the hearts and minds of the delegates in attendance at this convention. It seemed to me that when you were delivering your address you were expounding the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. No advanced trades unionist could express himself in favor of the five-day week, the shorter work day or the American standard of living more forcibly and more convincingly and eloquently than you did. We are very proud and happy to have you here. We are grateful to the Conference you represent, to the people you represent for their expressions of sympathy and support, and I think that if they would like to be organized into a local union of the American Federation of Labor we could find a place for them.

SPECIAL SUNDAY SERVICE

President Green: I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to make an important announcement. You recall that His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, came on the opening day and gave the invocation. At that time he announced that he would return on Friday to deliver an address to this convention. Since that time the Cardinal has discovered that it would be impossible for him to visit with us on Friday, as he originally planned. However, I am requested to announce that the Cardinal will pontificate at mass at the Cathedral of

the Holy Cross on Sunday morning at ten o'clock and at that time he will deliver an address to the delegates who may be present. A cordial invitation is extended by the Cardinal to the officers and delegates to this convention to attend this service. Father Corrigan, of Boston College, will deliver a special sermon on labor following the address of Cardinal O'Connell.

Now we have a very dear friend with us, one who brought a message to us at the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor. The officers and delegates who attended that convention will remember with feelings of satisfaction and pride the wonderful address delivered by Father McGuire. He came here at my invitation to visit with us and to address this convention. He speaks in the language of a trades unionist. It seems that he has given his stamp of approval to the trades union philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. He is also a real friend, a true friend, an honest friend, because he points out some of the difficulties we contend with and he endeavors to give us advice in a friendly way as to how we can pursue a more constructive and practical course. I know you are anxious to hear his message and to listen to his words. It affords me very great pleasure to present to you Father J. W. R. McGuire, President of St. Viator's College, Bourbonnais, Illinois.

ADDRESS BY REV. J. W. R. MCGUIRE (President, St. Viator's College)

Mr. President and Members of the American Federation of Labor—A few days ago your distinguished President came out to Chicago to see me on some rather important business, and at that time he was kind enough to extend an invitation to me to come here to Boston and speak to you. It was an invitation that I was not able to resist, despite the fact that I had many other important duties that should have detained me at home. And I came here with a great deal of pleasant anticipation of a very enjoyable time in the City of Boston. The first morning I attended your convention my comfort was considerably lessened, not by what you are thinking about, but by the fact that when I arrived in the hall I heard Mr. Frey making a speech on the limitation of injunctions and yellow dog contracts, and Mr. Frey happens to read the same books that I do. He writes some of the books that I read, too. And there went my first speech.

I spent part of yesterday in considering two other possible speeches. One of them was on the influence of mechanical inventions on the problems of unemployment. I arrived here this morning expecting to speak, and lo and behold, the distinguished Secretary of Labor comes up and makes a much better

speech on that subject than I could possibly hope to make.

And then I had thought of saying something to you about the proper function of government in relation to the solution of labor problems, and Detroit's very brilliant and ebullient young man, Mr. Murphy, comes up and makes a much better speech than I. The result is that I am here without a speech unless I repeat some of the things that have already been said to you much better than I could say them.

A few years ago when I was young and therefore more foolish than I am now I preached an eloquent sermon on the subject of matrimony one morning at several services. After one of the services Mrs. O'Brien and Mrs. Murphy met one another and Mrs. O'Brien said to Mrs. Murphy, "That was a fine sermon Father McGuire preached on matrimony, wasn't it?" "Well," said Mrs. Murphy, "I suppose it was, but I wish to God I knew as little about it as he does." And when I get through with this speech that does not exist you may say it is a fine speech—and I hope you will—but you may be saying that, "I wish I knew as little about those things as he does," because all of you know much more about what I have to say to you than I do.

There is a peculiar appropriateness in the American Federation of Labor meeting here in the City of Boston, because Boston is full of intimate associations with the great ideals of human liberty. You are sitting here within easy distance of that great bridge where the shot was fired that was heard around the world, that shot that was the fundamental vote, the first great vote cast in belief of democratic institutions of government. And the American Federation of Labor today stands as one—and I would like to emphasize that—as one of the institutions of this country that is still really putting up a worth while battle for the great ideals of liberty which of late years have been sadly forgotten.

There is also a measure of appropriateness that you should have met, partly simultaneously and subsequently to the convention of the American Legion. This city has abandoned its customary cultured dignity to entertain lavishly the men who, a dozen years ago, defended the ideals of this Government on the battle field. Boston and Massachusetts have done well in honoring these defenders of the country. All mankind has always admired and given its meed of praise to its heroes. And the reason why mankind admires heroes is because heroes stand for sacrifice, they stand for self forgetfulness and self denial. Therefore, the paens of praise have always gone up from the throats of all men in honor of men who have been willing to sacrifice their lives for their country or for some great and high ideal.

You, the members of the American Federation of Labor, have been somewhat submerged and forgotten in the great enthusiasm for the American Legion, and I trust that I will not be misunderstood if I say that in a very real sense you represent heroism just as really and certainly as these men who faced shells and bullets upon the battle field. There is a great and magnificent and soul-stirring heroism about the men who perform

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

the daily toil of the world, the men who go down into the bowels of the earth and snatch therefrom her treasures, the men who go and stand before open blast furnaces in our mills and smelters, the men who go daily uncomplainingly into our shops and factories and do their duty without any bands playing or flags waving, simply because it is their plain and simple duty because they have wives and children dependent upon them. These men are building more certainly and more surely and more securely the foundations of happiness and security and peace than any country's soldier ever did amid the panoply of battle.

And it is well sometimes that we should face these battles, and I am not underestimating the sacrifices of the soldiers. I myself was one of them and witnessed too much of it. But I do want to emphasize today the fact that you represent the men in our modern civilization that really count. The world can get along without a lot of people. Most of us so-called professional men, perhaps you would be better off without, and certainly you would be better off without college professors, such as I am. But you cannot do without the man who does the humble daily toil of the world. If I may use a somewhat vulgar expression that I borrowed from one of Eugene O'Neill's plays, you are the "guts" of this whole system. You are the men that drive our steamers across the seven seas. You are the men that build cities in a moment out of the nakedness of the wilderness. You are the men who have subdued the primeval wilderness and brought thereto the joy and the happiness and the peace of civilization. You are the men that today ride upon the wings of the storm and take up your abodes in the uttermost parts of the sea.

Therefore, it is a society that makes a terrible blunder that forgets the debt it owes to labor and the fact that it must treat labor fairly and generously—not in any condescending spirit of giving out doles of charity—but as payment justly due for service nobly and courageously rendered.

There are one or two rather practical and important things that I want to say to you before I sit down. I am not going to keep you very long, because you are anxious to hear from your fraternal delegates from other lands. We are today in the midst of a wave of unemployment, and we may be as optimistic as we please. We may take without discussion and without criticism the very splendid recital of accomplishments under tremendous difficulties of the last ten years that Secretary Davis so eloquently gave us this morning. But I want also to emphasize, and I hope I will be forgiven if I bring a note of pessimism into this exceedingly optimistic meeting, that unemployment fundamentally is a criticism and an indictment of our existing economic order.

Eight or nine years ago, in 1921, when the war was barely over two years, we were in the midst of another great unemployment fight. When the world had gotten through a debauch of slaughter and destruction of five years you had over five and a half million men out of work in the United States of America. You had over three million men out of work in England. You had nearly four million men out of work in France, and God Almighty alone knows how many were

out of work in Germany and Austria, at a time when over ten million men, at the age of their greatest productivity, had been killed, at a time when there were from thirty to forty million men disabled through wounds. When there ought to have been more work for every man living than any two men could perform the world was in the midst of a wave of unemployment such as was never seen until now.

And today, with the single exception of France, we are in practically the same situation again. I repeat that any economic system that can bring on cycles of unemployment of this kind, when there is no real, fundamental reason for it, is fundamentally unsound.

I am here to plead for a little better intelligence in the administration of our economic affairs, and I want to put the responsibility for unemployment where it lies—directly at the door of the captains of industry. You have your periods of prosperity when everything apparently is going well. Men are inspired with optimism and high powered salesmen are put upon the road to sell things to people that they don't want. You know the story of the merchant who died and who left his son his business. He said, "Son, if you sell a coat to a man that wants a coat, that is not business, but if you sell a coat to a man that does not want a coat, that is business." We have all that kind of thing going on today—high powered salesmen selling upon the installment plan, selling automobiles, selling radios, selling furniture, selling this, that and the other thing that the people cannot afford to buy, factories running full blast. And then suddenly reports come in from these high powered salesmen that orders are not as plentiful as they were. Why? Because we are told the consumptive power of the nation is not great enough. And isn't it? You have at the present time in the city and urban population of the United States, not counting the rural population, between four and five million families that haven't got a bathtub in their homes. You have an additional three million families that haven't even got running water or a kitchen sink in their homes. Despite the urge for radio you have nineteen million families in the United States who do not own a radio. What blessed families! Despite the fact that you have today enough automobiles to carry all the people simultaneously in a car, you have fifteen million families that own no automobile. I just bring these facts to show you that we have not begun to saturate the consumptive power of this nation. The reason is that it is not properly distributed. You have a certain number of people with far too great consumptive power and far too many people with too little consumptive power.

The reports come in from the field that orders are not as plentiful as they were, and then what happens? Immediately production is cut down. That is the intelligent way of dealing with this problem, so we are told by the captains of industry. And what does production being cut down mean? It means laying off men, putting men into unemployment. It is a strange thing about unemployment that wages cease when a man is out of work. And when wages cease there is another

strange thing about it,—his consumptive power is reduced because he can't buy a lot of things he wants.

We are told the trouble is over-production and under-consumption, and in order to solve that problem our distinguished and able captains of industry who are supposed to contain within their brains all the worth while thought of the world have come along and reduced the consumptive power by throwing men out of work and cutting down production. Highly intelligent, isn't it? And yet they are victims of the system just as you and I are.

Now what ought to be done is that production should be placed upon an intelligent basis. The Department of Commerce can tell every manufacturer in this country today the possible and probable markets to the fraction of a per cent for any particular commodity. The intelligent manufacturer can know how much of that he ought reasonably to make and sell, but just because of wild competition we have this so-called over production and competition also that is tending to beat down wages all the time.

Now the day should soon arrive when we should begin to demand that the men who hold the lives and the destinies of the masses of the people in their hands, because they own and direct the great industries of the country, shall conduct industry on an intelligent basis, because they are directly and fundamentally responsible for the situation that exists.

And may I suggest also while here that the time has come for the shorter working day and the shorter working week. I have sat for a good many sessions of the Illinois Legislature and listened in amazement to the representatives of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association opposing an eight hour working day for women on the ground that it would drive their industries out of the state of Illinois. And then we still have to fight in this day and age for an eight hour day for working women in the state. I thought we had reached the day when everybody recognized that the standard working day should not be more than eight hours, but not in the enlightened state of Illinois. And yet we have already gotten past the time when the eight hour day ought to be recognized as a standard working day. If it were reduced to six hours a little more work would be created for numbers of those men now out of work, and in addition to that, instead of having the six or seven day week as you have in some industries, the time has come, as your President has well and fearlessly told you, to obtain the five day week.

It is going to mean a certain amount of militancy on the part of you leaders of labor to secure these ends. There is no question about it that in the past you have done wonders in improving the lot of the working class. You have heard today and you have heard on previous days of this convention from the great leaders of the nation of the superior economic status of the American working man. It is true that you are better off in this country than the working men of any other country in the world, but that is the time of danger. You gentlemen must not grow fat and well favored and comfortable.

You must not be satisfied with what you have, you must still be what you have always been, thank God—a militant organization. You must have the spirit of the early organizers of the American Federation of Labor, who were willing to go out back of hedge rows to hold meetings, because you would go to jail if you held them any place else. When you get a little bit of that kind of militant, courageous spirit that stands out for what is just and what is right, then there is still hope that the spirit of liberty that was born when the City of Boston was born is not dead in these fat and comfortable and well favored post-bellum days.

Most of us are getting fatty degeneration of thinking. That comes with increasing waist lines, and I mention these things to you because they are things that are very near my own heart. I think the American Federation of Labor is immeasurably worth while because it still stands for this great fundamental principle of liberty.

I am not going to take up any more of your time with a discussion of the limitation of injunctions or of yellow dog contracts, because Mr. Frey has made a much better speech on that than I could. But I want to point out that this is your concern and your concern very directly, and in trying to oppose the limitation of injunctions in labor disputes and yellow dog contracts, you are not only fighting for yourselves, you are fighting for the great eternal principles of liberty that a man shall be free and independent and free and equal, as all other citizens before the law.

These fundamental principles of the Constitution are today in danger of being misunderstood, because we have in certain instances, men sitting upon our benches, honest, fearless and sincere men in many cases who, however, forget that law should indicate the way of life—not narrow, legal precedents and definitions—and they forget that every intelligent law ought to be an indication of a way of life; in other words, that law needs to be applied to modern and changing economic conditions.

Has it ever occurred to these men that social progress consists often in the expansion of definitions and that you cannot shackle society in the restraining chains of old definitions that met a by-gone day and a dead yesterday?

Now, gentlemen, while I encourage you to go on with this great struggle for liberty, I want before I conclude to refer to a rather unpleasant subject which I spoke about at the conclusion of my address in New Orleans, and I want to take back no syllable of what I said upon that occasion about how terribly torn and distressed the honest labor movement may sometimes become through the activities of dishonest and selfish and grafting labor leaders. I come from near a city that has no savory reputation, the city of Chicago, where in certain instances labor has suffered grievously from the so-called labor racketeer. And as my friends from Illinois can tell you, on more than one occasion have I stood before the labor racketeer and denounced him to his face. But I want to say to you, while I take back nothing that I have said that is condemnatory of dishonesty and graft and corruption and crime in the labor movement, I am here to protest against a grow-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ing movement of using the cry of labor racketeer against the perfectly honest and sincere and genuine activities of the trades union movement. If I will condemn in unmeasured terms a labor racketeer when he is uncovered, so will I condemn the prosecuting attorney or judge who dares to restrain a legitimate strike, legitimate picketing upon the forced and trumped up charge of labor racketeering.

Only the other day we had a case of that kind in Chicago, where an employer in a plant where there was a strike went into court and asked for an injunction. Under the law in Illinois he was refused an injunction, as he ought to have been refused. Two days later police from the states attorney's office arrested two pickets on the ground that they were labor racketeers, and these men had worked in that plant six years. They were not connected with the leadership of any movement at all, but were honest laborers, and they were kept in jail from Saturday until Monday because no habeas corpus proceedings could be had. When facts of that kind are brought to me I am ready to condemn the prosecuting attorney or judge that condones a thing of that kind. If they can't get an injunction they trump up the charge of labor racketeer.

I take back no word, as I said before, of condemnation of the men who are crooked and insincere in the labor movement. The labor movement is far too sacred to me, I have loved it too well to see it soiled and bespotted by those who would use it for base ends.

I have only one other thing to say to you gentlemen. I am aware that you have many trials and many difficulties to meet. You know these things far better than I do. I only ask that you go forth from this convention with renewed spirit, with renewed courage and renewed hope, with the spirit of the old pioneers in you, with the spirit and the vision that brought this great labor movement into existence. Forget not the spirit of the ragged Continentals who, a few miles from here, fired the first shot for liberty and freedom. Forget not that in your hands lies liberty and the protection of it and the holding of it to hand down to future generations. And above all things, ladies and gentlemen, forget not that there is a higher thing in this world than the mere attainment of money. Much of the fundamental prosperity of this country has been emphasized in this convention, and as I listened to one gentleman eloquently emphasize this I could not help but think of a parable in the Scriptures. You remember that parable of the man who had sown his crops in great profusion and he had fed his herds until they were fat, and he reaped his crops and gathered them into his barns. Then he went into his house and said, now all is prepared; I can now take my ease. But the angel Death came to him that night and said to him, "Thou fool, this night thy soul, thy life shall be required of thee." And I say to you, ladies and gentlemen who believe in the labor movement, keep that parable in mind. There is no danger while you are lean and hungry and struggling and fighting. The danger comes when your barns are filled, when your harvest has been reaped, and then you can say, "now I can sit down and take my ease." When that day comes the whole people of America will rise again against you and say, "thou fool, this very day thy soul shall be

required of thee," because when that day comes you have lost yourselves.

But you will go on, unselfishly and unafraid, to defend the great fundamental rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness and of free speech and of free assembly, the right of men to determine under the laws of God and of the United States their own destiny. You will go on defending the rights of a man to a just compensation for his labor and the right of a living wage. You stand upon the mountain tops, clothed with the sunlight of justice, and you are leading up the toiling masses still down in the valley, overwhelmed by the darkness of economic injustice. You will lead them up to the mountain top where the sun of justice shall ever shine.

President Green: You have shown by this wonderfully spontaneous demonstration how much you appreciate the logical and eloquent address just delivered by Father McGuire. It was clearly evident, as he delivered his address, from what one could see as the expression of your countenance, that you were drinking in every word. I knew that he had a message for this convention that would make a profound impression. He comes to us as an orator, a scholar, a great economist and a great humanitarian. He is an eloquent and irresistible defender of the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor. It was wonderful to listen to his words of wisdom his expression of approval of our efforts to bring about the establishment of social justice, a higher standard of life, better homes and better living conditions in our country. We always welcome him and we always appreciate his message.

In his closing remarks he called attention to a situation prevailing in the political, social and community life of America that we regard as most menacing and threatening—increase in crime, the racketeer moving among all circles of society in many places, exploiting, committing murder and robbing men, as did the pirates of old.

I am reminded, when the Reverend Father calls our attention to these facts, that the records of history show that the pirate and the traitor and the racketeer exploited society from the very beginning of time. Holy Writ records the fact that even our great Master, when He selected His chosen twelve, found that a traitor had invaded that sacred circle. During the Revolutionary War the name of Benedict Arnold was branded as a traitor to the great cause of liberty and human freedom. And even the church itself has not been free from invasion.

Is it any wonder that such a great unselfish, humanitarian movement as ours would

find itself grappling with these evil forces? There are some who masquerade as trades unionists. They speak to us with the voice of Jacob, but they present the hand of Esau. We are endeavoring as best we can to drive out the racketeer and the traitor. Press dispatches indicate that in some cities of our country these exploiters of human life and human beings have invaded the sacred precincts of our courts of justice, they have come into the halls of the administration of law, into our original sources of publicity and information. So we find them active wherever the opportunity seems to present itself.

So far as I am concerned, as the spokesman and representative of this American Federation of Labor, if there is brought to my attention the racketeer moving under the garb of trades unionism, and I can place my hands upon him with convicting evidence, I will drive him from this movement if I can. And I know the brave men and women associated with me who try to place this movement upon a plane of honesty will join with me in that noble effort.

I was informed on one occasion in the City of Chicago that an outstanding individual charged with being a racketeer had sought control of one of our Federal unions, and when that fact was brought to my attention we demanded his resignation. When he refused to resign we revoked the charter of the local union and reorganized it again without him being a member.

In the City of New York a similar case was brought to my attention and we pursued the same policy. That is the well known, well recognized policy of the American Federation of Labor. I have been conscious of these invasions of our sacred precincts. I know that men and women have exploited us, as they have others, but so far as we are able, so far as we can with all the power and might at our command, we will drive from our midst every racketeer we know.

It is wonderful when we analyze the situation. Here we have a great economic, humanitarian movement made up of five million working men and women, and dependent upon them and associating with them are an average of four to one, so that our movement really has associated with it more than 20,000,000 people in the United States and Canada. That is a mighty army, and in most of the cities of our land, in practically all of them with few exceptions, our central bodies and in our states the state federations of labor

occupy as honorable a position in the life of the nation as do the churches themselves. And in those localities where designing men, criminals at heart, with no interest in our movement except to exploit it, fasten themselves upon our organization, it is our duty as it is our purpose to expose them and drive them from our midst.

It seems quite appropriate for me to speak thus of the official action and position of the American Federation of Labor toward this reprehensible practice to which the Reverend Father has called our attention in so friendly a manner, and I want to say to him that he is always welcome. We always love his messages. We wish him to point the way by which we can improve the solidarity and the strength and the service of our movement. We deeply appreciate his message and we thank him for his visit.

President Green: This intellectual treat we are experiencing this afternoon will be continued. We have with us the fraternal delegates from Great Britain. They come to us from the British Trade Union Congress, clothed with authority to speak for that great movement. We have always maintained, as I have stated here before, an unbroken practice of exchanging fraternal delegates with this great organization in the older country across the sea. The fraternal delegates from Great Britain have traveled many miles across the sea to bring to us their message of fraternal greetings and well wishes, and to report to this convention problems of mutual interest. Both of them are tried and true trade unionists; they have long been associated with the trade union movement of Great Britain, and each of them occupies an honorable position of responsibility and trust. I hardly know which one to introduce first. Brother Findlay says he will face this audience first if there are no objections. Brother Findlay is a member of the Pattern Makers' Association of Great Britain.

ALLAN A. H. FINDLAY

(Fraternal Delegate from the British Trade Union Congress)

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, distinguished visitors and guests: In bringing fraternal greetings of our old, well tried and well beloved movement, I want to tell you in commencing that I can hardly promise you the eloquent and stirring words of the reverend gentlemen who have gone before me, but I hope and I feel sure that I shall have

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

your interest when I give you the record of what has been done and what is to be done by you and by ourselves in the old country.

I have been in America for rather more than a month now. I have been trying to gather some impressions of your policy as a Federation, and I have to admit that in close connection with your members I am in full appreciation of the policy which you have adopted and have so successfully carried through up to date. I think your success has been wonderful under the circumstances. I think you have a great country; the wide open spaces, it seems to me, have imbued your representatives with the strength and virility which, allied with the acumen those of you who come from the cities possess, with all that is implied in the city life, have helped you greatly.

The impressions which I have gained of your policy I find it rather difficult to sum up in a few words, but as near as I can get to it, it looks to me that from your connection with the country across the sea from which you sprung—and don't forget that I saw Bunker Hill and Concord yesterday—from that connection with the old country, supplemented by the many friends who have come to you from there, built up and strengthened by those trade unionists that have come from the continent of Europe and other places, I think you have a wonderful conglomeration of ideas, which the initiative brought from the old country has enabled you to put into effect, and we in the old country can learn a lot from you.

I am not to be understood as thinking that the old country is played out; I think there is a lot of life in our movement yet, and I hope to be able to prove it to you before I finish. In the remarks I will make I want it clearly understood that if there is any apparent reflection upon yourselves it is not meant as such, but it may be because of my lack of words that I am unable to choose exactly those which fit my meaning and which may not look to you in that light.

One must necessarily from his experience convey his impression of new ideas. I think there is some parallel between the history of my own union, the United Pattern Makers of Great Britain and Ireland, and the history of the American Federation of Labor. This is your fiftieth year, I understand. We have been in existence as an organization since 1872, and it may be said that just as the start of the American Federation of Labor was based on the ideas of men who felt they were not getting a straight deal, so the members of my union felt, as members of a greater union, that their interest as a small section of that union were not being properly looked after, and so they formed what would be termed now a break away union. Our break away union has become sanctified by time, considering that we are now about sixty years in existence.

In going through the records of my union you have to bear in mind that we come from a craft union which had decided on a certain policy. That policy of the older unions has not been carried right through the whole of our British trade union movement, but it has been continuous in those craft unions that adopted it from time immemorial. These trade unionists, when they formed their union,

felt there were certain incidences of their lives which ought to be protected, such as illness, death, unemployment, accidents, and in my own particular union the loss of tools. They also had it in mind that they all hoped to go into a ripe old age, and they would like to have some provision made for those days. That policy has been perpetuated.

Naturally, organized on that policy, coming to the American Federation of Labor—and I don't find it carried through in your Federation, but it is analogous to some of our other unions in our country—I naturally consider the position as between your Federation and ourselves, and I think it will be of interest to you when later on I shall have something to say on the matter of social insurance, drawing upon my experience as secretary of the Pattern Makers, to bring out the points I wish to make in connection with this question of social insurance.

It may be as well if I say now all that has been said by the reverend gentleman before me has been said time and again in our country. I think we have got beyond that stage in our country; I think the people look for a record of work done. Unless we can produce something we have no use for talk. Again I say I am not to be understood as casting any reflection; I only want, if possible, to reiterate a record of work done.

In the General Council of the trade union movement you will find in the reports of your delegates to our country a statement of how we overtook our work. And before I go on to do that and give you an idea of the work our Council has done, I want to read this sentence, and I wonder how many of you will recognize it:

"Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the civilized nations of the world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results for the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit."

That first paragraph of your Preamble could very well, Mr. President, be put before the Objects of our British trade union movement. It is true that in our Objects we go on to define more in detail what this paragraph means, and we have to define those details because our members have so decided in the Congress. I shall not read all of those Objects, but I call your attention to the headings, and you will understand from that what we hope to achieve in our country, what we are striving to achieve.

Objects of the Congress

(a) The objects of the Congress shall be to promote the interests of all its affiliated organizations and generally to improve the economic and social conditions of the workers.

(b) In furtherance of these objects, the General Council shall endeavour to establish the following measures, and such others as the Annual Meeting of Congress may from time to time approve:—

1. Public Ownership and control of natural resources and of services—

(a) Nationalisation of land, mines, and minerals.

- (b) Nationalisation of railways.
- (c) The extension of State and municipal enterprise for the provision of social necessities and services.
- (d) Proper provision for the adequate participation of the workers in the control and management of public services and industries.
- 2. Wages and hours of labour—
 - (a) A legal maximum working week of 44 hours.
 - (b) A legal minimum wage for each industry or occupation.
- 3. Unemployment—
 - (a) Suitable provision in relation to unemployment, with adequate maintenance of the unemployed.
 - (b) Establishment of training centres for unemployed juveniles.
 - (c) Extension of training facilities for adults during periods of industrial depression.
- 4. Housing—
 - Provision for proper and adequate housing accommodation.
- 5. Education—
 - Full educational facilities to be provided by the State from the elementary schools to the universities.
- 6. Industrial accidents and diseases—
 - Adequate maintenance and compensation in respect of all forms of industrial accidents and diseases.
- 7. Pensions—
 - (a) Adequate State pensions for all at the age of 60.
 - (b) Adequate State pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children and mothers whose family breadwinner is incapacitated.

The reason these things are put in our Objects is due to the fact that every year in succession we were receiving resolutions from the various societies connected with the Congress emphasizing the necessity for these things being done, and we had to pass a resolution to the effect that once a resolution had been adopted by the Congress on a specific subject or question that point could not be raised again until three years had elapsed.

I think I have shown sufficient to indicate to you that our work on the other side is the same as the work you are doing on this side. I think I have shown, and will show later, that the success which you have achieved here we claim to have achieved on our side of the water. It is true that your wages may be higher than the wages on the other side, but I think our conditions compare more than favorably inside the factories with the conditions which you have obtained here. I think our measure of success during the last nine years under abnormal circumstances should be made known to you because of certain statements which I have heard since coming to this side of the water.

In our list of sub-committees which the Congress has formed for the purpose of overtaking certain work you will also find something of interest, because it deals with the questions which you at the moment are primarily concerned about. We have sub-committees dealing with industrial questions, finance and general purposes, international disputes, education, organization, safety and welfare, and then we

have an economic committee. In addition to those committees we have joint committees with other bodies; that is, there are bodies outside of our British trade union movement that we find it necessary to ally ourselves with, forming joint committees for specific purposes.

We have five of these committees. One is with professional workers, the other is with trades councils who have no standing in our Congress but who are composed of trades unionists in the various towns and cities. We have trade board advisory committees. There again we have some trades in which the wages paid are so small that we were obliged to form those bodies under government action, and a wage was set below which unfair employers were not allowed to pay.

We have also a standing joint committee of industrial women's organizations, and then we have a social insurance advisory committee. In addition to these we have three joint committees. We have a National Joint Council composed of representatives from the trade union movement, from the Labor Party and from the Parliamentary Labor Party. That last is composed of members who are actually sitting in the House of Commons as members. It will be apparent that that committee provides an avenue whereby any question of importance to the trade unionist can be dealt with practically, because the interests of the Labor Party and the experience of the men in the House of Commons enables the best methods to be adopted to bring into effect what we desire.

Then there is a joint workingmen's compensation, which requires a joint committee because of the difficulty we find ourselves in at times to get the compensation act through the House of Commons, to incorporate along with trade union officials representatives from the lawyers and representatives from the House, with the view of securing joint action successfully.

At the last Congress we were representing something like three and three-fourths millions of working men. In 1920, the big year for trade unionism in our country, the number we represented was something like six millions. Since that time, due to the abnormal period we have gone through, our numbers have decreased by something like one-third. (While the total trade union membership decreased by one-third, the reduction in my union was only one-tenth, proof that the policy of our union is appreciated by the members.) To cope with the situation the Council felt it necessary to institute a series of propaganda meetings. Those meetings, I am happy to say, have met with success, and we are hoping in the future that the increase in numbers which many trade unions are reporting will be considerably accelerated. Those propaganda meetings are held in conjunction with the trade councils in the various cities.

I think mention must be made of the fact that now we are in a position to say that we have a daily paper, the Daily Herald, run by and in the interests of labor—shall I say the interests of the trade union movement—because the Council has now arranged for this paper to be directed jointly with the business of a printing concern, keeping control of the policy but

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

allowing the business acumen of the firm to carry it into success. That success can be measured by the rise in circulation which has taken place since Mr. Brownlie and Mr. Bell, at your last conference, reported to you: from 300,000 circulation that paper is now bordering on 1,100,000 papers going into the homes of our trades unionists every morning in our country. Formerly it was printed in London. Now we are issuing an edition also from Manchester, and we are hoping if our success continues—and there is no reason to doubt that it will continue—that soon we will have an edition from Scotland, and it may be a weekly edition also to carry on the good work which is now being carried on by that paper.

Last year the Council engaged the services of Sir Thomas Legge, who was formerly the chief medical officer at the Home Office of our country. When I tell you that Sir Thomas Legge resigned from that position because he was not satisfied with the action of the government in connection with what he thought was absolutely necessary to be done in the interests of the workers, I think you will agree that we have chosen the right man for the work we hope he will be able to accomplish. We are under the impression that there is no greater authority on industrial diseases in our country, because of his vast experience, that he has brought to bear in our interests. You will understand that any trade union in our country that has a problem in connection with their industry will have his help in carrying through any amelioration which they think is desired.

I come now to social insurance and unemployment. This is one of the two committees with which I am personally acquainted. Our social insurance schemes have been a source of conversation, of interest and examination by your body. We have extended our social insurance scheme since 1912, and I want it to be clearly understood—though many who come from our own country will not need to have it explained—that any social legislation which has taken place in our country has first been adopted by trade unionists in their own unions and carried into effect before the government would attempt anything in that direction.

This is why I want to bring home to you the experience of my own union in this respect. We made provision for sickness, unemployment, death and other benefits, and since 1912 my union, which is less at the moment than 11,000 members, has spent in benefits to those members in that period something like \$3,500,000. That includes state insurance for unemployment, it includes national health insurance, which we as an association pay out on behalf of the government. We pay it and then get it refunded from the government. Our members have been brought up in that atmosphere, and I have been sorry and surprised to hear some workers on this side of the water characterize these insurance benefits as doles.

Now, I resent the word "dole". We look on the word "dole" as a reproach; we are used to the employers and the capitalists calling it a dole; but these people who receive it do not call it a dole when they go to the

insurance companies to collect what they have been paying for. The trades unionists on our side are not collecting a dole, they are collecting what they have been paying for; that is, they have been insuring themselves against sickness and unemployment just as the business man insures himself against fire or the loss of property in any way.

Our strength comes from those men who have had the forethought and the self-respect to make provision for those occasions; and now, because it has amounted to a considerable sum, because the member of my union who falls out of work today has at least, if he is a married man, thirty-five shillings per week, that is, seven dollars a week coming into his home. The reverend gentleman would have had to modify his statement by saying that his income stopped when he was unemployed. The man who has that money coming into his home is in a better position than the one who has nothing coming. In sickness the same thing can be said, with this difference, that there is more coming in rather than less. Unemployment or poverty is not necessary, is not inevitable, at least not such as we know it now.

I have heard it said that working men with money coming in like that would be slackers. I want to deny that. In 1920 and for six years previous to that date, about one-half per cent of my members were unemployed. In 1921, 20 per cent of the members were unemployed. In 1922, 28 per cent of the members were unemployed. It is true that last year it dropped to a matter of 4.8 per cent. It is rather up to 12 per cent at this time of talking, but who is going to get me to believe that my members were slackers in the years 1921 and '22 and up to 1929, when up to 1920 they were all at work? It is unnatural for a working man to not wish to work, and it is necessary for us on our side of the water to do all that we can to see that the social insurance schemes are pressed to the limit so that the workers can know the spectre of poverty has been removed once and for all time from their homes.

In this connection may I say that in grappling with the question of unemployment we have not stopped short, because of the money that was coming into our homes, of trying to eliminate it altogether. You here are pressing for shorter hours. For some years it has been our object to fight for the forty-four hour week. In our industry, in the engineering industry and in many others we have established a forty-seven hour week. We have a large unemployment list now, so that our Council was instructed by Congress at the last session to press forward and obtain the forty-four hour week. If that is not sufficient, in addition to the reducing of the age when old age pensions can be paid to our members, in addition to the raising of the school age, which becomes operative in 1931, from fourteen to fifteen years of age, in addition to the fact that the family that has a son or daughter not being allowed to leave school at the age of fourteen or fifteen, for that year from fourteen to fifteen there will be a payment of five shillings a week made.

We are pressing at both ends of the scale, we are pressing for shorter hours just as you are doing. I think I should mention that at

sixty-five years of age all workmen drop out of the national health insurance and come on to the old age pension; in other words, they are collecting what they have been insured for. We have some members who find it necessary to continue at work after the age of sixty-five, but they get the pension the same as they get payment for their daily toil. However, we are hoping for the time when the age for the old age pension will be reduced to sixty and the amount will be raised to such an extent that we will be able to insist upon the older members retiring at that age to their well earned rest. We are hoping that we have got the school age raised to fifteen and it is in proper order, if we still have got unemployment, there will be another raise in the age at which the child can leave school.

In the old country we have traveled slowly, but I think we are traveling surely towards our goal. Undoubtedly there is increasing evidence that a broader conception of the duties and responsibilities of the people chosen to carry out the workers' proposals is meeting with more and more support from the upper and middle classes of our own country, though not yet to the extent we would like. We have probably had more and greater success in that direction than you have been able to achieve on this side of the water, but judging from the speeches I have heard since coming into this hall there is no question about it but the American Federation of Labor has made your presence felt. Your policy has endeared itself to the American people, but you have still a long ways to go. Because of your non-union element, and because of the great number of nationals, your problem has been more difficult than ours.

But as against that we have old established customs to be broken down, and while we recognize that the best form of internationalism must have its foundation and basis on nationalism, I should like to have heard the international aspect of the trades union movement more emphasized in this hall than I have yet heard it.

There has been a wonderful demonstration of American loyalty, and I don't think it is actually needed, because every speaker has more or less emphasized it. We in our country, with the same nationalism, feel not quite so pronounced, but we do think that our progress is retarded if nations outside are not brought up to the same level as ourselves. It is from that aspect that I should like this great movement to be allied with the international movement on the continent, so that we could get the help of this great body in the work which we and the Council are trying to establish on the continent.

They have a much harder fight than we have. Their traditions of trades unionism have not, to my knowledge and experience, been so well grounded as our own. This is brought very forcibly to my attention because as a member of the International Committee of our trades union it has been my privilege and honor to represent the Council on the Board of the International Labor Office and at the conferences in Geneva which take place every year. There we are linked up with our brothers on the continent; there we learn at first hand the difficulties with which they have to contend.

I think that part of your trouble here is that your immigrants from those places have not been able to get that grounding in trades unionism whi's you in this country, coming from the old country, reared in this atmosphere the American Federation of Labor, have had, and until that work is undertaken I fear me that it will act as a bar to the speed of the progress which you make.

The social and industrial standard of any people is fixed, directly or indirectly, by the politicians. I make no apology for directing your attention to the results arising from the action of politicians. It is impossible to separate the individual from the government of the community without detriment to the individual. Those with whom I am associated have striven mightily and successfully to implant in the hearts and minds of all workers the idea that their industrial interests are so intermixed with their political interests as to make any slackness on either plane a step toward the worsening of their position.

That is the reason for our connection with the Labor Party. The Labor Party is a child of the trades union movement. We felt it necessary to establish that party because of the lack of success we had in dealing with the old established Liberal and Conservative Parties of our country. We felt we could make more progress by having a party of our own. The success of that venture, I think, has been amply demonstrated by the fact that the Labor Party now forms the government of our country and that its leader, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, received such a hearty response when he met with your President Hoover on this side in his efforts to secure that world peace for which he has suffered and sacrificed.

We are also linked up with the co-operative movement, because as consumers we will, sooner or later, establish in our country the co-operative commonwealth. Nevertheless, my last word before I close is this: Trades unions will be the bar to degradation, the spur to progress and the vehicle by which the workers will be carried into the new Jerusalem in all lands and in all countries.

President Green: I want to now present to you the associate fraternal delegate of Brother Findlay, Brother Arthur Shaw, J.P., and General Secretary of the National Union of Textile Workers. Brother Shaw has long served the trades union movement and comes with an understanding of its very fundamental principles and its operation in Great Britain. I am very pleased to be privileged to present to you Brother Arthur Shaw.

ADDRESS BY MR. ARTHUR SHAW

(Fraternal Delegate from British Trade Union Congress)

I am glad to convey the greetings of the British Trade Union Congress to this great American convention of labor. It is a privilege which can only be given to a comparatively small number of active trade unionists. The information and knowledge which I hope

to gain from your deliberations will be of great service to my future activities.

Forty years ago I had my first experience of the industrial struggle. At 10 years of age Mrs. Shattock and myself were involved in the Lister Mill silk strike at Bradford. The dispute was a long, bitter struggle and lasted over 20 weeks.

It gave a great impetus to the labor movement in Great Britain, as shortly afterwards the Independent Labor Party was founded in Bradford and its propaganda and literature has greatly assisted the organization of the trade union movement.

Twenty-one years ago I was appointed General Secretary for a large section of the Woolen Textile Workers and in 1910 I was elected to attend the British Congress, and have been elected to every Congress since that time.

At the 1910 Congress 212 unions represented one and one-half million workers, and at the Nottingham Congress this year, 606 delegates from 210 unions represented three and three-quarter million trade unionists.

Following the war the membership of the British trade unions went up by leaps and bounds. The membership of the T. U. C. increased from three millions in 1917 to four and one-half millions in 1918, and the peak was reached in 1920, when the recorded membership showed at six and one-half millions. Nearly 60 per cent of the industrial workers.

It is not difficult to explain this phenomenal increase in trade union membership. The cost-of-living was rapidly increasing and during 1920 was 176 per cent above the pre-war level. Wage negotiations were taking place every week and in a number of industries wages were 200 per cent higher than those which operated prior to the war.

The Government had set up National Committees for the purpose of securing better relationship between the employers and the trade unions.

The Whitley Committee had issued its report and amongst the general recommendations they urged that Industrial Councils should be formed; that there should be an extension of the Trade Boards; they also recommended the setting up of District Councils and Works Committees.

The recommendations of the Whitley Committee were acted upon and before the end of 1920, 74 Industrial Councils had been started in addition to 33 Reconstruction Committees. These have now been reduced to 48 Industrial Councils and five Reconstruction Committees.

During this period ordinary organization methods were not required and the workers were flocking into the trade unions.

Prior to 1918 there were only seven trade boards in Great Britain, but before the end of the same year there were 44, covering 39 trades and representing one and one-quarter million workers.

Good trade and increased wages made it easy for trade union organization and by the end of 1919 we had 140,000 organized wool textile operatives.

The peak was reached in 1920, and then the trade slump started. The Unemployment Insurance Acts were extended to cover practically all productive workers and during 1921 and 1922 the country had to face unprece-

dented unemployment which reached nearly two and one-half millions.

The cost-of-living fell rapidly from 175 per cent in December, 1920, to 80 per cent in December, 1922, and wages were reduced at a greater pace than the cost-of-living fell.

In December, 1920, the wages of an ordinary operative male textile worker were 22.22 dollars per week of 48 hours, in December, 1921, 15.84 dollars, and in December, 1922, they had fallen to 13.34 dollars. At the present time wages for this class of operative are 12.11 dollars for 48 hours.

The effect on the trade unions was disastrous, and at a time when the operatives were depending upon them to maintain wages, they actually deserted the unions in thousands.

The formation of Industrial Councils and the increase of the Trade Boards also had a detrimental effect on the trade unions. The workers appeared to be content that their wages were fixed by outside bodies and failed to realize that it was only the organized workers who were saving the situation.

To take one typical instance, our Wool Textile Industrial Council covers nearly one-quarter million operatives, and the wage agreements once fixed are accepted by the trade as a whole, and by the end of 1922, the organized wool workers had fallen from 140,000 to 90,000.

Three years ago President McMahon, United Textile Workers, paid a visit to our country and we were privileged to show him round some of the textile factories and give him an insight of the methods adopted in our Unions.

He was impressed by the relationship between employers and the Trade Unions, and the possibilities of securing 100 per cent organization.

The address yesterday given by Brother John Frey was an eye opener to us. It gave us an insight into your difficulties. We have not the same obstacles placed in our way. I followed with interest press reports of the textile strike in the South and the efforts of the U. T. W. for recognition. It is almost impossible to believe they are fighting today for recognition which we obtained 20 years ago.

The position of the British trade unions since 1922 has been a continuous struggle to maintain the wages and conditions of labor that were then operating.

This has been more pronounced in the industries that manufacture for the export markets, and this is reflected in the wages now paid in the coal, the engineering and the great textile exporting industries. These industries cover millions of workers and they are comparatively the worst paid operatives in Great Britain.

Unemployment

The world's trade slump seems to have been felt in all the industrial countries and our reports say that the conditions in your country are so chaotic that the number of persons unemployed can only be guessed at, but are estimated on the moderate side at five millions. In Germany at the end of July, the estimated number was 2,750,000.

In our own country, the payment of unemployment insurance enables a correct picture of

unemployment to be presented. The returns published for July show that 2,070,000 out of a total of 12,000,000 insured persons are either totally or temporarily unemployed. These figures are made up of 1,500,000 men and boys and over half a million women and girls. 17½% of the males are unemployed and 16½% of the females.

Whilst the percentage of unemployed in the mining, steel smelting and other exporting industries is high, the present position of the textile industries is appalling.

The total number of insured persons in the textile trade is 1,315,000 and at the end of July, 84% or over 456,000 were either totally or partially unemployed.

Cotton

The cotton industries and the Lancashire textile trade unions are very hard hit. The insured persons number 555,000 and at the end of July, 252,000 were unemployed.

The depression in the cotton industry has been almost continuous since 1920, except for a slight recovery which was made in 1924. The loss of British exports of cotton is mainly responsible for the unemployment, the decrease in the cotton piece goods trade has been enormous, from 6,500,000 square yards, the average figure for the 1909 and 1913 period, to 4,500,000 in 1924. This was further reduced in 1929 to 3,750,000. During 1930, the position has gone from bad to worse and the unemployment figure, which was 20% in January of this year, has increased every month until we have the appalling figure of a quarter of a million cotton textile workers unemployed.

The Labour Government realized the seriousness of this position towards the latter end of 1929 and appointed from their Economic Council a Committee of Enquiry for the purpose of reporting on the present position and prospects of the cotton industry.

The report of the Committee has now been published and it is in the form of a Rationalization programme. The document is very interesting and suggests that the output of the industry at the present time is not more than 50 per cent of its full capacity.

The report also states that since the pre-war period the world consumption of cotton piece goods has increased, but the exports of Great Britain are down to two-thirds of its pre-war production.

The recommendations made by the Committee suggest drastic changes for the industry, and it looks to the organized employers and the trade unions to carry the recommendations into effect.

Amongst the suggestions made, which vitally affect trade unions, is the suggestion for the proposed extension of the automatic looms and whilst it states that these looms do not, as a rule, give a greater output per loom, each weaver can mind a larger number of looms, and in this way an important saving in the wages cost is possible. At the same time it points out that automatic looms cannot be worked economically on a single day shift.

The report clearly indicates that whilst it may be possible for individual operatives to earn more wages, the total wages bill to be paid in the industry will be less.

The employers have already invited the trade unions to allow their members to work on eight

or more looms per day, and at the present time there is a fierce controversy as to whether this can be carried out. I know the Lancashire trades unionists and the officers are bitterly opposed to the idea of the two-shift system, and there will have to be a great change in their attitude, or the recommendations of the Committee are not likely to be put into effect.

The Committee recommend amalgamation of the various sections of the industry, and state that they have been assured that if any comprehensive and satisfactory rationalization scheme, having for its objects the reduction of production costs and improved marketing, the necessary finance will be forthcoming.

From the report it will be seen that the present Government are prepared to undertake the financial backing for reorganization schemes; indeed, the most important paragraph in their report states:

"We are confident that the organised operatives and employers of Lancashire will embark forthwith upon the serious consideration of the measures essential to the recovery of their trade. If, however, this hope is disappointed, or if any section proves recalcitrant, we think it right to place on record our considered view that it should be the duty of His Majesty's Government themselves to consider inviting Parliament to confer upon them any necessary powers."

The Woollen Industry

I am best acquainted with the Woollen Industry, and in contrast to the Cotton Industry, which depends mainly on the Export Trade we export about 50 per cent of the woollen tissues to countries with a comparatively high standard of life, the remainder being consumed in the home market.

In 1924 the exports of woollen tissues amounted to 233 million square yards and in 1929 this was reduced to 163 mill. sq. yds.

Taking the average class of goods exported, one million square yards will find employment for a minimum number of 500 wool textile workers for 50 full weeks in the year. Therefore, the loss of 70 mill. sq. yds. from 1924 to 1929 actually means a total displacement of 35,000 wool textile operatives.

At the beginning of 1924, the actual number of insured wool textile operatives was 269,000, and at the end of 1929 that figure had been reduced to 239,000—a total loss of 30,000 operatives who had ceased to be connected with the industry.

In the last published figures of unemployment, for July 1930, 26 per cent of the operatives, or nearly 63,000, were unemployed, leaving 176,000 employed out of the 269,000 who were normally employed in 1924.

The position of the trade unions during this period has been a continuous struggle to resist wages reductions. The unions have been impoverished by paying huge sums in unemployment benefits. The National Union of Textile Workers, of which I am General Secretary, has a membership of 60,000, and in addition to making payments of unemployment benefits from its own funds, it has an arrangement with the Minister of Labour which enables it to administer also State Employment Benefits. Since 1924 the Union has paid on behalf of the State £1,150,000

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

(approximately 5,589,300 dollars) and from its own trade union funds £180,000 (874,800 dollars). During the same period it has also paid £175,000 in Dispute Benefits (850,500 dollars). The total amounts paid to the 60,000 trades unionists during the period of five years therefore exceeded one and a half million pounds (nearly 7½ million dollars) or an average of £25 (120 dollars) per member.

I quote these figures because I think the American T. U. Movement will be interested to know how the British trade unions deal with the unemployed trade unionists.

It was only to be expected that during the trade depression the employers would use every endeavor to reduce costs, and following their old-established custom, they directed their attention to the workers' wages.

In 1925 the Employers' Associations tried to lock out the whole industry for a 10 per cent wages reduction, but only 75 per cent of the employers responded. Following a three weeks' stoppage, the Labour Minister intervened, a Court of Inquiry was appointed and work was resumed at the old rates of wages.

The Court took evidence for four days, and arrived at the conclusion that the employers had not established a case for a reduction in wages.

During 1927 the employers again gave notice of their intention to reduce wages but were unable to get all the employers to act together.

In 1929 the employers commenced a guerilla war and attacked the workers in the districts where unemployment had been most severe and where the trade unions were weakest. In almost every case the trade unions resisted, and sectional disputes followed.

Finally, the Minister of Labour appointed a Court of Inquiry, known as the "Macmillan" Court. Prior to the opening of the Court, an attempt was made to secure an agreement, but it failed, and neither side pledged itself to accept the Court's findings.

The decision of the Court was against the workers, and involved a reduction of nine and one-quarter per cent from gross wages for time workers and eight and one quarter per cent for piece-workers.

The employers posted notices to reduce wages by the full amount proposed in the Macmillan Report, and at the same time intimated their intention of imposing further reductions in certain sections of the industry.

The Trade Unions resisted the proposals, and a lockout commenced in April. The employers adopted every known method of strike breaking; picketing was made almost impossible owing to the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, and a large number of textile workers were charged in the Courts, who, in their own judgment, only carried out normal picket duties.

The Wool Textile workers had the support of the British Trade Union Movement. The Trades Union Congress opened a special dispute fund, and special distress funds were opened for the unorganized women and juveniles.

The majority of the operatives were in dispute ten weeks, and carried on the fight until the funds of some of the trade unions were exhausted. It was a magnificent effort on the

part of the woollen workers, and the women were wonderful.

The employers had selected their time and opportunity for enforcing the reductions, and, generally speaking, were successful.

The spirit of the workers was not broken, and we shall build up the organization and, when the time is opportune, seek to obtain justice for our members.

Artificial Silk

Two years ago I addressed the British Trade Union Congress on the question of the flotation of companies with inflated capital in the Artificial Silk trade and the effect it would have in depressing wages, irregular working hours, etc.

I pointed out how the production of Artificial Silk was rapidly outrunning the consuming capacity. The actual consumption in 1924 in Great Britain was 28 million pounds.

From the prospectuses of the companies floated before 1925, I ascertained that the producing capacity was 52 million pounds.

During 1925 to 1928 sixteen new companies were floated with capital of over £10,000,000, with a capacity for production which brought up the total estimated to over 80 million pounds per year, or nearly three times the amount that Great Britain could consume.

Since 1928 the shares of the Artificial Silk companies have collapsed. Some new companies never commenced to produce silk and the newly erected buildings have not been equipped with machinery. Firms have closed down, wages have been attacked and unemployment is increasing.

The operatives employed in the Silk and Artificial Silk trade numbered 37,000 in 1924, but they had increased to 74,000 in 1929, and at July, 1930, nearly 18,000 were unemployed.

The "Investors' Review" for October, 1929, published a table of particulars of nine firms engaged in the production of Artificial Silk. The nominal capital of these nine firms amounted to £7,000,000, and the highest market value of the shares as quoted in 1928 amounted to 11½ million pounds. The market value of the shares in October, 1929, was 2½ million pounds.

Rationalization

Industrial magnates, economists and bankers throughout Europe appear to have gone mad on the word "Rationalization."

As I understand the word it means securing the most economic form of production by introducing the most up-to-date machinery for the purpose of obtaining the maximum production with a minimum expenditure of power and human energy.

We do not oppose the regulated development in this direction. The intensification of work owing to improved machinery has been taking place for a long number of years and has operated throughout the world in every industry.

In the textile industry the narrow loom has been displaced by the broad loom, and now the automatic loom is introduced wherever it is possible to effect a greater and more economic production.

In the dyeing and finishing of woollen and cotton piece goods, the changes made during the past twenty years have been almost rev-

olutionary. The unit of production per operative has increased in many cases by two to three hundred per cent.

This tendency toward mass production will continue. If Rationalization is to raise the standard of life of the whole community, then it will receive our hearty co-operation.

On the other hand, the employer looks upon Rationalization as a means of increasing his profits irrespective of the effects upon the workers.

We define Rationalization as something that is for the progress and well-being of the people, and to this extent we will pursue a policy of co-operation.

It is impossible to estimate the extent of the unemployment created by the introduction of labor-saving machinery or the concentration of industry by eliminating the small units and the formation of trusts. We do know that mass production is responsible to a great extent for unemployment.

Rationalization must be accompanied by measures which will not only compensate the workers but also result in better conditions for them.

The growing mass of unemployed workers makes it imperative that the hours should be reduced in proportion to the increased production. Further, where concentration of industry involves dismissals and temporary unemployment, schemes should be established to maintain the standard of life of the displaced workers, or the increased productivity will only mean a further depression of the condition of the masses. Rationalization will defeat its own object unless consumption keeps pace with production.

Economic Policy of the T. U. C.

Some of our American friends have been very interested in the references that have recently been made to our policy in regard to the Dominions. The Report that has been adopted by the T. U. C. dealing with the development of Imperial trade has been represented in some quarters as being reactionary and anti-national in spirit. This, of course, is completely untrue. The British Trade Union movement has never had the slightest leaning towards Imperialism in any shape or form, but on the contrary has always fought that policy.

The economic policy that the Trades Union Congress has recently adopted has for its object the development of trade within the Commonwealth. It is essential that we should attempt to look at the actual facts of the world situation as they present themselves today. At present the whole world is in a state of trade depression and the immediate future is distinctly uncertain. In the midst of this world trouble Great Britain has its own special difficulties. In view of our position both as producer and as consumer of goods that enter into world trade our economic position is necessarily a matter of concern to the rest of the world. Every great industrial country, indeed every agricultural country also, finds more and more that all the nations are interdependent. Whether we look at Canadian wheat or Australian wool, British or German coal, or American motor cars, we see clearly that it has become impossible for

nations to prosper in isolation. At the same time it has to be recognized that no nation is in the mood to follow idealistic policies which may involve surrendering some advantage they think they at present possess. Internationalism is the policy of British labor, but at present it is a policy that finds only lip service among Governments all over the world. We would gladly say to all nations, "Come in with us and co-operate with us, so that together we may peacefully develop the abundant natural resources that exist. Let us co-operate economically as well as politically for the common good of all." If, however, Governments and employers will not listen and are determined to carry on a nationalist or imperialist policy we have to face the situation that results.

It will be a waste of time to criticize the policy of any other nation. We have to assume that every country knows its own business best and will conduct a policy, whether in regard to tariffs or any other matter, which it thinks will best advance the interests of its own people. We feel in England that we have reached the point where we must reconsider our own policy in the light of the present situation. We have two million unemployed, and no one can say how many there will be before the winter is over.

It may be possible, and we put it no higher than that, to bring about a closer economic understanding with the Dominions and Colonies.

We think it would be of great value for us to sit round the table with representatives from the various parts of the Commonwealth to explore the possibilities of an economic agreement that would be to the advantage of all. This is what our report means. The Trades Union Congress has not declared in favor of a tariff policy, but at the same time we are prepared to discuss the pros and cons of tariffs just as we are prepared to discuss any other proposal that may be made for improving our economic position. We do not rule out tariffs in advance as a question that may not even be discussed, but neither do we express any view in support of tariffs. We may say the question is one that has to be discussed as a matter of expediency and not as a matter of principle.

Some critics have attacked our policy on the ground that it is aimed against America, against the rest of Europe, and so on. Our policy is not aimed against anyone at all. It is suggested simply as a means of developing our own industrial life in co-operation with the Dominions and Colonies that are associated in the British Commonwealth.

The T. U. C. General Council work in close co-operation with the British Labour Party, and every month a joint meeting takes place in order that matters may be discussed relating to industrial problems.

Since the formation of the Labour Government, the chairman, vice-chairman and secretary of the T. U. C. meet, at regular intervals, a Cabinet Committee for the purpose of explaining the views of the British Trade Union Movement, and T. U. C. closely scrutinize all bills affecting Labor Legislation.

In particular, they have been responsible for drafting new bills affecting Workmen's Compensation and the Factory Acts, which it is

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

hoped will be introduced in the House of Commons. In 1927 the Tory Government, with the aid of its large majority, was able to pass into law an Act severely limiting Trade Union rights and activities. While the ostensible aim was to prohibit revolutionary general strikes the Act really went very much farther, and not only contained a prohibition of many kinds of strike which could not by any stretch of the imagination be called revolutionary, but also severely restricted the right of picketing, interfered with the power of Trade Unions to raise political funds, and prohibited civil servants from allying themselves with their fellow workers in industry. I am glad to say that the Labor Government is going to introduce a Bill next session to sweep away these injustices.

At the Trade Union Congress held last month, the delegates followed with deep interest the speeches of Brothers Manning and Maloy, and we recognize that your difficulties in some directions are as great as our own. We watch with sympathy the efforts of your Federation to defeat the power of the injunction in labor disputes and overcome the menace of labor companies.

We are not troubled by either of these problems, but realize how serious they are for the American unions. We hope your Federation will succeed in curbing both the power of the courts, through the injunction, and the power of the employers, through the company union, to destroy the effectiveness of trade union action.

Family Allowances

The outstanding debates of the British T. U. C. related to the Economic Policy upon which I have addressed you and that very thorny subject, "Family Allowances."

A special joint committee appointed by the T. U. C. and the Labour Party has had under consideration the question of Family Allowances. The committee issued a majority and a minority report. The majority report was signed by nine members of the committee, and recommended that family allowances be paid out of public funds in respect of each child from birth to leaving school age, and that the allowance be at the rate of 5/- per week for the first child and 3/- for each succeeding child. This allowance to be paid direct to the mother.

The minority report was signed by three members of the committee, and whilst they do not oppose the idea of family allowances, they urge that before any decision is taken, the social service should be more fully developed, and they set out a programme for medical and maternity services, nursery schools, raising the school leaving age, and providing adequate healthy houses.

The joint report was considered by the General Council of the T. U. C. and they recommended the Congress to adopt the minority report.

There was a first class debate at Congress and the view was taken that the most practicable thing to do during the next few years was to press for the extension of social services. Congress adopted the minority report by 2,154,000 to 1,347,000. The subject will also be discussed at the Annual Conference of the British Labour Party.

In conclusion, may we offer to you the heartiest greetings of the British Trade Union and Labor Movement. The organized workers throughout the world are inspired with motives that are almost identical. We in Great Britain have to face problems very similar to those of our American comrades, and we realize that the lack of organisation amongst the working classes is largely responsible for the deplorable conditions that operate in all countries.

We know that your Convention is deeply interested in working class education. The British T. U. C. is closely allied with the Central Labour College, Ruskin College and the Workers' Educational Association, and also gives scholarships for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In addition, it arranges a Summer School at which Trade Union lectures are given. Our educational movement is growing rapidly and in this way hundreds of young trades unionists are preparing themselves for the struggles of the future.

The influence of the trade unions and organized labor is felt in every walk of life. Labor can no longer be regarded merely as a commodity, and insists in taking part in the remoulding of industry and society.

For the future of our movement we find encouragement in the experiences of the past. Our objects are similar but the methods by which we hope to attain those objects may be different. We shall follow with the deepest interest the work of your Convention and trust that the results of your deliberations will create an atmosphere of social justice which will bring to the workers a greater share of the material things of this world and better opportunities for social recreation and happiness.

President Green: I take very great pleasure in introducing now Brother William E. Stephenson, Treasurer and Chairman of the Grievance Committee of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, who is the Fraternal Delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

ADDRESS BY MR. WILLIAM E. STEPHENSON

(Fraternal Delegate from Trades and Labor Congress of Canada)

Mr. President, Officers and Delegates: It is with great pleasure that I appear before you as the Fraternal Delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

I was elected and instructed by that body at its recent convention held in the City of Regina, Saskatchewan, to attend this convention, and to convey to you its fraternal greetings. This I now do, with every assurance of their good will and interest in your proceedings.

It is pleasing to me to be able to inform you that the Trades and Labor Congress steadily progresses as the legislative mouthpiece of the organized workers of Canada, nearly all of whom are members of International organizations.

We are delighted to be able to say that notwithstanding our great unemployment

problems, the membership of our affiliated organizations has steadily increased during the past four years.

The international movement in our great Dominion steadily becomes more firmly entrenched despite various groups who continually attempt to stir up national prejudices in the economic activities of our people. These national groups have steadily declined in their ability to antagonize the wage earner against our international development.

Our Congress becomes more and more instrumental as the chief instrument in our legislative development. The Federal and Provincial Governments of our country welcome its considered opinions when framing new legislation of a social and economic character.

In passing, might I be permitted to say that the splendid co-operation between our affiliated organizations and between them and the Congress has been due in a very great measure to the good will of Grand Lodge bodies, and to the unstinted support of this great American Federation of Labor.

In common with many other countries Canada has suffered during the past year from acute unemployment problems, but our people are making a real effort to mitigate this evil, especially for the coming winter months.

By our constant appeals to Federal and Provincial Governments and by our share in the development of public opinion, during the past recent years, we have in some measure been able to surmount our winter unemployment problems. That season of the year throughout a large area of this continent has always been a trying one for very many workers and their families. There is, however, still a great deal to be done in this direction, but we are steadily making progress.

Through these efforts governing bodies have been persuaded to develop winter building and other construction activities. New processes are constantly being devised, making winter activities constructively and economically possible.

Large sums of money from the public treasury have been made available for employment purposes. The knowledge gained during the past few years in regard to winter employment problems will be utilized to the utmost.

Municipal governing bodies are to be aided in a variety of ways by the Dominion Government in an effort to take care in some measure of our unemployed who cannot be absorbed in industrial activities. These measures are of an emergency character, and are designed to take care of the coming winter needs.

It is our understanding that recognized trade union principles will be observed in all such construction activities.

Our Congress has contributed in a large measure in this development. It has also been of considerable assistance in educating the public mind to the necessity of unemployment insurance laws. We feel that such a form of insurance will be legislated into law in the not distant future.

Many Provincial Legislative bodies have been persuaded to adopt Mothers allowance laws, under which widowed mothers receive money grants from the public purse, to aid in the care of their children.

Workmen's industrial injury and occupational disease laws are constantly being improved and in most of the Provinces organized labor is represented on the Boards of administration.

The administration of minimum wage laws which exist mainly for the protection of women and young people is closely observed by our Congress and its affiliated Trades Councils and their provisions enforced.

Increased interest is being shown in the desirability of Health and Maternity insurance laws. Health and Safety Laws are constantly being improved, all of which in the main is due to the work of our Congress conventions.

The majority of our Provinces have adopted old age pension laws for the care of the aged and needy who are over seventy years of age. The Federal government contributes one half of the payments made. Pressure is being brought to bear by the Congress to have this form of legislation effective at the age of sixty-five years.

The support rendered by all phases of public opinion in the enactment of such legislation is highly appreciated, but it is also true to say that the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress has been the originating body of such progressive measures.

The holding of the American Federation of Labor convention in the city of Toronto last year proved a very big factor in the development of our movement. The addresses delivered by the representative men and women of the American Federation of Labor commanded the admiration of our citizenship, and the presence in that splendid and notable gathering of the Right Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, Premier of Great Britain, helped to focus the attention of the entire Dominion.

The humanity of Labor's ideals portrayed so vividly by the President of the American Federation of Labor and by many others, including the British Premier and fraternal delegates will live long in the memory of all who heard and read those splendid messages.

Such events as these bring closer together all forms of constructive opinion and make Labor's pathway more sure and enduring.

During my stay with this convention I have been delighted with the kindness extended to myself and to my wife, by all with whom we have been brought in contact. These things we can never forget and their memory will be cherished as long as life will last.

The city of Boston and its historic past and present, has been a delight to us in all our local wanderings.

I have watched the progress of events day by day in this convention and as a result I am more than ever convinced of the universality of human requirements and the constant necessity of the workers of this continent marching forward together as soldiers in a common army fighting for the cause of peace, the cultural development of our joint peoples, and their salvation from economic privation.

It is my privilege to be a member and a local officer in the Province of Saskatchewan of the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America. This organization is one of the largest numerically within the Dominion. Its

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

membership is active within the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, and is always strong in support of progressive policies having the endorsement of the Congress and the American Federation of Labor. This organization is affiliated with other Railway Shop crafts who in turn are a section of the Railway Employees Department.

During the short interval since my election as Fraternal Delegate I have been requested by many local units and by our Craft and Division officers to convey to you additional greetings of good will, appreciation and loyalty.

The exchange of Fraternal delegates between the American Federation of Labor and the British and Canadian Trades Union Congresses has been wonderfully instrumental in aiding and understanding each others problems and constantly makes us more and more akin, as brothers and sisters in the only progressive army that is really worth while.

Thank you, Mr. President and Delegates.

At 5:30 o'clock the convention recessed to 9:30 o'clock a.m., Friday, October 10.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts
October 10, 1930.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

Absentees

Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Reagan, Kas-
ten, Tracy (W.), Kaufman, Schlesinger, Mar-
shall (H.S.), Gorman, Kelly (M.J.), Lewis
(J.L.), Sullivan (H.W.), Evans, Lewis (J.C.),
Graham, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson, Bowden,
Ryan (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Belt, Laude,
Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Becker,
Katz, Souza, Augustino, Long, Burton,
Murphy (P.F.), Shave, Kelly (W.), Bower,
Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Dorsey, Jacobs,
Woodmansee, Gatelee, Riley, Callahan, Don-
nelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Clow,
Murphy (M.G.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley,
Bradley, Carrozzo, Roberts, Hafer, Cohen (M.),
Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor
(S.M.), Stump, Mitchell (T.), Miller.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, recom-
mend that Charles T. Crane be seated in place of H. C. Wenzel to represent the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, in accordance with instructions received from J. C. Shanessy, President, and W. C. Birth-
right, Secretary-Treasurer, of that organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following tele-
gram, addressed to Delegate M. I. Thompson,
President of the Utah State Federation of Labor:

Salt Lake City, Utah.
October 9, 1930.

M. I. Thompson,
President, Utah State Federation of Labor,
Care Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

The entire Executive Board is supporting you in your efforts to bring American Federation of Labor to Salt Lake City in Nineteen Thirty-one.

A telegram from Winfield Scott Price, Mayor of Camden, New Jersey, was read. It urged that the 1931 convention be held in that city.

The following resolution was introduced by unanimous consent, after Secretary Morrison had explained that Delegate Thompson, the proposer of the resolution, had made an effort to submit the resolution within the required time limit, but was unable to do so:

Requesting That 1931 Convention Be Held in Salt Lake City

Resolution No. 98—Delegate M. I. Thompson, Utah State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Salt Lake City, the scenic center of the West, bordering five great states of the inter-mountain country, has ample hotel accommodation and facilities for the entertainment of the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor has never been held in this city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Utah State Federation of Labor will lend every possible aid in bringing the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor to Salt Lake City.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT SENATOR WAGNER

President Green: The Chair is informed that Senator Wagner of New York is in the city and will address the convention about 11.00 or 11.30 o'clock this morning. The Chair desires to appoint a reception committee composed of the following delegates in attendance at the convention: Brothers John Sullivan, New York State Federation of Labor; Joseph Mullane, Asbestos Workers; Joseph P. Ryan, Longshoremen; James Quinn, New York Central Trades and Labor Council, and Edward Volz, Photo Engravers. The Chair requests this committee to call upon the Senator and escort him to the platform when it is convenient for him to appear and address the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S RESPONSE TO ADDRESSES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Yesterday evening we were privileged to receive the fraternal greetings and the inspiring messages brought to us by the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Labor Congress. I wish, in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, to express to our fraternal delegates our deep appreciation for their splendid addresses, also for their visit to this convention, and for the welcome information which they submitted to us. We are always deeply interested in the welfare of the working people of Great Britain and of Canada. We are equally interested in the welfare of the working people of all other nations throughout the world. And it is because of that deep and intense interest that we always listen with rapt attention to messages brought to us by delegates from other lands when they address our convention.

I was reminded when the fraternal delegates from Great Britain referred to the problem of unemployment, social justice and collateral questions that, after all, economic law is international and inexorable. The same economic law that operates in one country operates in another. It is very difficult to deal with problems that grow out of the operation of stern economic law. Furthermore, human experience has taught us that it is most difficult, indeed well-nigh impossible, for us to set aside the operation of economic law through the adaptation or the attempt to adapt artificial means.

The problem of unemployment prevails in Great Britain to a very large degree. It prevails in Germany, in all other nations throughout the world. The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shows most clearly the distress that prevails in all nations throughout the world because of unemployment. And we feel that it is a problem that deserves special attention.

I want to repeat what a distinguished speaker said yesterday, that unemployment in our country is an indictment upon our whole economic policy and upon our industrial procedure. I have always maintained that it is unnecessary, that if the management of industry would attempt to stabilize it and regularize it and deal with it in a scientific way, we could overcome the problem of unemployment in our own country.

I refer particularly to these cyclical periods of unemployment which come upon us with such disastrous effects. Of course I understand perfectly well that we have the problem of technological unemployment ever with us, and I have been protesting, since I have been President of the American Federation of

Labor, against the indifference shown by industrial leaders and by the Government itself toward this very serious problem. I have appealed with all of the power I possess to those in charge of our Government to deal squarely and fairly with this problem of technological unemployment, to assist labor to deal with it practically and constructively. And one of the bills introduced by the distinguished Senator from New York at the last session in Congress, the Senator who will address us this morning, was designed to deal very directly with this disastrous problem of unemployment. After all, I realize that these problems must be dealt with in our own way and in accordance with our own needs.

We believe that in Great Britain they have dealt with it in accordance with the requirements of the situation in Great Britain. A remedy that might apply there may not apply here, but we are just as much interested in the solution of the problem as are our brothers across the sea.

Please bear in mind that Great Britain is made up of a territory smaller than one of our states, much smaller than many of our states, and that they have two million or more unemployed in a territory smaller than the State of Ohio, that Great Britain is governed by a Parliament, that they do not have within Great Britain forty-eight different governments that must be dealt with as we must deal with forty-eight different governments here in the United States, outside of the Federal Government itself.

That creates for us an additional perplexing problem. A law passed by Parliament applies in Great Britain, whereas a law passed by the Federal Congress of the United States only applies to questions of an interstate character. There is no constitutional question involved in the enactment of legislation in Great Britain. They can't declare acts unconstitutional. Then again in Great Britain they have a splendid Trades Union Disputes Act, and that gives the trades union movement in Great Britain a legal standing.

We are fighting still for the establishment of that right here in America. I refer to our difficulties and our problems and the difference in the situation so that our fraternal delegates may know that we must consider these differences always in dealing with our economic and social problems.

We are glad to have these men with us. We are glad they came with their messages.

We want them all to know that they are among very sincere friends. We express the hope that they may enjoy their visit to our country and that they may return to their homes and families happily and safely.

President Green: The Chair wishes to inquire if any one of the standing committees are ready to report.

Vice-President Duffy: The Committee on Organization is ready to report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Gertrude McNally, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Organization Work

That part of the Executive Council's report, pages 77 to 89, under the captions:

Right to Organize,
Organizing Work,
Organizing Methods,
Southern Campaign, with Sub-titles,
Inaugurating the Campaign,
President Green's southern tours,
Birmingham Headquarters,
A. F. of L. Literature,
Organizing Local Activities,
Response of Southern Workers, and
Program for the Coming Year.

which was referred to the Committee on Organization, was considered as one subject, as they are so closely related to each other. We find:

1. That in accordance with the action and directions of the Toronto Convention, plans were perfected soon after the adjournment of that Convention to more thoroughly organize the South.

2. That National and International Unions not only contributed financially to this purpose, but willingly assigned organizers, representatives, and speakers to assist in the work.

3. That in order to carry on the work successfully headquarters were established in Birmingham, Alabama, under the direction and supervision of a representative of the American Federation of Labor.

4. That President Green took an active interest and an active part in the campaign and made two speaking tours of the South explaining the objects, aims and purposes of the organized labor movement, resulting in bringing about a better understanding among all classes and groups.

5. That organizing literature was extensively distributed with good effect and results.

6. And that much good has been accomplished.

Your committee has been informed that 112 local unions have been organized in different crafts and callings in different states; that 5 Central Labor Unions have also been organized; that City Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor have been revived and are now actively engaged in the organizing campaign. We, therefore, concur in all that has been done so far, and congratulate the Executive Council on the good accomplished. We urge the Executive Council to continue this campaign if possible, with increased forces and resources during the coming year.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ross, Mississippi State Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I want to take this occasion to discuss in my humble way the wonderful work that has been undertaken in this southern organizing campaign. This is the first time I have had the honor and the pleasure of speaking to one of your great conventions. I have in my own humble way tried to be of service in this southern organizing campaign. I have seen the necessity of the southern organizing campaign for some time, having served during the past ten years as President of the Mississippi State Federation of Labor.

I, too, heartily concur in the report of the Organizing Committee, because I have been on the battle line and I have seen the wonderful results that have been accomplished in the South. I would remind you that during the past few years industry has been going to the southland, a great many of these industries going South because of concessions that were made in the form of tax exemptions, some communities even donating the land and the buildings in which these industries were located, and many of them went South because it had been advertised that they could have cheap labor that was content to work long hours—docile labor, ignorant labor, labor that was free from labor unions and control.

Yes, they have made wonderful progress, yet there is a great long road to travel, beset by many obstacles, before we reach the mountain top of victory and achievement in the southland.

I was down at Boston Harbor the other day and saw the historic old battleship, the Constitution, known as "Old Ironsides," and I was forcibly reminded of the fact that it is not the going out of port, but the coming in that determines the success of the voyage. The American Federation of Labor has launched a ship in the southern organizing campaign. It has encountered many storms, it has met with much opposition, but the crew of that old vessel, under the leadership of that great President of ours, William Green,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

has made wonderful progress considering the opposition.

You have read the report of the Executive Council about the results of this southern organizing campaign. You have heard the report of this Organization Committee and you see that some 112 local unions have been organized under these adverse conditions, that new central bodies were organized, but I say to you that the greatest work that has been done in this southland of mine has not only been the increase in membership in other unions that have been standing there, as well as the organization of these 112 local unions, but it has been the great educational work. President Green made two tours through the South, and I say frankly, honestly and candidly, that the great majority of the people of the South did not know what the American Federation of Labor was, previous to that time. They had been misinformed as to the principles and the teachings, the aims and the objects of this great organization. After President Green made these two tours through the South where he was greeted with large audiences, wherever he went addressing mass meetings, addressing state legislatures, there was a new vision, there was an enlightenment of those people in the South, and I have had the pleasure of meeting some of the leading statesmen of the South, some of the leading business men who have said to me, "We have a new conception of the American Federation of Labor. If that is their program we are with them."

We have held Chautauquas throughout the south where thousands of people have been turned away because we could not get buildings large enough to hold them. We have spoken at mass meetings throughout the South where there were so many people that we could not carry the voice of a human being to them, not even with a loud speaker system. We have made wonderful progress in the South.

I want you to bear with me patiently, my friends, while I try to give you some of the things that are going on in the Southland.

I think it is very necessary that you know these things, because the great battle is now being fought in the South. It is a battle of principles. It is the test, the acid test as to whether or not trades unionism is going to progress in this Southland or ours.

I say to you that there have been travesties on the rights of American citizens in that section of our country. Men have been denied the right to organize. Thousands and thousands of these men have been forced to sign the yellow dog contract. The labor injunction has been invoked frequently. Great battles are now being fought and I ask you to listen patiently to my remarks.

The American Federation of Labor is in the south because the workers of the south need that organization. We are not there, as some would have you believe, as uninvited guests. We are there because of the continued insistence of the southern labor movement that is part and parcel of this organization. The deplorable conditions in some of the southern industries demand that we do everything within our power to rectify these conditions on behalf of the workers.

Before discussing the conditions existing in southern industry I want to answer certain

charges that are being circulated among the people of the South in regard to this campaign. I was sent to a certain community in Alabama recently to address a group of textile people. Thousands of them had joined our organization and it was reported that the American Federation of Labor was to have a mass meeting. Somebody in that community got busy and distributed in each home a copy of a pamphlet that I have with me. This will give you some idea of the propaganda that is being spread throughout the Southland in opposition to our campaign. It is entitled, "Don't Kill the Goose That Laid the Golden Egg." After they discuss what they say are happy conditions existing in the Southland they attempt to criticize our organizers of the American Federation of Labor. Reading in part their attack on the American Federation of Labor and the organizers assigned to that territory, this is a sweet morsel for your ears, and I beg your indulgence:

"If you owned a goose that was laying you a golden egg every day you would be mighty careful about who meddled with that goose. Don't you think the old woman in the story was a fool? Certainly you do. But she was really not a bit bigger fool than you and I would be if we were to allow this bunch of foreign agitators to come in, disturb, and tear down that which we have struggled for years to build up. So, then, let us not act the part of a fool, but let us investigate and see where these trouble makers come from, and what they have done for others. Part of them are criminals we know, of the very worst type, and many of them are under sentence to long prison terms for murders and other less serious crimes. Some of them are from Red Russia, where they teach little children that there is no God, and where they are doing all in their power to tear down and destroy churches. They place before the firing squad men and women who dare to worship. Yes, these folks are amongst us in the guise of labor organizers, believing that the workers of the South will fall for such preaching."

Referring to other parts of the message that are equally as insulting, they have said many other things—and this is not the only place where such charges have been made. We know what it takes to make a great country. We believe in good Christian homes, in time for the workers to attend church and enjoy the sunshine and fresh air that the Supreme Architect of the universe has endowed nature with. We feel like the great toiling masses of America that in times of peace send pulsating through the arteries of commerce the life blood of industry, and that in times of all of our wars have gone forth to battle to baptize themselves in blood that freedom might endure, have contributed as much, if not more, to America's greatness than any other group we know of.

In this connection at this time I wish to read to you what I consider a just and fair and accurate statement made by the Chairman of the Investigation Committee of Congress that is now investigating Communist

propaganda. Mr. Hamilton Fish, the Chairman of the Committee, in introducing our President, William Green, to that committee, said:

"The committee will come to order. The first witness today is Mr. Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor. We have asked him to come here and present all the facts he has with regard to the activities and propaganda of the Communists in the United States. I will say, Mr. Green, that later on I propose to release a statement of my views as to the work that your organization has done in combating and exposing those activities because I believe your organization is entitled to the gratitude of the Congress of the United States and of the American people. Some of us who have studied this question know that the American Federation of Labor has been a bulwark and has consistently exposed and combated communistic and revolutionary activities."

Then on page 70 of that same pamphlet I wish to quote other testimony from that investigation because it bears upon the southern textile situation. Mr. Nelson, who was a member of the committee, made the following statement:

"Mr. Nelson: The best remedy protection against communism in this country is to see that the working people are fairly treated.

"Mr. Green: There must be more than that. They must be given the right to do as other people do, and to exercise their legitimate American rights to organize into trade unions. We talk about these communist agitators here and there, going around, but they are not nearly so strong and so influential in developing communism as are some of the capitalist representatives who would crush the workers and forbid them from exercising their rights. Every one of those forces is, figuratively speaking, an incubator of communism.

"Mr. Nelson: I included that, when I said that they should be fairly treated."

Now listen to this from our stalwart leader, William Green:

"I think I understand the psychology of the American worker. I think I understand his state of mind, and he becomes a rebel when he is crushed. Naturally, then, there is created a fertile field for the growth of the idea of the next best thing, the thing that will enable him to strike back at what he considers his enemy—the enemy that means to crush him, restrain in him every noble impulse, and reduce him to a condition of servitude."

As a disabled veteran of the World War I resent this attack not only on account of myself and the living thousands of workers, but more especially on account of that great caravan of dead heroes who left the factories and shops to fight for this country. The truth about the business is they are

doing just what they have been doing in the past, resorting to lies and camouflage to keep the workers in ignorance and servitude.

To give you some idea of the conditions in the Southland I wish to call to your attention that textile workers are receiving from six to fourteen dollars a week less than the workers in the northern mills and in many instances are required to work from ten to twelve hours a day instead of eight to nine hours, as is customary in the North. Not only are wages low in the textile mills and hours longer, but this is the general rule in many of our other major industries. There is much room for improvement in the South. The Louisiana State Federation of Labor is to be congratulated in securing its nine-hour law for women as a starter. Arkansas is the only other state that affords that much protection. Three southern states have no hour laws at all. There are certain agencies that actually advertise urging industries to come into their localities, holding out cheap labor that will be content to work long hours and for low wages. They went on and said that there was actual objection upon the part of the male members of the families to some of the women working, and even some of the women themselves did not like working in industry, but that Birmingham was a great human reservoir of women labor, white women labor, that there were 76,000 white women from the age of ten years up who would be content to work long hours for low wages. Those are some of the things going on in the Southland.

The American Federation of Labor would be worse than Communists if they did not try to prevent the further exploitation of the women and children of the South. We not only intend to keep these out of the factories, but we intend to improve the social and economic status of the other southern male workers to the point where it will not be necessary to put their women and children in the factories.

Of course there are those employers who would deny their employees the right to join a trades union. Thousands of them are asked to sign a yellow dog contract, and it is this same type of employer who calls us un-American. They will deny their employees the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of this country and of their respective states, and when we criticize them they charge us with being unpatriotic. A citizen who is denied this right is not a free citizen, and those who would deny him the right to join a trades union are not good Americans, and I defy them to deny it.

Many corporations are now discharging employees that have been working for them as long as thirty-five years, for no other reason in the world than they joined trades unions of their choice. Unless freedom in the South is to be destroyed, as so nobly expressed by our President, the men in the factories of the Southland must be free.

The last annual convention of the Y. W. C. A. held in Detroit voted to investigate conditions in the textile industry and went on record as backing the rights of men and women in industry to organize.

I have traveled along the road in certain communities of the Southland and have seen these textile workers walking from place to

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

place because they had been discharged for exercising their rights as American citizens. One case has been called to my attention where a widowed mother and five little children were picked up by a passing car after they had trudged along the road for two days half starved and their frail limbs almost paralyzed. They were just other victims of this great conspiracy to deny them their civil rights and daily bread.

I am told that while that great humanitarian, Abraham Lincoln, was President of these United States he was once strolling down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. He had a shawl drawn about his head as it was a cold and bitter night. Passing a saloon corner he noticed a group of boisterous men engaged in laughter, gathered about some object on the corner. He investigated and found they had a little bug turned on its back. Abraham Lincoln walked up, turned that little bug over, and the bug scurried off. He turned to the half drunken crowd and said, "Boys, I could not sleep for a week if I had not given that little bug a chance to get on its feet and give it its freedom."

I am told that long years after, another great President of these United States called the President of the American Federation of Labor to his office in the White House and said, "Mr. President, I have before me the Child Labor Bill that is calculated to take the little children out of the cotton mills of the South and place them in the schoolhouses where they belong. If I did not sign this bill I could not sleep for a week." And he attached that famous signature—Woodrow Wilson—to the bill.

My friends, I say as did the great Lincoln, I say as did Woodrow Wilson, I say as do all of our leaders in this American labor movement, that I cannot sleep peacefully at night as long as these emaciated, dwarfed women and under-nourished and under-privileged children are working under these unbearable, intolerable and unreasonable conditions in the Southland, and I know that each and every member of the American Federation of Labor feels the same way as do I on this question.

We pointed out to the people of the Southland that we were not there to create strife. As our President said in all of his addresses throughout the South, we had rather settle one issue around the conference table than a thousand upon the strike field. We were pleading for co-operation and industrial peace. We believe that we can improve the conditions of southern industry for the employer as well as the employee. Our message is not only to the working people, but to every citizen of the South. I seriously contend that when the social and economic status of the southern workers is improved, all the people of the South will be greatly benefited.

Not only is that condition true in the textile workers' situation, but it is true in other situations. For instance, in the city of New Orleans we had a revival there of the longshoremen's organization and more than 5,700 new members of the colored longshoremen came forth to join that trades union. These people had been subjected to intolerable conditions, but the minute they found out these men were coming into the organization they began giving the longshoremen pledges to sign stating that they were satisfied with their working condi-

tions. Among other things, in answer to an invitation to the employers from the longshoremen's association to meet in a peaceful conference with their representatives, the New Orleans Steamship Association has this to say:

"The seven years which have passed following the severance of our connections with your organizations, covers the longest period of peace and labor contentment in the history of our river front. We have been enabled to maintain this highly desirable situation with a force of competent and trained workers, unquestionably all citizens of New Orleans, satisfied with the conditions under which they work. It is our purpose with the aid of these same workers to continue on as we have done during the past seven years, and thus by assuring an unbroken peace in the years to come, retain the confidence of those doing business through our port and so insure its future growth and prosperity."

"I am in a position to speak for our employees who have so faithfully assisted us in maintaining our port's longest era of peace, and as peace on the river front can best be assured by a continuance of the same methods which made the past seven years of peace possible, we must decline to confer with you."

They assume to say to the longshoremen and to the public in these very few words, "We take the position that we will speak for our employees." That is the trouble in the Southland—they have had no one to speak for them.

In answer to that statement in which they endeavored to get the longshoremen to agree that they were satisfied with their present positions and with other forms of the yellow dog contract system the longshoremen said this:

"The employer is at his old tricks again, urging you to sign a petition that you are satisfied with present conditions on the waterfront. The signing of this petition means the destruction of your organization.

"It will immediately restore the past conditions that existed up to August 1st, 1930."—That was before our organizers were in that field. . . .

"Namely forced loans at rate of 25c interest per week on the dollar, which is contrary to the State Law, rebating to unscrupulous foremen three dollars per week, and intolerable working conditions without any redress."

That is just to give you some idea of what is going on in the Southland. Then the Louisiana Manufacturers' Association comes along and sends bulletin to every one of these employers affiliated with that organization. Without taking up the time to read it, it simply says in substance that the American Federation of Labor has come to the Southland, that President Green, of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the Federation, in their ardent desire to organize the workers in the Southland, have sent Holt Ross down there, that Holt Ross is a fellow with a slick tongue and you had better not listen to him, and we want to warn all of you fellows to be on the lookout

for these agitators and keep them out of your factories.

Mr. John Edgerton then comes along. As you all know, he is President of the National Manufacturers' Association. While delivering an address in one of our great southern universities he enunciates what he calls a fair labor policy for the South, of course starting with the open shop. Among other things he says in that address that he knows of no instance anywhere where employees are denied the right to join trades unions. I answered that article of Mr. Edgerton's that was published editorially in the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal, and denied the truthfulness of the statement and challenged him to a series of joint debates. I asked him to come with me to the southern textile centers and there debate what would be a fair labor policy for the people of the Southland. But of course it is needless for me to say that he never accepted that challenge, because we were willing to leave it up to the people of the South as a jury as to whether or not the teachings of the American Federation of Labor or the teachings of this opponent to the American labor movement would be fair and square.

Not only that, my friends, but we have succeeded in defeating those reactionary politicians that voted for the confirmation of Judge Parker. They told me when I went into New Orleans and into Louisiana that the labor movement would never stand together there. This man Ramsell, who had been in the United States Senate for thirty years with hardly any opposition at any time, was defeated by the labor movement of the state of Louisiana by more than 40,000 votes. That shows the attitude of the people of the Southland.

I am not going to take up any more of your time. I am just a country boy up here trying to contribute my mite to the labor movement. On my visit to the historic old city of Philadelphia I went to Independence Hall and there I saw that old Liberty Bell, and inscribed thereon the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Then I read again the Declaration of Independence that said, among other things, that "All men are created free and equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." As I gazed there on that wonderful bell I said to myself, it is a pity we cannot take that old bell down to Danville, Virginia, and there again let its tones ring out to those oppressed people that are victims of industrial enslavement, who are denied their right to join a trades union, who have no more rights than they had before we fought this Revolutionary War that was supposed to make this a free and independent country.

The brunt of the battle is now in this situation down in Danville, Virginia, where from four to five thousand employees are arbitrarily forced out of employment because they refused to sign a yellow dog contract that says they will relinquish their membership in the American Federation of Labor.

My friends, the southern labor movement is weak, it is true, but we are doing our best, we are trying to cooperate, we are go-

ing to stand by these people down there in Danville, Virginia. We are going to do everything within our power, but the battle is being fought there and I appeal to you delegates to the American Federation of Labor, I appeal to you officers of the International Unions to do everything in your power to help the situation in Danville, because it is the crisis, it is the turning point. If we win there it is going to mean much to the American labor movement.

I think it was Josh Billings that said, "Consider the postage stamp, the little postage stamp; it wins its success through its ability to stick to one thing until it reaches its destination." If the little postage stamp can stick to one thing until it reaches its destination I know that the great American labor movement, under the leadership of our very efficient and very able President, William Green, is bound to stick to this Danville situation and to the entire southern organizing campaign.

I hope the various international unions will find it possible to send more organizers into our field. I hope we will be able to get more cooperation from the central bodies and state federations of labor throughout the land in the southern organizing campaign. It is a question of whether human liberty shall endure.

Mr. Edgerton says there is no difference between property rights and human rights, that is just a camouflage put out by the American Federation of Labor, but I merely would cite for his benefit the statement of the last annual convention of the Association of Commerce, which says that "We shall stand by the present bills of equity that afford protection to property and otherwise, and against the abusive use of the writ of injunction." That organization says there is a difference between human rights and property rights.

My friends, I appreciate your giving me this opportunity of being heard. I am glad to be here with you on this occasion, but like the old Roman orator I cannot come to these meetings without thinking of some of our men who have made the supreme sacrifice in the labor movement, and, like that chieftain of ours Samuel Gompers, who said, "God bless our American institutions; may they grow better day by day."

*"When I see men swinging girders on a bony structure tall,
And see the busy masons laying bricks
along the wall,
I see great columns rising, then there
comes the thought to me,
It's the workers of this nation that have
caused this thing to be."*

*"Not from instinct grow great structures
or the animals would build,
All our churches and our temples are
but work of toilers skilled.
Man has changed the field and forest
and the coast lines of the sea,
And this world but for his toiling still
a wilderness would be."*

*"Every home, and hut, and palace, every
ancient dome and new,
Are but symbols of man's progress and
the tasks which he can do."*

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Search the paths of selfish idlers some such monuments to find,
Nothing stands to mark their journey but a loafer left behind;

"All the comforts we now boast of, all the beauty that's displayed,
Mark the miracles of Labor and the majesty of Trade."

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

To Assist Organizing Campaign of Ladies' Garment Workers

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Abraham Katovsky, Benjamin Moser, Max Cohen and B. Desti of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, In all the years of its existence as a national labor organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has always readily assisted morally and materially other labor organizations and has in return received the generous co-operation and aid of the American Federation of Labor and of its Executive Council whenever such aid and co-operation were asked for, and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now carrying on organization campaigns among the workers in the women's wear industry in various cities in the United States and Canada and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union may be forced to resort to the calling of general strikes in some of these centers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to give to the I. L. G. W. U. the necessary co-operation and assistance in these campaigns in order to enable it to establish in those centers the same humane and decent living conditions and the same standards of work that prevail in the organized centers.

Your Committee has substituted the word "request" for the word "instruct" in the third line of the Resolve, and with this substitution we concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Support of Organizing Campaign of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement as represented by the American Feder-

ation of Labor, is the one agency which has constantly striven to lighten the burdens of wage earners, emphasize the principle of human rights, and establish improved working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Once the present cycle of depression has been passed, it will be possible to again renew and carry on the work of organization; and

WHEREAS, The office workers of the United States and Canada constitute the largest single body of organizeable workers and are suffering bitterly from a steady lowering of wages and working standards; and

WHEREAS, There is a steady shift among those entering the field of office work from the sons and daughters of the professional and business classes to the sons and daughters of the working class, so that today the majority of the young people entering office occupations are from the homes of the working people of the country, and a very large percentage of them are from the homes of trade unionists; and

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646, New York, has steadily continued its efforts to organize the office workers under its jurisdiction, and has managed, in spite of the present economic depression, not only to hold the ground already gained but to strengthen and build its organization; and

WHEREAS, In our effort to educate and organize the office workers we have been greatly assisted by the support of the various unions who employ union office workers, and who have used the free employment service provided by our union, which has been able to furnish competent and efficient workers in any line of office work, when required; and

WHEREAS, If the cooperation thus extended by many of the Unions were to be maintained by all the Unions and every union office were to employ union office help and union accountants, as well as helping us to meet our unemployment problems by calling upon our office to fill vacancies with loyal union members, our work would be greatly facilitated and we would be in a position to progress in educating and organizing the entire group of office workers at a more rapid rate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Boston, Massachusetts, October 6th, 1930, that the organization efforts and request of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union 12646 of New York be endorsed and that every Union within its jurisdiction be urged to employ none but union office help and accountants, and that when in need of additional help the Unions first give the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union 12646 an opportunity to supply such help from among their membership.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Southern Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Holt Ross,
Mississippi State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, An organization campaign has been in progress throughout the South as provided at the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This campaign has made wonderful progress notwithstanding an unusual amount of opposition and many handicaps; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the South have indicated an anxiety to become more enlightened as to the benefits of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, American and state rights have been denied thousands of Southern workers because of invoking the yellow dog contract system and through the abusive use of the writ of injunction; so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the executive committee thereof be empowered and stand instructed to continue the said Southern organizing campaign; and be it further

RESOLVED, That each and every international union and department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to lend all cooperation possible in the prosecution of this drive.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 65 by striking out the word "incoming" in the first line of the second Resolve, the amended resolution reading as follows:

**Textile Workers Appeal for Support of Strike
at Danville, Va.**

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, In Danville, Virginia, the workers of the Riverside and Dan River Cotton mills organized a local union affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, and these workers, almost 4,000 in number, have held their union for eight months against terrific opposition, and were recently compelled to strike when the management tried to install a form of "yellow dog contract" and to replace the members of the union by outside workers; and

WHEREAS, Every effort was made to avoid the strike, but the management supported by the unfair textile employers of the South have decided to halt our movement by the victimizing of the workers who join the union and by the use of the most treacherous methods; and

WHEREAS, We look for a long struggle in Danville, and for several months our organization has carried on relief work to assist those who were discharged for their union affiliation and now with the strike 4,000 workers and their dependents—totaling approximately 15,000 persons—must be fed and sustained; it is therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention gives its endorsement to the Danville strikers, and all delegates are urged to assist in providing relief for these people who are now making the fight for the right to be members of the union and to secure decent conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to issue an appeal to all affiliated organizations for financial aid in this struggle.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE THOMAS F. McMAHON

(President United Textile Workers of America)

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends: I want to take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the committee for concurring in the resolution that we submitted, and likewise take advantage of the opportunity to thank those organizations who, since the Toronto convention, have aided so materially and well in assisting in carrying on the southern campaign as ordered by that convention. You have heard from this platform a few minutes ago my friend, Delegate Ross, of Mississippi. I am not going to elaborate on what he said, but I will say that of the 112 charters issued, 31 of those belong to the United Textile Workers of America and the other 81 to various national and international organizations, thus demonstrating quite clearly that what we said in Toronto was a fact, that this campaign if carried out would show to the workers of this country that the situation in the industrial South was not a textile situation in its entirety.

At that convention it was ordered that financial reports, itemized, should be made by our organization and given to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. We complied with that request. Up to and including August 31, 1930, we received from the American Federation of Labor \$41,500, and we gave an itemized statement, number of checks, amount of money on the checks and to whom paid. The United Textile Workers contributed from their own limited resources \$37,800 up to August 31st. At the time I left our office in New York that amount had increased to approximately \$45,000. The United Textile Workers is just demonstrating that our members desire, even under the depressed conditions of the present time, to demonstrate their willingness and their ability to pay their full pro rata of the expense of carrying on this campaign.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The campaign that is being carried on is in the interests of the workers of the South. We are beset by unfair employers when we attempt to organize the workers. Our organizers nowhere are under definite instructions from us to use their entire efforts for textile workers alone. They are to be found in the halls of other organizations. We want them to go there, we want them to work with all other workers who are entitled to membership in the American Federation of Labor. We want to co-operate with the movement that has done so much for us, and it is indeed a hard thing for a man, year after year, coming before his friends and co-workers and making an appeal such as we must make, not for ourselves as individuals—we can get along—not for our membership as members of our international unions, but because of the women and children that are in our industries and upon whom the burden falls when direct action is forced upon us, as in this case in Danville, Virginia. God knows we tried every honorable method under the sun to avoid that strike. We did everything that was humanly possible to bring the power of the outside world to bear upon the unfair employers at Danville, Virginia.

The power of the state through its governor, the power of the Federal Department of Conciliation, as well as the State Department of Conciliation in Virginia, was brought to bear, and the answer was: "There is nothing to arbitrate, nothing to talk about," and yet for ten years an industrial plan of open shop was in effect in that place. The workers had ten years of trial. We did not interfere with them. They came to us and begged us to get them out of this open shop industrial form of organization. We were sent into that section. The committee in charge of the organizing campaign in the South instructed our representatives, through President Green, that Vice-President Gordon would take charge of that affair. He did, and with what success you can note by the speech made by Delegate Ross. Four thousand and more workers have signed their willingness to become members, have paid their initiation fee and per capita tax. We have returned both their initiation fees and per capita tax in our desire to help them. Our 30,000 organized workers are doing what they can to help in this struggle. They tell us to go the limit, and we are going the limit. Now we come to you, not to ask you to go the limit, because we know just as well as you do, my friends, that our national and international unions have in too many cases real difficulties of their own. We are appealing to them, however, to do what they can. They have in the past and they will in the future—of that we have no doubt. We say to you with all the force we have that those women and children are our first consideration.

If you travel in the sunny South you can hear the cry of the babe and the moan of the mother appealing for a little milk or a bit of bread to eat. While we have nickels and dimes in our pockets, can we stand to hear that a child or a mother is suffering for lack of food to keep them in this fight to the end? They are saying to us, "Give us but a bit of bread, give us a few beans and some sow belly and we will go along." And we who have responded in the past will not be found wanting now.

The United Textile Workers of America has heard that in making the appeal we were actuated by selfish ends. I want to refute that statement with all the power I have got. No organization is trying to do more for all the workers in this country than is the United Textile Workers of America. We want to do what we can in this struggle for right and justice, and when our workers are told after we have resorted to every effort to bring about an adjustment, "Sign on the dotted line, tear up your union books," I refer to the splendid address made by John P. Frey at the beginning of this convention. Never will come the day in the history of our organization when by direction of its officers shall the order go forth to sign such an unscrupulous, un-American document that will say to the workers from the organization head, "Sign that yellow dog contract so that we may maintain a semblance of organization." Never will it be done. We will fight on even though in our fight we are licked and licked again. "It is better," Samuel Gompers said, "to fight and be defeated than not to fight at all if that fight has justice back of it."

In Danville we have done everything to meet the requirements, not only of our friends on the outside, but those who have demonstrated their friendliness from within. From the first day President Green started his tour in the South to the present moment, from the first speech he made, which rang around the old South and among its valiant people as did the shot that was fired here in Boston that demonstrated to the peoples of the world freedom, have we ceased our efforts. Our workers in the Southland are actuated by but one purpose, and that purpose is to lift the workers, the textile workers there, out of the mire they are in now and place them on a plane somewhere near equal, if possible, to we who are in the North and East.

Surely we know better than any one else in the textile industry that even here in the North we are not in the position we should be, yet we have made magnificent progress. We ask you to help us. A penny here, a nickel there and a dime somewhere else will buy food for the starving mother and child. Divide the dime and give the nickel, and we promise you again that we will give an itemized account.

Our organization has grown and become a militant, powerful body, no matter what our friends in the other tent may say, and we have established friendly relations with our employers in innumerable instances. We will continue to do that in the future. Our motto is, "Onward, ever onward," and the only way we believe we will ever revivify in the hearts of the people of the Southland an interest in trade unionism is by saying to them: "This labor movement, from the day of its inauguration in 1881 up to now, has done splendid work." Well remember the first convention held in Boston in 1889, being a member in 1897, and I can appreciate the work done by the American Federation of Labor. I say to you, Mr. President, and to your colleagues on the Executive Council, that when our appeal goes forth we hope you will do what you can, as quick as you can, for us who are fighting now in the trenches in Danville, Virginia.

DELEGATE FRANCIS J. GORMAN
 (United Textile Workers of America)

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends—Inasmuch as our organization is making an appeal to the American Federation of Labor we believe that it is only fair to try to place our case in its true light before this convention. From casual observation it may appear that the Danville, Virginia, situation is just another strike, called in a period of severe depression, and which should have been avoided. We want the delegates to know some of the things that have transpired during our campaign in the South, starting on January 6th of this year. At that very moment we decided, with President Green and our committee, that we were going into the South on a program of organization; that we proposed to discourage strikes wherever there was any possibility of doing it, and that we intended to tell the workers of the South that the old policy of organizing today and striking tomorrow would never bring success in the movement to stop the exploitation of the workers in that section of the country. And all the way from Virginia to Alabama during those eight or nine months we have seen our people chopped to pieces, we have seen them suffering greatly, we have seen them put out of their homes and attacked unmercifully because they dared to exercise their right to be members of a trade union.

Some time ago a special organization of unfair employers was formed in the South. And when I say "unfair employers" I believe the term is just what it is applied to any employer who would deny our workers the right to be members of the union. There are some employers in the South who have not taken that position toward our organization, who have not attacked us up to date; many have, and it is to that group that I want to refer this morning.

They organized a special committee with unlimited finances and political support in order to discredit our movement and stop us at the outset. They understood, just as we did, that we started the campaign under the most adverse circumstances from a business point of view, with industry in general practically demoralized, and they knew that weapon would aid them in combating and beating down our movement to organize. So they started out, determined to attack whatever program we set forth. I believe most of the delegates to this convention are intimate with the program outlined by President Green in all his southern speeches, offering a policy and a plan of cooperation, agreeing in the principles of scientific management in industry for the elimination of waste either on the part of management or labor and a desire on the part of the American Federation of Labor to place ourselves at the service of the employer in order to bring about economy in industry. That has been our program.

We have never attacked the employers personally. We realize that an attack made on an individual employer is unwise. If any employer wants to attack us because we criticize and condemn the system they have now in force, he can do so. We have attacked conditions in the South, we spoke of the years the men, women and children in the mills have been exploited, and because we did that this special organization was created to oppose us.

For nine months we carried on organization work. We formed organizations, we gave the southern people a better idea of the trade union movement than they had before.

It was decided that Danville, Virginia, would be the test. Hundreds of times we stood out in the open field and said to the people of Danville and the surrounding country that then was not the time to strike. We pleaded with the employers to realize that their best policy would be to leave our people alone who were members of the union. But no, after they had done all they could by taking members into private rooms, talking to them and giving them the third degree, after trying to bring in people from all parts of the South to take their places—and their efforts in that respect have not been successful—after placing before them a yellow dog contract that told them they must be members of the company union if they wanted to continue to work in those plants, we organized almost every employee in the Danville and Riverside plants.

We have the organization today that is being conducted peacefully and well by men and women who grasped the fundamentals of the trades union movement. For six months we have been administering relief to the members who were discharged for joining the union. We conducted the campaign ourselves as long as we could. We did not make an appeal to the other organizations until those people were forced out of work and thrown out of their houses. We have had the most orderly campaign ever carried on. The first morning we struck there was no disorder. On the second day of the strike we were served with injunctions, we were told what we could do and what we could not do. There was not a single arrest during the nine months' campaign. The police department openly commended the organization for the satisfactory manner in which its business was conducted. Even when the companies brought in Communists from Gastonia and placed them in our midst to cause destruction we were able to withstand all their attacks. Four thousand people, with their families, approximately 20,000 souls, are making the fight today.

I want to read a short quotation from the Boston Evening Transcript of Tuesday, October 7, headed "The Crucial Strike in Virginia." It says:

"The strike that has closed the mills of the Riverside & Dan River Company, in Danville, Va., and thrown four thousand operatives out of work, is not thought likely to have much immediate market effect as the product consists largely of goods of wide sheeting and gingham construction that are abundant enough to meet all needs for some time to come. The situation has enlisted the sympathies of all southern manufacturers as it is believed to represent a struggle to prevent the spread of trades-unionism of the A. F. of L. type in the whole South. The extent of the backing given to the union leaders by political interests already has been measured, it is said, and from this time forward it is believed that the test of the strike will revolve around the ability of the unions to support the idle operatives until busi-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ness improves enough to make it worth while for mill owners to try to resume work."

That, I believe, is a true statement of conditions as they are, except that in the latter part of the statement they say the company does not want to produce. They have been telling us that, but ever since the first day of the strike they have been pleading with those people to come into the mills, going from house to house and urging them to return and they would give them more money than they had ever before received. The workers of Danville went into the strike with their eyes wide open. All the leaders have told the workers: "When you go on strike in Danville it will be a long strike." The people are ready for it, they are willing to suffer, all they want is to be sustained while they are making the fight. And when they are making the fight it is the fight of the organized labor movement, it is a fight against the yellow dog contract and the company union. Here is a chance to fight for those things. We are not asking for an excessive rate of wages. This company reduced wages, even after the conference we heard about when President Hoover was on this platform. The issue, as far as wages are concerned, is not what we are fighting for, what we are fighting for down there is the right to have our union, and the people of Danville will fight until that right is given them, and I am sure the American Federation as a whole and the international unions will come with us now and establish once and for all the right of the workers to have their union.

President Green: Our distinguished guest has arrived and we will now pause in our deliberations and our regular work to listen to the address of Senator Wagner. I ask that all delegates and visitors will please be seated immediately. In presenting Senator Wagner to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention I wish to just briefly refer to the brilliant public record of this distinguished man. He served in the most wonderful way in the legislature of the State of New York; he cooperated with our great, illustrious leader, the late Samuel Gompers, in carrying into legislative execution a number of measures in which labor was tremendously interested. As leader of the majority party having control of the legislative program he rendered most valuable and effective service.

I recall a conversation I had with Mr. Gompers about Senator Wagner. In that conversation he told me that he knew of no man in public life who was more sincere and sympathetic in his friendship for the American Federation of Labor and in his devotion to the principles for which he stands than the speaker of this morning, Senator Wagner. Mr. Gompers loved this man and respected

him as a true and devoted friend. Later on he served as a member of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. His decisions have been outstanding and have been recognized as authoritative in jurisprudence and in judicial practice. He was elected to the Senate of the United States, and his record there has been illustrious indeed. He is recognized in the Senate as an authority. His voice has been raised in the defense of legislation supported and approved by the American Federation of Labor.

During the debate upon the confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker to be a member of the Supreme Court of the United States, Senator Wagner delivered one of the most convincing, effective, logical and eloquent addresses delivered in that entire proceeding. It was so wonderful that the American Federation of Labor printed it in pamphlet form, along with the addresses of other distinguished senators, and we regard it as a sort of textbook upon the question of injunction procedure and the iniquities of the yellow dog contract.

There is one other service he rendered to the American Federation of Labor to which I must refer. He was selected as the counsel in the proceedings instituted against the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York. That involved injunction proceedings and the individual contract as well. He made such a logical and convincing argument to the court that the injunction was dissolved and the court rendered one of the finest decisions in that case that has ever been rendered by any court in the United States. Isn't that of itself a wonderful record? Isn't it brilliant, outstanding? Its brilliancy is enhanced when I refer to the fact that Senator Wagner was born a poor boy. His early life was cast, with other poor boys, along most humble lines. He suffered the pangs of poverty. While he has become an authority, a great jurist, a United States Senator, an educated man, one whose judgment is respected and whose influence is mighty in the councils of the nation, the greatest characteristic I think he possesses is that he has a heart and is a great humanitarian.

We appreciate the service Senator Wagner has rendered, we appreciate the fight he made for us against the confirmation of Judge Parker. We are indebted to him for the fine

judicial decisions rendered as a member of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. We are glad to have him here this morning, and we are happy to receive his message. I present to you a great Senator from the State of New York, Hon. Robert F. Wagner.

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

(United States Senator from the State of
New York)

President Green, Ladies and Gentlemen: After such an introduction it is somewhat difficult to speak. All I can say to your distinguished President and to you is that from the bottom of my heart I thank you for this overwhelming and perhaps undeserved reception.

Nowhere else on this continent is there an assembly as deeply concerned with the practical realities of modern living as the one in which I have now both the honor and the pleasure to participate.

Fanciful economics, fantastic theories become glaringly irrelevant and incongruous in this setting of men accustomed to handle without gloves the rough hewn blocks of modern existence. Particularly now in the sober atmosphere of the current depression the actualities of the wage earners' problem emerge more clearly than ever.

At all times the worker is subjected to the double-barreled insecurity arising out of the instability of business in general and possible arbitrary conduct of his employer in particular. He is the first to feel the shock of depression. A good portion of that shock he is expected to absorb. Individually he could never bargain for a more reasonable division of the burden of this risk nor could he effectively negotiate for a greater share of the benefits of profitable production as they occurred. The whole history of the labor movement is studded with its efforts to change that condition and to obtain for the wage earner greater security through the stabilization of his job and the organization and improvement of his relationship to his employer.

How far have we gone in accomplishing these ends? The answer to this question is bound up with the story of unemployment on one side and the labor injunction on the other, and it is to those subjects, therefore, that I take the liberty of calling your attention today.

Twenty-five hundred years ago the Prophet Jeremiah found fault with the statesmen of his day who had a ready remedy for every public ailment in the denial of its existence, who cried persistently, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace." Human nature has continued apparently unchanged in these two and a half thousand years. The statesmen of our day are addicted to the identical habit of reporting, "Conditions are fundamentally sound." The prevention of unemployment has suffered much from this attitude of mind. It is impossible to talk of prevention without calling attention to the condition to be prevented but to speak of business depression, to admit of its existence or to warn of an

impending decline involves exposure to the charge that one enjoys talking of calamity.

I am not blind to the value of optimism and buoyancy of spirits and I derive no pleasure in painting a dark picture of economic conditions.

However, if the occurrence of unemployment is ever to be prevented then at least those in position of authority and responsibility must be willing to face the true facts. Furthermore I have faith in the capacity of our people to master their difficulty, to solve their problems, to overcome the obstacles in the way of a fuller and better life and I therefore believe that if our attention could only be kept focused long enough upon the problem, the inventive genius of our people would supply the solution. Such has not been our practice in the past. After a depression we were wont to forget the privations that we had suffered. When the pendulum swung towards prosperity few were willing to risk the unpopularity of warning that we must prepare for its return. Fewer still were willing to listen to such unpleasant forebodings. And so interest in the subject has waxed during adversity and waned with the recovery. Such spasmodic attention has proved insufficient for this all embracing problem. We must deal with it day in and day out whether business be on the rise or decline, if we would achieve any measure of control over the tides of industrial activity.

An old fashioned concept long discredited has made its reappearance in the business bulletins of the past few months, a concept that had in the cheerful days before the depression been dismissed from our thinking. I refer to the revival of the belief that there is a certain inevitability about unemployment; that indeed it is a desecration of the laws of nature to attempt to prevent it. This is a weak and submissive doctrine unworthy of a courageous people. It is a false and pernicious doctrine which would condemn a large proportion of our people to aimless and unintelligible alternation of work and idleness. It cannot be and the evidence is against such a proposition that the availability of work will forever defy organization. After all it is primarily intelligent organization which can convert demoralizing unemployment and idleness into worthwhile, character-building leisure.

The present depression has provided the stage for the reappearance of the old and well known characters. There is the economist who explains the decline by the scarcity of gold; the business booster who charges it to our depressed psychology; the international statesman who blames it on the Russians and the moralist who piously comforts himself with the thought that adversity is good for character. Such idle theorizing accomplishes nothing.

No one who has actually seen the blighting effects of protracted unemployment on character would give it this smug benediction. Undernourished children, overworked mothers, rebellious and tired men do not constitute a society capable of developing nobility of character and spiritual happiness.

It took us a long time to get rid of the notion that unemployment was largely a matter of the personal fault of the working man. It took the workman an equally long time to

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

realize that business depression was not the result of the personal fault of his employer. For many years now we have regarded unemployment as a grave national problem beyond the power of any single individual or any single industry to cope with alone. Beyond the point of this realization we have scarcely moved. True enough the small social workers' meetings where these matters were once debated have grown in size and risen in dignity into Presidential conferences. Practically, however, we are still in the academic and laboratory stage. A few private attempts at stabilization have been undertaken with marked success. Here and there we come across a single trade that has endeavored either to regularize its activities or at least to minimize the ravages of its instability. These are exceedingly worthwhile ventures but they affect only a minute fraction of our working population. From the point of view of the wage earners generally, very little progress, if any, has been made in assuring them greater certainty in the continuity of work. In fact I should not be surprised if careful research were to find that the threat of unemployment is nowadays a more real cause of fear and apprehension than ever before. The rapid pace of modern industry with its relatively greater mobility, its more frequent reorganization of method, its readier adoption of technological improvements, its greater sensitiveness to international conditions—all of these factors multiply the risk of the loss of work.

Furthermore as a result of other factors a greater proportion of our people are today counted as employees than ever before. The growing size of the industrial unit, the numerous mergers, the drift of population from the farms to the cities have made us a people of wage earners. The problem of the uncertainty of wages thus enters into the family budget-making of the great bulk of our people.

The specialists who have applied themselves in this social malady have confessedly not yet succeeded in writing a complete prescription. They have not been able to foretell the long series of actions to be taken and acts to be avoided to bring about that condition of equilibrium rather than stagnation which would mean steady progress and prosperity. But our real quarrel is not with the economists. They have at least pointed out the way. They have suggested the preliminary steps and now they are compelled to sit idly by waiting for the practical men to put their several preliminary suggestions into operation. They have been waiting in vain. For years they have pleaded with us for better information. We have just about begun to make it available. We have known for a long time that private industry could contribute to the stabilization of the seasonal and technological aspects of unemployment if it would assume more seriously its full responsibility to provide regular employment. The roll of honor of the business leaders who have responded to that call to duty is still amazingly brief. We have long known that the municipalities, the states and federal government could materially aid in the prevention and alleviation of cyclical depression by wisely timing the introduction of large projects into the market so as to provide

a flow of wages when other sources were dry. But we stubbornly refuse to put any such plan into systematic and efficient operation.

Our public men have with much self-satisfaction repeated their own praises for having fended off the dole from the American people. Have we in fact kept the dole out of America? Is not the dole today in use in every industrial community in the country? What else can you call the disbursements for unemployment relief by every charitable organization, and by many municipalities? If the dole system is as wicked as our leading citizens say, and I believe it is, then they ought to find intolerable the present system into which we have blundered.

Where is the workman who has not run the gauntlet of loss of work because of seasonal slack of periodic depression, of foreign competition, of change in fashion, of machine substitution? Having experienced those how the unemployed worker must ironically smile when he reads the well-meaning advice extended to him that if only he would resume his normal purchases prosperity would resume its interrupted course. I wonder what his emotion is when he reads the official assurance that our fundamental national assets are undiminished. He knows that they are undiminished. He knows that he is ready to contribute his efforts, his education, his intelligence, his spiritual strength, to multiply them. He knows only too well that he lives in a land of plenty which he had in the past shared in the making. These facts only aggravate the rancor in his heart that he must nevertheless go without work and without wages.

This paradox has now become so old that its repetition has begun to amuse. But those who are affected by it are not amused. To them it is a riddle which they expect us to solve. They are beginning to wonder where is the wizardry of the great industrial geniuses whom they had been taught to worship; where the organizing capacity of those great captains of enterprise?

One thing is certain, the American people will not submissively accept these recurrent and lengthening periods of joblessness. They have learned that they cannot live by optimism alone. They accept as true the Presidential declaration that the economic fundamentals of the nation are unimpaired, but that only serves to emphasize the mystery of their own misfortune. If the economic foundations of the country are so broad and so well entrenched they wonder why there is so much instability and disorder in the superstructure.

Here then is a large area of important action for organized labor. Surely you know that no standard erected through the struggle of organized labor is safe in the face of continued competition by men who because of long unemployment will work for any price. That measures but in part the obligation of the labor movement to resist the encroachments of unemployment. Merely maintaining the old standards is not sufficient. There is opportunity for a definite contribution to the reduction of joblessness by renewing the former campaign for shorter hours and for better compensation, which in turn means freedom from labor for the wage earners' wife and prolonged education for his children.

Finally, it seems to me that one of the rea-

sions that the problem has gone so long unsolved is that men in public life and positions of authority have been unwilling to take the risks of preventive action. They have preferred to accept the certain defeats of inaction.

President Green, whose zeal, devotion and cooperation during the last session of Congress in the effort to secure indispensable legislation for the prevention of unemployment, I shall never forget, knows that condition only too well. The responsibility which that imposes upon the American Federation of Labor requires no elaboration.

The discharge of the responsibilities I have enumerated presupposes the effective organization of labor. The solitary workman is entirely helpless and impotent when standards are washed down by a flood of unemployment. The unorganized worker is powerless to insist upon a greater share of the fruits of his enlarged productivity. Without the benefits of union the worker's voice is too small to bring to public office whether executive, legislative or judicial, men with understanding of his problem and sympathy for his cause.

The human needs out of which labor organizations grow are so vital that their formation and development cannot be permanently frustrated. They can be hampered; they can be harassed; they cannot be uprooted.

Our laws seem to give expression to that very fact. We have made unions legal and at the same time we have devised the labor injunction, an instrument the sole utility of which is to harass the union, to hamper its work, to make organization difficult and expensive and as far as possible to render inoperative the very functions the trade organization was designed to exercise.

For thirty years we have agitated against the labor injunction. From every labor platform has resounded the denunciation of government by injunction. Bills in the federal and state legislatures have been passed with loud acclaim greeting the prophecy of their advocates that all the abuses of the injunction were thereby remedied. We thought we had changed the law. We believed we had modified the procedure so as to conform a little more closely to our notions of justice and fair play. And now after three decades of excitement the distance we have travelled is too short to be measured. Throughout the United States there are today numerous mandated territories where to all intents and purposes the constitution has been suspended. Local laws superseded and the only governing code is the injunctive edict of a federal or a state court. Three decades of legislation secured through the relentless efforts of organized labor have culminated in such unhappy decisions as the Bedford Stone Cutters injunction and the Red Jacket Case.

There is justifiable irony in the language of Mr. Justice Brandeis in his dissenting opinion in the Bedford Stone Cutters Case. He said,

"If, on the undisputed facts of this case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Law and the Clayton Act an instrument for imposing restraint upon labor which reminds of involuntary servitude. The Sherman Law was held to permit capitalists to combine in a single corporation fifty percent of

the Steel Industry of the United States dominating the trade through its vast resources. The Sherman Law was held to permit capitalists to combine in another corporation practically the whole shoe machinery industry of the country. . . . It would, indeed, be strange if Congress had by the same Act willed to deny to members of a small craft of working men the right to corporate in simply refraining from work, when that course was the only means of self-protection against a combination of militant and powerful employers. I cannot believe that Congress did so."

But the majority of the Court held that Congress did.

I ought to make clear that my remarks are not addressed to injunctions against threatened violence. The injunctions that concern both you and me, which concern our government and all our citizens are those which impose restraints upon peaceful organization, upon peaceful persuasion, upon assembly and free discussion, upon legal and financial assistance to strikers and restraints which specifically enforce the anti-union promise.

That such injunctions are issued without adequate notice, without adequate proof of the facts and are punished summarily without trial by jury only aggravates the wrong that is inherent in the restraints themselves.

Now we have a more serious evil to contend with. Out of a combination of the abused labor injunction and a mechanical conception of the law of contracts the so-called "yellow dog" promise has been contrived. Without the injunction the anti-union promise would be a fang without venom. No workman has ever been sued in a court of law for violating such a promise. But in a court of equity, through the injunction, such promises are given the most extraordinary protection available in American jurisprudence.

I need not argue upon this platform that the anti-union promise defies every consideration of sound public policy: that it violates every conception of fair play. During the debate on this question in the United States Senate no one stooped so low as to defend this unconscionable instrument. But in spite of this apparent unanimity we have not yet succeeded in accomplishing the outlawry of the anti-union promise. Here, then, is another very important area calling for unremitting effort by organized labor.

To me it is as clear as crystal that the elimination of the injunction evil is a task which ought not to be left to the unaided efforts of labor. Industry ought to join in the undertaking for it is equally desirable for both labor and industry to remove this hindrance to their intelligent cooperation. Certainly no permanent policy can be erected on so shifting a ground as the labor injunction. Cooperation is conditioned upon mutual understanding and trust. The injunction is destructive of both.

To my mind it is only through such cooperation that the exacting demands of future industry can be fulfilled.

It is not alone employers and employees who are concerned in this controversy. Fundamental principles of government are involved.

Cherished liberties are at stake. In their preservation all of our people have an interest.

Why must freedom of speech and association be so readily denied under the stress of industrial dispute? Is our government so weak, the influence of our law so slight that in industrial strife protection cannot be afforded to all concerned without abrogating our sacred liberties? Why must a new code of restrictions be especially devised for every labor controversy?

There are no answers to these questions. There can be no justification for the intrusion of the government into a labor conflict to tie the hands of one of the parties. Why has this evil continued so long? I am convinced it is not the absence of remedy but the absence of will that is delaying the cure of the injunction evil. It is a man-made obstacle to the working man's pursuit of his justified aims. Like unemployment it interferes with the introduction of a greater measure of security and self-respect into the life of the wage earner. They are both blots upon our industrial order. The immediate need is of men in public life who are willing to use the existing tools to eradicate them.

The more difficult problem of the two is undoubtedly unemployment. To enlist in the ranks of those who battle against it is more than a policy of sound self-interest, more than a civic obligation. It is a patriotic duty. Yours is the special function to lead the march. No conquest of war can possibly compare in the glory which a thankful people will heap upon the victors in the struggle against involuntary idleness.

President Green: I just wish to briefly express to Senator Wagner the appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for his visit and for his most scholarly and convincing address. You can understand perfectly well that we can rely upon the Senator during the next session of Congress and during his entire term of office to champion our injunction relief measures, our unemployment bill, which he introduced and which he approved, and to support legislation designed to deal with this very vexing problem of unemployment. It is indeed gratifying to know that we have such friends, such able champions. There are a number of such men in the United States Senate. They are our friends and their powerful influence will be exercised in behalf of the social justice legislation we are seeking. Some of those who refused to support our legislation, to conform to our requests at the last session of Congress will not be at the next session of Congress, but we are glad indeed to support such men as Senator Wagner, to have them visit with us, to count them as our friends and to rely upon

them as our champions. We thank you for your visit and for your address, Senator Wagner.

Delegate Moreschi, President of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' organization, extended an invitation to the delegates and visitors to take part in ceremonies in connection with the unveiling of a memorial monument erected in memory of the late Dominick D'Alessandro, former President of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, in the City of Quincy. He also requested those who wished to do so to remain after the unveiling ceremonies to take part in an entertainment provided by the Central Labor Body of Quincy.

Delegate Donnelly, Secretary of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, announced a meeting of the various Presidents of State Federations present, and after extending the invitation said:

During past conventions the Presidents of State Federations of Labor have been holding conferences during the convention, which conferences have proved very helpful to the various organizations whose officers participated, because they enabled the officers and delegates to work together in the tasks that are from year to year assigned them by the American Federation of Labor and that come to their hands from the various international organizations. It has been arranged to hold a meeting tomorrow morning in this hotel.

President Green: The American Legion in session yesterday elected a new Commander for the ensuing year. I understand they elected Mr. Ralph T. O'Neil of Topeka, Kansas. The other day when I addressed the convention of the American Legion I extended an invitation to the newly elected Commander, whoever he might be, to visit us and to bring to us a word of greeting. I am advised that the newly elected Commander can appear this afternoon. I have therefore arranged for Commander O'Neil to address our convention at three o'clock. I will appoint as a committee to receive him and escort him to the hall, Major George L. Berry, Holt Ross, Harvey C. Fremming, Edward Canavan, and George Harrison.

At 12.30 o'clock a recess was taken to 2.30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees

Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Schulte, Kaufman, Schlesinger, Marshall (H.S.), Gorman, Kelly (M.J.), Lewis (J.L.), Hannah, Sullivan (H.W.), Evans, Stierle, Gramling, Rosqvist, Lewis (J.C.), Graham, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson, Burns, Haney, Ryan (J.), Lang, Koster, Campbell (G.C.), Laude, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Tucker, Becker, Katz, Souza, Agustino, Summer (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Nealey, Shave, Finan, Kelly (W.), Scully (J.J.), Bower, Hartnett, Walls, Smethurst, Donnelly (S.J.), Fanning, Dorsey Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Callahan, Jones, McGeary, Banks, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Rogers, Carey, Walsh, Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Roberts, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Mitchell (T.), Miller, Vaccarelli.

CHANGE IN CONVENTION HALL

Secretary Morrison: I desire to advise the delegates again, as I did previously in a letter, that we will meet on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of next week in the ballroom of the Bradford Hotel.

Report of Committee on Organization

President Green: When we interrupted the report of the Committee on Organization just a while before the lunch hour we were considering Resolution No. 65, dealing with the southern organizing campaign, the strike at Danville, Virginia, and the proposal that an appeal be issued for financial help. The matter had been discussed by several delegates. The Chair now recognizes Delegate Ross, of the National Federation of Federal Employees and Vice-President of the Virginia State Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE JOHN W. ROSS

(National Federation of Federal Employees)

Mr. Chairman, Officers and Delegates of the Federation—In coming from Virginia I feel that I would be derelict in my duty if I did not say a few words on the strike at Danville, Virginia. The officers of the United Textile Workers did everything within their power to prevent this strike, to hold it off. The people at this plant were laid off from time to time on account of their holding membership in this union. I know of about 250 that have been laid off on account of joining the Textile Workers' Union.

Everything was done to prevent it. Those people wanted to go out. They were cautioned not to go, to give the company every opportunity to reconcile the differences.

We in Virginia feel that it is not merely a strike of the textile workers, we feel that the labor movement in Virginia, and in fact in the entire South is on trial, and it comes right back to the labor movement of the whole country, because whatever happens in Danville, either the success or failure of that strike, is going to strike directly upon the campaign of organizing the South. If the strike succeeds we feel it is going to be easier to organize other localities throughout the South.

In our organizing campaign in Petersburg, Virginia, we found there a trunk and bag factory hiring several thousand employees. The wages of those people were from 18 to 30 cents per hour and the hours from 10 to 12 per day. We have been to see those people and have tried to get them to organize. They wanted to organize but they were afraid. They absolutely would not join any movement for fear of losing their positions. Can you imagine the effect upon these people if the strike in Danville is a failure? That plant at Petersburg will never be organized if the Danville strike is a failure. If it is a success we may rest assured that these people in Petersburg will know that they can do likewise.

What is true there is true in a large number of other factories throughout Virginia, a large number of rayon factories. The people that have been organized in Danville have been urged to become qualified voters. They have done so and in the last primary we see the first results. Mr. Birch, who has been in the state legislature and who has been a friend of labor, has received the nomination to the United States Congress, and nomination is practically equivalent to election. And when he goes there we will have a man who is an honest to goodness labor advocate.

I am not going to dwell long on this subject. As I said, coming from Virginia I felt that I wanted to touch upon it. It has been eloquently described by the three former speakers, but I want to close by saying that I desire to see something more than the passing of this resolution. I want to see the resolution passed and furthermore I want to see financial assistance given to those people in order that they may win a decisive victory. If we help them they can do it. If we don't they cannot last, but we are going to help them. The Virginia Federation of Labor is back of them and we are soliciting and urging financial assistance particularly, as well as the moral assistance from bodies all over the country. I appeal to every delegate in this hall to help, to go back home and urge financial assistance—to use the old war phrase, "Give until it hurts."

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

To Encourage the Equalization of Labor Standards Throughout New England

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates John J. Egan of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor and John L. Barry of the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The normal and usual results of widely different standards of conditions of labor are the intensification of competition and general degeneration of all standards, and

WHEREAS, The artificial boundaries of state lines are being used in New England to perpetuate the present chaotic industrial conditions, and

WHEREAS, It is the historic mission of organized labor to wherever possible equalize labor standards on a humane basis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Boston, Mass., does affirm and endorse the proposition that conditions throughout New England indicate that a drive for equalization of labor conditions, including working hours, is eminently desirable and necessary and that the various State Federations of Labor of this district should be encouraged to undertake by joint action to effect this desirable object; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an undertaking of this kind deserves and should receive the sympathetic and friendly cooperation of the various International Unions operating in that field.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

DELEGATE JOHN J. EGAN
(Connecticut State Federation of Labor)

It is not necessary for me to take up the time of this convention to deliberate upon the necessity of cooperation that this resolution calls for, but I feel that it is my duty, coming from the State of Connecticut, to call your attention to the fact that it is not only necessary to conduct a campaign in the South to reduce the hours of labor for women in industry, but it is also necessary for us to continue to carry on that campaign here in the New England states. We are very much interested in the reduction of hours for women in industry as well as a reduction of hours for men who have to toil for a livelihood. Before the year is completed we will be in position to say in the State of Connecticut that more than 50 per cent of the men in the building industry will be enjoying the five-day week. But we cannot say that the women in industry are enjoying even the nine-hour day, as we have upon our statute books in Connecticut still the ten-hour day and 55-hour week. We can't make much progress in securing reduction of those hours through legislative enactment unless we have the cooperation of the other states in New England, and the intention of

this resolution is to bring unified action on the part of state branches, and not only on the part of state branches in New England, but on the part of the international unions, that we may have uniform legislation for women in industry.

I trust this convention, the delegates and international officers of our various unions will give every consideration to carrying out the intent of this resolution, not only by the action of this convention, but that when the convention adjourns we will have the whole-hearted support of the various international unions in carrying out its purpose.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

To Assist Sleeping Car Porters Unions

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Sleeping Car Porters' unions have waged a magnificent and splendid fight over a period of five years for the right to organize, a living wage and better working conditions, having presented their case to the U. S. Mediation Board in 1928 for adjustment to no avail, since the Pullman Company in violation of the spirit and letter of the Railway Labor Act, flatly refused to meet representatives of the unions, although Hon. Edwin P. Morrow, Mediator, urged it to arbitrate the dispute with the unions that had offered valid evidence to the Mediation Board, entitling them to represent the porters and maids;

WHEREAS, Pullman porters receive a meager wage of only \$77.50 a month for which they are required to work nearly 400 hours a month at a time when the labor movement is fighting for the five-day week;

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company maintains a company union known as the Employee Representation Plan which denies the porters the right of self-organization and the designation of representatives of their own choosing without intimidation or coercion;

WHEREAS, The Sleeping Car Porters' Unions have sought to enlighten and mobilize public sentiment in support of their cause through systematic education in literature and public mass meetings such as President William Green addressed for them in Chicago and New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled and the Executive Council, through President William Green, employ their moral and financial forces to assist the Porters' unions to bring their struggle to a successful consummation in securing recognition from the Pullman Company and a living wage and hours of work commensurate with health, comfort and decency, thereby relieving them of the necessity of depending upon the uncertainty of tips for a living.

Your Committee recommends reference of this Resolution to the Executive Council to

carry it into effect as the funds of the Federation warrant.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

DELEGATE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
(Sleeping Car Porters' Union, Chicago)

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I want to say a few words about the struggle of the Pullman porters. This struggle has been going on for five years. Their organization began in 1925. The purpose of their union is to secure for the porters a living wage.

At the present time they receive only \$77.50 a month. Of course they receive tips, but the tips are irregular, uncertain and inadequate. Our organization is opposed to the tipping system on the grounds that it is archaic and unsound as a method of rewarding labor. We maintain that when a worker gives a fair day's work he is entitled to a fair day's pay. Consequently our organization has taken the position that it much prefers to get \$150.00 in wages than to get \$150.00 in tips. We don't believe that it is fair to a worker to have to work all day and then pass the hat around for charity in order to live.

We are also concerned about the matter of hours of work. Pullman porters labor under a system of 400 hours a month. We are fighting for the eight hour day, for the 240 basic hours per work month. It is well known that the Pullman porters seldom get the opportunity to sleep. They are supposed to have three hours of sleep every night when they are on the train, but they are also supposed to answer the bell whenever that bell rings. Consequently, Pullman porters are the only workers in America who are supposed to be asleep and awake at the same time.

Our organization stands for regular sleeping periods in the interest of greater efficiency, in the interest of the health of the porters.

We have also found that the wages of the Pullman porters, \$77.50 per month, are not received by every porter because there are thousands of extra porters in the Pullman service. These men do not make any wages unless they make trips, and they have a number of men who make sometimes only one trip a month. These extra porters, however, cannot seek any other jobs because they must report for duty, and some of these men report for service at eight o'clock in the morning and remain on the bench until ten o'clock at night, and they are required to return home without having had anything to do. They do this day in and day out with nothing going into their pockets. We maintain that so long as porters are on the payroll of the Pullman Company they should be paid a regular, definite wage.

We are also fighting to eliminate the evil of doubling. By doubling I mean, for instance, a porter who leaves New York and goes to Chicago, a trip involving twenty to twenty-four hours. That porter may double right back to New York without the opportunity of any rest or of cleansing his per-

son, and he receives less for doubling than he does in regular service.

We are also concerned about the matter of reorganizing the plan of paying the Pullman porters. For instance, if a porter goes to work at one o'clock today his time does not begin until twelve o'clock tonight. It is known as P. M. time. That porter may be sent to Philadelphia on a return trip and he gets absolutely nothing for that trip. So you see that is one of the evils under which the Pullman porters are laboring.

We went before the Mediation Board in 1928. We wanted primarily to establish the right of the organization to represent the porters, but the management of the Pullman Company claimed that they already had a contract with the porters, known as the employee representation plan. We urged the Mediation Board to examine the claim of the Pullman Company. Edwin T. Morrow, the mediator at that time, urged and pleaded with the Pullman Company to arbitrate the case, but the Pullman representatives said, "No, we already have a contract with our porters under the employee representation plan." The employee representation plan is the company union. Our big job is to overcome and break down the company union under which the Pullman porters are working.

This company union is composed of three series of committees—a local grievance committee, a zone general committee and an industrial relations board. It may be interesting for you to know that on these committees sit the superintendents. These superintendents have the right to hire and fire, and it is one of the methods by which the Pullman Company uses intimidation upon the porters. We find that whenever a porter has a grievance and he goes to these local committees and zone general committees and industrial relations board, that he may be fired. After he is fired he then has the right to ask the superintendent for a blank upon which to write his grievance. Then he goes to the local grievance committee, and on that local committee sits the very superintendent who fired him and from whom he receives the grievance blank. That superintendent passes on the grievance of that Pullman porter, and it is very unlikely that the superintendent would reverse his own decision. In other words, the superintendent serves as the prosecutor, the jury and the judge of the Pullman porter.

We have been waging a campaign of education. President Green, the distinguished President of this organization, has addressed several meetings of our union in New York and Chicago. He gave a very forceful, convincing and logical dissertation on our work in the interests of getting a successful consummation of our case. Those addresses of President Green were disseminated throughout the Negro press and also in the daily papers. We have been able to increase our forces and we are constantly making headway.

The Pullman Company, in order to intimidate the porters, has brought in some Filipinos to take the jobs of some of the porters on the club cars. This is in utter disregard of the right of seniority. We are not opposed to Filipinos, because Negroes would be the last people in the world to manifest any race prejudice against anybody, but we are opposed to people being brought in and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

permitted to take our jobs in disregard of the principle of seniority. We would oppose other Negroes being brought in to take the jobs of porters who have been working anywhere from ten to thirty years, helping to build up the Pullman Company, and thereafter thrown out merely to gratify the desire to intimidate and prevent them from joining a union.

We are fighting against that. We have had our troubles with the Communists, but our organization has routed them. They are no longer a menace to our movement, because it was definitely pointed out and shown that they would have absolutely no place in our organization.

Our movement has won for the members an increase of ten dollars in the last five years. That is not much but it is something, and as a result of the indirect pressure we were able to exact from the Pullman Company.

Our movement stands for higher efficiency on the part of the porters. We do not advocate a policy of breaking down discipline, but we are concerned about scientific safety and service efficiency. We believe, too, that the porter knows more about the Pullman car than anybody else, because he is always on it, and that porter has the intelligence, he can develop a sense of responsibility and the sense of initiative in order to raise the higher standards of service efficiency. Our organization stands for these principles. Any passenger who places his boy or girl in the care of a Pullman porter may rest assured that the welfare of that boy or girl will be carefully safeguarded. He may know that they are safe in that porter's hands.

So that these are a faithful, responsible and reliable group of workers, some of the most reliable in all America. We are calling upon this convention to use its influence, through our great President, in helping to carry forward this organization. We hope the central councils in the various cities will help us in our organization work. Some of them have already helped us—Vice President James Wilson of Cincinnati has done and is about to do some work for our organization. We have also been helped in Louisville and a number of other places, and I am confident that with the militant spirit and determination on the part of the Pullman porters we are certain to win. We have had a hard struggle, a difficult struggle, but we knew it would be hard. We did not expect anything to come upon flowery beds of ease. We knew we would have to fight. We are willing to continue to fight, we are willing to sacrifice. May I say that the officers of our organization have been required to go without pay month in and month out, sometimes, but we knew that was a part of this great fight and we were willing to wage it and make the sacrifice.

In conclusion, I hope that when you go back to your homes you will speak to the Pullman porter and ask him whether he is a union man, and tell him that unless he can present a union card you will not give him a union tip. I assure you that will interest the porter.

I am very happy to have had the privilege of telling you something about the great struggle of these men. They are an inspiration to Negro workers everywhere. They are

not only an inspiration to the Negro workers, but they will be a credit to the American Federation of Labor. They are going to make a definite contribution to the art and the science and the general knowledge of labor, so that they may play a part in this great movement to promote the interests of all workers, regardless of race, creed, color or nationality.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

President Green: It becomes necessary now to interrupt the report of the committee while we proceed to carry out our special order of business. The position of Commander of the American Legion is a very honorable and important one. There is great rivalry among the Legionnaires in contesting for this great honor. He who is selected must be an outstanding member of the American Legion.

And so we have with us this afternoon a man who has just won the distinction of being selected by that great group of Legionnaires as the new National Commander. He comes to us very modestly bearing his crown, with the scalp of victory and success hanging to his belt. I know that we who know him are just as happy as the many friends of the Legion who voted for him in his selection as Commander. The new Commander comes from what, in days gone by, was termed the great West, but now, since we are living in an age where distance is reduced to a minimum, he lives as our next door neighbor in the state of Kansas. The laboring people in the state of Kansas know him, they admire him. He is regarded as broadminded, liberal citizen, a man with vision, one who lives not only in the present but in the future as well.

I am happy to observe the development of such a friendly and cooperative relationship as now exists between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. Our points of difference, if any, have almost reached the vanishing point. We are in accord upon so many matters of social importance, of community welfare and of civic good. There is no difference in the position of the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor upon the question of restrictive immigration, the promotion of child welfare, the development of a higher wage standard for the working people of our country, the enjoyment of leisure, the promotion of civic and community life, the perpetuation of our institutions, the development of a higher standard of citizenship. All of these things are important to all groups of people, and these

two great organizations exercising such a tremendous influence, representing such a great cross-section of American life and American public opinion, are in perfect accord. It seems to me that with that understanding we can hope that during the coming year and the coming years we will find ourselves standing together in defense of the common good, in the advancement of the common man, in the promotion of the highest and best interests of the masses of the people, the membership of the American Federation of Labor and the membership of the American Legion.

Now, my friends, with the representative of this great organization present, the new Commander, he who is just now entering upon his duties, we can congratulate ourselves upon the development and cultivation of such a friendly relationship. It was very nice of the Commander to come. He has been a very busy man. He has been engaged during the past two weeks day and night. He has been doing like our friend Randolph said, he has been asleep and awake at the same time. He comes to us with the spoils of victory. I present to you the new Commander of the American Legion, Ralph O'Neil, of Kansas.

MR. RALPH T. O'NEIL

(National Commander, American Legion)

Mr. President and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor: I come before you this afternoon full of apologies—apologetic only because I believe this is one of the great privileges of the office of National Commander, to appear before your great body. I was elected only a few hours ago and of course I have not had time to collect my thoughts and discuss with you the problems that are your problems and are our problems. I appreciate very much indeed the reference to the Pullman porters. I can appreciate what a Pullman porter has to do staying awake and going to sleep at the same time. As your distinguished President has said, that is what I have been doing all week.

Your President appeared before our organization in convention this week, and I cannot believe there has ever been an address that has been more responsive to the ideals and has touched the hearts and thoughts of the men of our organization more than the address of President Green.

No organization can endure unless that organization is organized and carries on for the benefit of humanity. Throughout these years you have proven that you will endure. Throughout our few years of existence I believe we have shown that we will endure. Our one aim, as your one aim, is service to our fellowmen.

It is a great privilege, as I said, to appear before you. It is a great honor, and although I have not had an opportunity to think of

some of the problems that I would like to discuss with you, I am particularly pleased that this is the first speech that I have made since I have been elected Commander of the American Legion.

Several years ago in Kansas when I happened to be Department Commander of that state we decided upon a policy of always holding the first day of our convention upon Labor Day. We did this for the purpose of getting as many men who belong to your organization as possible to come to our convention. It has been most successful and we do not hold an annual convention unless many of our representatives are there with us.

I have two great ambitions. One is to carry out some of the ideals that your organization stands for. Secondly, an ambition that more members who are connected with your American Federation of Labor will also carry the card of the American Legion. You have, as I understand, nearly 700,000 men who were in the service of their country, and it is my hope and my dream that as many of these men as possible will join the American Legion during the coming year.

Let me say again, it has been a privilege to be before you. I hope to meet many of you again during the coming year and in later years. I appreciate the thoughtfulness of your President in inviting me to appear before you at this convention, and I am sure that President Green and the other representatives will cooperate with us in carrying out our mutual aims and ideals.

I thank you.

President Green: I just want to simply say that the officers and delegates of this convention deeply appreciate the visit of Commander O'Neil. We feel honored in that he appeared before this convention and delivered his first address as the new Commander of the American Legion. We thank him for his visit and for his message.

We have with us just now upon the platform a very good friend of the American Federation of Labor, although not directly affiliated with us or identified with us except as a sympathetic friend and a cooperative outstanding American citizen. Dr. Charles S. Macfarlane has long been associated with the social service work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He came to some of our previous conventions and brought to us a message of inspiration and hope. He is reaching the point where he will soon retire as Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is eminently fitting and appropriate that he should come to this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing to us his message, just on the eve of his retirement from service. He is our friend, a

student, an outstanding American citizen, sympathetic to the utmost. He has a message for us that will be inspiring and interesting.

I present to you Rev. Charles S. Macfarlane, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLANE

(General Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America)

Mr. President and Members of the Convention: I was deeply gratified when Mr. Green sent me a message over the long distance telephone last evening inviting me to come here, for I recall that when I was elected General Secretary of the Federal Council nearly twenty years ago the first public duty that I performed was to attend, as a fraternal delegate, the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. And I was especially glad to attend a convention here in Boston where I was born sixty-five years ago in a tenement house in an alley on Old Fort Hill. My recollections of my boyhood are that it was regarded as excessive wealth if anybody lived on a street. Until I was seventeen years of age we always lived in a court. My career began here in Boston as a newsboy on its streets, then as a cash boy in a dry goods store on Temple Place at two dollars a week, following by working in a tailor shop and in a printing office sometimes until ten o'clock at night, while my father, who was a sailor long before the days when Andrew Furuseth became so active, and afterwards a builder who built some of the buildings in New York City at a wage of twelve dollars a week, while my mother worked in an industrial establishment at five dollars per week.

And so it was very gratifying to me when later on I became pastor in the nearby suburb of Malden at a time when my interests had become rather philosophical and theological, especially in a message from the pulpit, to be waited upon one evening by a member of the congregation, a member of a labor union who asked me if I had given any great amount of thought to the interests and opportunities of organized labor. As a result of that conversation that evening with that printer, who afterwards died of tuberculosis, my whole course of life and its interests were changed.

I had the privilege and the honor of being the first clergyman here in Boston about thirty years ago to address a labor union. I well remember how I appeared upon the platform, and when they found it was a minister coming to address them a larger proportion of them indicated a very considerable amount of indifference. It was fortunate that they did, because I became very angry and decided before I got through I would make them turn around, and I did.

Following a little later, when I was called upon in Faneuil Hall by the Typographical Union to open the campaign for the eight-hour day, then they were kind enough to send for me in my pastorate down in Connecticut to come up when it was established and celebrate with them in that same place.

Among other reminiscences here in Boston is the occasion when, again in Faneuil Hall, the Cradle of Liberty, I had the privilege of speaking to all on the inside of the hall (and there were 25,000 outside of the hall) in protest against the sentences upon Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in the Buck Stove & Range Company case. I have been rather surprised and disappointed at one thing, however, in that particular reminiscence, for I am very sure that upon that occasion I settled incontrovertibly the whole question of the injunction, and yet somehow or other I find you let it come up again, as though I had not settled it.

My mind goes back to the splendid personalities of those days, to the Presbyterian elder, John B. Lennon, one of the members of our Social Service Commission; John Mitchell, whom I had the pleasure of placing for a little time on the faculty at Yale Divinity School, and on account of which I got into trouble for a little while; Dennis Hayes, Henry Sterling, my old friend Henry Abraham, and Samuel Gompers, whom I have always regarded as one of the great outstanding minds that America has produced. I remember in those infant days when I first began to attend these conventions I used to get puzzled about some things. I remember how puzzled I was when we had a photograph taken at Atlanta, when Andrew Furuseth turned his back to the photographer, for I had always felt that if any one in this body had a classic face it was Andrew Furuseth. I have come to wonder again and again how a man like President Green can combine in himself the sweetness and the loveliness that he does with the power and the courage of conviction to come back when necessary. It has been a marvel to me how so young a man as Mr. Matthew Woll can become an absolute, incontrovertible expert on so many subjects, sometimes three or four of them within one week. And I ought to add to that that I have a very strong admiration for his ability. It has bothered me a good deal to know how this thing ever got mixed up with the pink teas and the parlor socials of the National Civic Federation. I never got that quite straightened out, and I bother my head as to why Frank Morrison always wears a white shirt when he is doing his work and wears a part of a dress suit during the middle of the day. But after all, brothers, these are not really serious problems, and I still have some time in what leisure I may have to continue my study of them.

Let me say, finally, that during these twenty years I have had some experience and have come to some very profound convictions. I am quite convinced that through the studies of the Federal Council and the associated Catholic and Jewish bodies the clergy of this country are infinitely better informed and consequently more deeply sympathetic with organized labor than they were twenty years ago. It has been very gratifying to know the change on the part of some of the employers of labor during these years.

I remember about twenty years ago in South Norwalk, Connecticut, where I had a man who was a large employer of labor and to whom I was an awful trial all his life and he was an equal trial in my life at the same time. I re-

member some of these sessions I used to have with him, and only two weeks ago that man sent for me on his dying bed and told me he had come to the conclusion that I was right and he had been wrong, and asked me if I would come back when he died and conduct his funeral. I did that only a few days ago.

I am reminded of the occasion of that strike in South Norwalk, with which Frank Morrison was familiar, when the laboring men asked me to serve as the chairman of their arbitrators, and when I came to look at the list of those who had been appointed by the employers I found the chairman of the standing committee of my own church was the chairman of their committee. It raised quite a problem. So we solved it in a rather unusual way. He and I got together in my study the night before the arbitrators met and settled it between ourselves. To be sure, he always said that some of his associates declared that he sold them out, but I always thought it was just simply an indication of what you can sometimes do when two friendly spirits get together on the problem.

They used to say to me very often at the beginning, "You ought not take sides; there are two elements of humanity here and you must not take sides between them." But that is pretty much all gone and I think the clergy of this country see that you can and you must take sides—not on every individual issue, but that you can and must take sides when one side is striking out for the freedom of mankind and has for certain of its enemies those who would bring a period of reaction and regression.

But there is one very significant thing. We are agitated a good deal about what we call the radicals and the Reds and those destructive forces in our midst. We have all kinds of agencies trying to deal with them. We have Congressman Fish, and he thinks he is going to solve the whole problem by congressional investigation. We have our Security Leagues that think they are going to do it by their propaganda. We have the Daughters of the American Revolution, who think they are going to do it by suppression of free speech and by expelling my wife because she objected to that suppression of free speech. We have the chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations thinking they are going to solve it by their resolutions. Even the churches somehow or other think they can do it simply by getting out on the question of religious persecution.

But isn't it clear today to any thinking man that the one bulwark, the one impregnable barrier against these unwholesome, destructive forces to our institutions is organized labor and the American Federation of Labor, with its progressive, evolutionary methods? And isn't it becoming clear, and ought not it become clear, if it is not, to the great employers of industry in this country that the one great force that can stand between them and these unwholesome, destructive forces and save them and their industrial institutions is that same organized labor, represented by this American Federation? It has always been my feeling that organized labor in this particular realm of our problems is doing infinitely more for the

management of industry even than it is for itself.

But I did not mean to make a speech and I must not continue longer, except to say that it is deeply gratifying to me as I relinquish, not all, but some of my administrative duties, to come here again after twenty years and have this privilege of looking into your faces and exercising your patience as I have gone through these personal reminiscences.

God bless you.

President Green: I am sure you will agree, officers and delegates, that what I told you in my introductory remarks proves to be true. I know that you wish from the bottom of your hearts that we had more time to hear from Dr. Macfarlane. His address, his message has been most interesting and helpful. We are gratified because he is here. We thank him for his message and for his visit.

We have another very interested, sympathetic representative of the church on the platform, one who is actively engaged in social service work. I know you will be glad to hear from him for he has a message that will be most interesting indeed. His expressions and statements have always squared with the lofty aims and purposes of our great humanitarian movement. A man could not be actively engaged in social service work without finding himself in accord with labor upon social service problems.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, National Secretary of the Department of Social Service of the Episcopal Church.

REV. CHARLES N. LATHROP, D.D.

(National Secretary of the Department of Social Service of the Episcopal Church)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I appreciate more than I can say the reception I have received from you and the opportunity I have to speak, because I recognize in speaking to this organization I am speaking to the most powerful organization that labor has, the greatest power for labor in our United States, and it is a pleasure for me and for my own church, the Episcopal Church, to make a statement in its authoritative organization, its General Convention, that I wish to bring to you. That General Convention said:

"The worker who invests his life and that of his family in industry must have, along with the capitalist who invests his money, some voice in the control of the industry which determines the conditions of his working and living. There must be established a sane and reasonable measure of democracy in industry. The worker of today is rightly seeking self-expression and self-determination in industry, as well as a livelihood from industry."

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

It recognizes the right of labor equally with capital to effective organization.

And it is a matter of satisfaction and pride to me to have here on the platform three of the representatives—and there are others among you of our Industrial Fellowship, a fellowship made up of members of the Episcopal Church who are functionally connected with labor. It is our idea that the only way in which you can interpret labor to the church or the church to labor is by doing it by the people who are doing the labor.

Therefore, it is a matter of pride and satisfaction to have our Fellowship increasing, and it is our expectation that at the next meeting of the General Convention our labor people are going to have their own meeting to tell our people about labor.

I know there is with you, as with me, an unforgettable realization of the situation that you and I in this country are facing today. I cannot forget it. I do not see how it is right for anybody in America today to feel that he has a happy country, to feel that he can be light-hearted and happy when there are literally thousands of our own people who have not the necessities of life.

The church has a primary interest. We pray in our pattern prayer, the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." And I suppose there are some people who say it who think that means their daily bread or their family's daily bread, but I would point out that it does not say that. It says, "our daily bread," and if you look at those first words of that prayer it begins with, "Our Father." Whose father? The Father of every member of the community in which we live, and whenever there is a single member of that community without the necessities for a decent living, without the very necessities of life, one cannot for one moment use that prayer and lose that fact from his mind.

I come to you for your leadership. I recognize in you the most powerful group for leadership that labor has in the United States, and as I read the history of the labor movement I recognize this fact continually—that nobody outside of labor ever lifted labor up very much. As I look back in the English history of the labor movement I see the laboring people left flat in the misery of human life. Nobody lifted them up until they raised their own right arm and lifted themselves out of the mire of misery into the lofty position that the English labor movement holds today.

And as I look over the history of the labor movement in the United States I see that the same fact holds true. Therefore, I come to the labor movement for leadership, a leadership that you alone can take, and I promise my complete loyalty to the leadership that you will present. I call on you to give us a program, a progressive program, a program that deals with fundamentals, because we demand this from your leadership, that there shall be established in this country, not a condition that is a disgrace to America, not a condition that reflects on the intelligence of our American people, but reflects upon the system under which you and I live, and that stinks in the nostrils of Almighty God Himself, when people are unjustly deprived of the necessities of life they ought to have—I call upon you for leadership that will establish a condition in the

labor world where every member, every laboring man, can be assured with reasonable confidence of security, where the whole danger of labor difficulties, of unemployment does not center only upon the laboring man himself, but where it is so distributed through society that he can be reasonably confident of security, maintaining for his family the necessities, yes, the decencies of human life. There is what I ask from the American Federation of Labor, and every man and woman of good will in the United States will back that program.

And next, for just one more moment—the churches of the United States have had their lives intensified, their existence made more powerful through their continual attention to missionary activities—missions, mission work, the giving of money to missionaries has done more for the church at home than any other force that we can think of. I have seen parishes that were self-centered, a sort of more or less holy group satisfied with their own inner conditions, ready to live selfishly as a unit in themselves, and I have watched those parishes die as their members moved away or passed away. I have watched them shrink from weakness until they disappeared from the community.

Now I believe the same thing holds true of the labor movement, and it delights my heart to have a realization that you are going down into the South, the South where I know there is such a necessity for the only hope that I can see for the working people down there to get the simple decencies of life. We can't do it, the churches can't do it. They will back you, we will give you our loyal assistishes that were self-centered, a sort of more to pour some money in down there. I know a little bit about Danville and I want to see the men and women there helped to some reasonable portion of justice in their lives.

And, Mr. Green, how can I join a labor union? I suppose if I could see on the horizon a labor union for priests, ministers and rabbis, provided it was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I would join, because I want to do this and I want to pay my assessments for the work you are going to do in the South. And I am going to work, if it does not require too much intelligence and craftsmanship, as an apprentice until I have a right to have a union card.

Now, gentlemen, just this final word. Give us a program. You are the people to give us a program dealing with the fundamentals, so that the final goal will be the elimination of what I consider an indecency of American life, until we can get security for a decent life for every man—and his family—who is a working man. I thank you.

President Green: We are delighted with this address delivered by Dr. Lathrop. Not only does it seem that his mind and his judgment are right, but his heart is with us, and that counts very heavily. It is most gratifying indeed to hear such distinguished representatives of the Protestant Church come here this afternoon on this occasion and speak to

us in such a convincing, whole hearted, sincere way.

Dr. Lathrop has presented here a rather serious proposal. He suggested that we find some way by which he can join the union.

A delegate suggested that Dr. Lathrop drive a truck. Dr. Lathrop replied that he could drive a horse but could not drive anything else.

I am going to give the problem very serious consideration, and if I find from an examination of our law that I can organize the ministers, I think I will grant a charter to them and I will name on the charter membership Rabbi Israel, Father Maguire, Dean Lathrop and Rev. Mr. Macfarlane. I think each of them would make a fine charter member of a new local union.

I want to express to them my deep appreciation of their visit and of their message. I interpret the presence of these men, along with the other distinguished representatives of the Jewish Church, the Catholic Church and outstanding public men, mayors of cities, the Governor of the State and others who have come here, as an indication that labor is winning its cause. It is winning its cause because we are mobilizing the great moral forces of the country in support of our principles and our purposes. I say to you men and women there is no power in America more potent, deciding and influential than public opinion, and if it can arouse these great forces in behalf of labor, of women, of children, of the finest possessions in America, if we can array them on our side, then those who are against us cannot withstand such a mighty force and we will have won our battle. And it is because of my consciousness of that fact that I am endeavoring on every occasion to carry the message of labor into every nook and corner of the United States of America.

I want you to know that you are among your friends. We appreciate your offer of support, Dr. Lathrop. We will welcome it on every occasion and you may rely upon us, so far as we are able to serve you and your work in connection with the Episcopal Church, in carrying it forward to complete success. We thank you.

Report of Committee on Organization

Secretary McNally continued the report of the committee as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 91 by striking out the following resolve:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor promote a widespread campaign

in support of the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to organize into unions the teachers of the nation.

and substituting another section, the amended resolution reading:

Organization of Teachers

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, Reactionary forces in control of certain public school systems have proclaimed a ban against teachers' unions; and

WHEREAS, Teachers have been compelled to sign contracts in which they promise not to belong to a teachers' union within the period of the contract; and

WHEREAS, In the fight against the yellow dog contract in industry, the labor movement will carry along its fight against the yellow dog contract in education; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers has more than doubled its membership in three years under great handicaps, financial and other; and

WHEREAS, 750,000 teachers in the United States, the guardians of the children of the nation, need our message and progressive constructive program, and the social education which makes for betterment of teachers, of schools and of society; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to organize into unions the teachers of the nation.

Your committee concurs in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

In conclusion your Committee is not unmindful of the great difficulties encountered by the trade union movement in its endeavors during the depression through which we are passing, and which all are hopeful will soon end, to organize all of the workers on the North American continent. We believe, however, that the unorganized have had brought home to them in these trying times as never before the need for organization, and with the first signs of a return to prosperity will be more responsive to invitations to join our trade unions than they have been during the past few years. We, therefore, urge all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor to plan immediately and press forward with renewed vigor the organizing of the working men and women of America.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Secretary McNally: I am the only member of the committee that doesn't like the word "depression," but I think we have it because Spencer Miller has been circulating around here in the last few years. I think we would get farther and do better if we used the words "hard times through which we are passing."

President Green: I cannot understand how the members of the committee failed to concur in the suggestion of Sister McNally. With me she has always been irresistible, I have always surrendered, and I cannot understand how they held out.

Vice-President Duffy: The Chairman of the committee agrees to the insertion of the words suggested by the Secretary of the committee. There is no use arguing with the ladies—I always get the worst of it when I do.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted by unanimous vote.

Chairman Duffy: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,
GERTRUDE McNALLY, Secretary,
E. J. MANION,
JOHN B. BURKE,
JAMES STARR,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
PATRICK H. REGAN,
AGNES QUINN McINNIS,
GEORGE M. HARRISON,
E. J. VOLZ,
OSCAR F. NELSON,
M. T. JOYCE,
JOHN W. PARKS,
ANDREW J. KENNEDY,
W. A. O'KEEFE,
FRED HEWITT,
M. G. BILZ,

Committee on Organization.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: The delegates will recall that the rules and order of business provide that we shall hold sessions of this convention each day in the week except Saturday. That means that there will be no session of the convention tomorrow. Many delegates have brought to my attention the fact that Monday is a legal holiday in the State of Massachusetts; that it is very generously observed. It is the 12th of October, Columbus Day. Some delegates would like to know as early this

afternoon as possible as to whether the convention will meet on Monday. If we recess until Tuesday some of them are planning trips here and there, returning Tuesday morning. The Chair could not assume to say what the convention desired to do. For that reason I decided to bring the matter to the attention of the delegates for a decision. The question is, Shall we observe Monday as a holiday, or shall we meet in regular session Monday morning?

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I move that upon the adjournment of this day's session the rules be suspended and a recess taken to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 13.

Delegate Oberfell: I do not arise to oppose observing next Monday as a holiday, but I am aware of the campaign that is being waged throughout the nation for legislative candidates. If we prolong this convention many of us will not return home for more than a week of aggressive campaigning in our districts. We should not overlook the fact that the campaign in which legislators are elected is on and we should be back in our districts assisting our constituents to elect our friends and defeat our enemies.

Delegate Flore, Hotel & Restaurant Employees: In New York State the last two registration days are Friday and Saturday of next week. I for one would like to go back to my home town in time to register. If we prolong the convention too long some of us may lose our votes. I move as an amendment that when we adjourn today the rules be suspended and that we reconvene Monday morning at the regular time, with the understanding that we adjourn at noon of that day out of respect for the holiday.

Delegate Trotter: I think it would be opportune to raise still another thing in connection with this question. This convention meets at considerable expense to the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I am not at all sure that the affiliated bodies with representatives here would agree that it would be a good thing to adjourn on Monday when you have, since this convention started, had more or less recessing. I believe the question of expense alone to the affiliated locals should have some weight. To recess until Tuesday would require this convention remaining in session an additional day.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: Do I understand the amendment carries with it an adjournment for half a day on Monday?

President Green: It does.

Delegate Manion: I wish to be recorded as being opposed to that. I think we ought to work all day Monday or not at all. If we adjourn over Monday many of us can serve our organization by work in other fields.

Delegate Weaver: I do not blame delegates for being anxious to get home to take part in the congressional elections, especially when they recall the antics of the last Congress. The great Commonwealth of Massachusetts has set apart Columbus Day as a special holiday. We are constantly agitating for more opportunities for rest and recreation, and it seems to me it would be an affront to the residents of Massachusetts to insist upon meeting this coming Monday and making it one of the hard working days of this session.

Delegate Furureth, Seamen: I was wondering, Mr. Chairman, whether it would not be possible to work tomorrow and then use the whole of Monday as a holiday. I don't know whether that it is possible or not, but it seems to me that it is not necessary to use four days for amusement and one or two to work.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I have no particular desire to have the entire day off Monday, but I arise because it appears to me the proposition has become somewhat involved and that perhaps by a little discussion of it the delegates may clear their minds and be able to come to a good decision through the discussion. I take it, Mr. President, that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is in the hands of the delegates that are in attendance at it, and if it is the desire of the delegates to speed up the work that power resides in the delegates.

I am not unmindful that in years gone by, when the convention found that it had a great deal of work on its hands, the delegates desired to hold one or two night sessions for the purpose of cleaning up the work and allowing the delegates to return to their homes to assume various duties that were calling them. It seems to me as one delegate that we should have clearly in our minds that if we want to be in accord with the spirit in Massachusetts in relation to Columbus Day, and which spirit is pretty general throughout the various states of the nation, that perhaps we can hold no sessions of the convention on Monday and later on perhaps have some night sessions to make up for the day taken off.

Delegate Flynn, Boston, called attention of the delegates to the fact that the local committee had arranged for a trip down the Boston Harbor and a shore dinner.

President Green: A motion has been made that when we adjourn this evening the rules be suspended and we stand adjourned until 9.30 o'clock Tuesday morning. That motion was amended to provide for a meeting on Monday for one half day. You will vote on the amendment.

The amendment was defeated and a motion to adjourn until Tuesday morning was adopted.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I want to ask for some information. Will the convention meet in this hall when we convene Tuesday morning?

President Green: No, I understand when we convene on Tuesday morning we will meet in the ballroom of the Bradford Hotel, formerly the Elks Club.

Delegate Tobin: I thought that statement was necessary to be made to the delegates. Now I want to ask another question. Did the Executive Council know when they were deciding to bring this convention here that the American Legion would be meeting here the first four days of this week? I am asking the question of the Secretary, as he usually comes to make arrangements for the convention.

Secretary Morrison: I would like to have the question put more clearly.

Delegate Tobin: Any one else could understand my question. I want to know when you came to Boston, as you usually do, to make arrangements for this convention, did you know that the American Legion would be here at the same time, and did you so report to the Executive Council?

Secretary Morrison: When I came down here I found out that the Legion would be here. Prior to coming here I was informed by a member of the Legion that because of some reason they were changing their plans. I came down here and made the arrangements and reported back to the Executive Council that the Legion was to be here. I might add that the announcement was made to the delegates that were present at the opening of the afternoon session that the

meeting for the first four days next week would be in the Bradford Hotel.

Delegate Tobin: As one of the delegates I want to enter a protest against the treatment of the delegation by the Executive Officers of this Federation in bringing this convention here under the circumstances that have prevailed during the past four or five days. In the whole history of this Federation there was never such an experience, and it was uncalled for and unjustified. Many women have had their lives endangered in the headquarters of the Federation. Men have had to walk up seven and eight flights of steps, women were jostled around, there was no opportunity for delegates to see each other and we were subject to other indescribable conditions because of the decision to hold the convention here this week.

In the years past there might have been some excuse, because the laws did not permit the Executive Council to change the place or date of the convention. If you will excuse me for using the personal pronoun, I had written into the constitution, with the approval of the Committee on Laws and again approved by the convention, the right of the Executive Council to change the convention from the city selected if sufficient reason obtained, or to defer the convention for a week or two. That power has been lodged in the Executive Council, and why it has not been exercised in the interests of this Federation is something I cannot understand. Lest I may be misunderstood by this splendid convention of patriots that are meeting here, I do not want to enumerate the things we were subject to which could have been avoided if some consideration had been exercised for the convention.

In addition to that, next week we are going to tramp around into another hall for four days, which could have been avoided if this convention had been called a week or two earlier. All that was necessary was to state the facts to the International Unions and the action of the Executive Council would, I am satisfied, be overwhelmingly approved. Or it could be postponed for a week or ten days. It is a crime against this organization to have to put up with the conditions that have prevailed for the past week. I could not let this occasion pass without entering my protest in order to prevent a repetition of it.

President Green: I appreciate the statements made by Delegate Tobin, and I wish in

reply thereto to make this brief explanation in behalf of the members of the Executive Council. First of all, the delegates in attendance at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor held one year ago decided, after careful consideration and much deliberation, that this convention would be held in the City of Boston. A number of cities were suggested to the delegates, but out of all the cities proposed the delegates finally decided by an overwhelming vote to hold this convention in the City of Boston. We did not know at that time that other conventions would be held here. Later on we learned that the American Legion convention would be held in this city, but we were told it would be held during the week prior to the date on which the American Federation of Labor would assemble. Unfortunately, during the late summer or early fall the officers and members of the Legion decided to change the date of their convention. I have been informed that the officers of the American Legion were advised that the Jewish holidays were being celebrated all over the land during the week when the Legion planned to hold its convention in this city, and because of that fact the date was changed to one week later.

The Executive Council did not feel, nor has it ever felt, that it ought to exercise the authority to change from the city fixed by delegates in attendance where a convention should be held, except such change was warranted by some most unusual and extraordinary circumstances. The circumstances most discussed when that decision was made were hotel accommodations and the fact that hotels were fair or unfair to organized labor. Secretary Morrison reported to the Executive Council that the hotels had assured us of ample hotel accommodations, notwithstanding the fact that the American Legion was meeting in this city. We were told that because we had made prior arrangements with the hotel managements we would be given prior consideration, and because we were told we could hold the sessions of our convention in the hotel selected for our headquarters the Council was of the opinion that we could transact our business very well.

The reason why we are compelled to move from this hall for three or four sessions next week is because some prior arrangements had been made for the use of this hall during those days, and of course because of those prior arrangements the committee arrang...

for us to meet at the Bradford Hotel. That hotel is only three or four blocks away, and while it will subject us to some little inconvenience I do not fear that it will greatly interfere with the transaction of the business of this convention.

I am sorry the delegates were subjected to annoyance during the past week. I have found that even though it has been annoying most of us have gotten along fairly well under trying circumstances. I am glad to make this response to the inquiry made by Delegate Tobin.

Delegate Tobin: I think that a very unusual circumstance had arisen; I think that when the amendment was made to the laws, if I remember rightly, to submit it to the Council every member on that Council favored the change. Then it was brought into the convention and the change was unanimously adopted.

I disagree with the President or anybody else that we got along very nicely so far as the hotel arrangements are concerned. I have been through many a siege, through many a strike, through many a rough house—I am no baby—but I have never experienced such conditions as we had to undergo in this hotel for the last four or five days. I feel satisfied I am voicing the sentiments of a great many of the delegates when I say I don't think it should have occurred. I am satisfied that if nothing else comes from this we will be protected in the future from a repetition of this occurrence.

There is no sound reason why this convention could not have been advanced a week or two, or even postponed. It was absolutely the occasion that we had in mind in the convention of the Federation when the change was made to allow the Executive Council to change the date. It was a greater blunder than some of us are willing to admit. I want to say this in answer to the President's statement in trying to explain. I hold it was a clear case of negligence on the part of the officers of the Federation to hold this convention here at this time. Some people came very near being killed because of articles thrown from the hotel windows. Others were jostled and lifted off their feet, both men and women, and other things occurred it might be just as well that we do not go into. I don't see how the President could have avoided seeing it. If he did not see it, it was because he was in his room most of the time or out of the hotel.

Secretary Morrison: I want to call the attention of Delegate Tobin to the provision in the constitution he is speaking about: "If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting." That is, we could have changed from Boston to some other city to meet on October 6th, but there is nothing about advancing the date or putting it back. When we changed the date of our meeting it resulted in the various international unions changing their dates of meeting so that they would be able to be represented at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. If we change the date of meeting two weeks ahead or two weeks after October 6th it would probably prevent the delegates of some of the international unions attending, which would be a very serious matter for those organizations. I wanted to present the actual constitutional provision Delegate Tobin had inserted in the constitution.

Delegate Tobin: I know the constitution—I wrote that article. I don't want the delegates to be misinformed by the Secretary.

Secretary Morrison: I will let you read it.

Delegate Tobin: I know the constitution better than you do. The point I am trying to make is that you have discretionary powers which you have exercised on more than one occasion and for sufficient reasons. The delegates to this convention never questioned the right of the Council to extend the date of the convention or retard it. The rules of common sense and judgment ought to govern you in matters of this kind. You have the right to change the convention city. I favored coming to Boston, but I do not think any one would make any objection to changing the arrangement.

President Green: The matter, I think, has been disposed of. The Chair will call for the report of the Committee on Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate Weaver, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 15 by striking out the following section:

RESOLVED, That this, the fiftieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommend that each affiliated central body definitely ascertain the number of union stores operating under its jurisdiction, and that this information be reported to each local union represented in the central body, whose mem-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

bers shall be obligated to patronize only retail stores fair to the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association through the employment of none but union clerks, and be it

also by striking out the word "affiliated," line 3, last section, and inserting the words "central bodies," the amended resolution to read

**Urging Patronage of Retail Stores Employing
Union Clerks**

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates John B. Schulte and C. C. Coulter of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association heartily appreciates the interest shown and the co-operation given by the labor movement during the past year in the work of extending organization among the Retail Clerks, and

WHEREAS, The reports received plainly indicate that progress has been made in unionizing retail store employees where there has been an organized demand for union stores, and

WHEREAS, The progress of organization among the Retail Clerks unquestionably depends to a large extent upon the recognition by union men and women in the American Federation of Labor that union clerks are an essential factor in the extension program of the trade union movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in localities where the Retail Clerks are unorganized, an insistent demand be created and supported tending to speedily correct a condition which should not be permitted to prevail in any community of organized wage earners; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention request that a letter be addressed by the American Federation of Labor to all central bodies and duly authorized representatives, in which shall be stressed the point that since a large percentage of wages earned under union conditions is spent in retail stores, there rests upon every union man and woman a distinct obligation to deal only with retail stores employing union clerks identified by the Monthly Working Button, and where merchandise bearing the Union Label may be obtained; emphasizing further that only by means of such concerted action, originated and promoted in the labor movement, will it be possible to organize the salespeople throughout the entire country and to demonstrate as an organized group that the interest of one is the concern of all.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Weaver continued the report of the committee as follows:

The fact that only one resolution has been submitted during this convention will not be interpreted by your committee as a sign of

indifference to this particular department of the trades union movement.

Yet believe in the union label, and union service, or you would not be here. The label is the insignia of industrial rank. The degree in which it commands respect represents the degree of success which past crusades have attained. We shall not look upon the single resolution before us as a notice that our work has been accomplished, or as a signal to slow down. We shall accept the present as a time for the rekindling of fires, the generating of new enthusiasm, the call to pioneering in hitherto unexplored fields.

On every hand we see signs of industrial depression, drawn shutters on erstwhile homes of industry, the black emblem of despair hanging on doors once wide open, or at least ajar—bearing intimation of a job within for any one disposed to work.

The trades unionist, of all persons in the world can least afford to surrender to the benumbing and devitalizing influences of industrial depression. He should be a living, breathing, proclaiming apostle of the philosophy that wages, standards of living, steady employment, create market demand for the products which the manufacturer desires to sell.

Therefore, in the midst of these fiftieth anniversary days, your committee challenges all true friends of the Union Labor cause to new wars of Union Label aggressiveness. Let us not become weary in well doing. The accomplishments of the past should be inspiration for the future. Striving to place the label on every piece of goods we wear, on every loaf of bread we eat, on every article of merchandise we admit into our homes—we will soon be able to say, like the crusaders of old, "By this sign, we conquer!"

Respectfully submitted,
 JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman,
 CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER, Secretary,
 GUST SODERBERG,
 WILLIAM J. ROBINSON,
 MAX ZUCKERMAN,
 JOSEPH KUNZ,
 JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
 WILLIAM COLLINS,
 PETER BEISEL,
 HARRY KAUFMAN,
 FELIX BELAIR,
 THOMAS MORRISSEY,
 JAMES F. BURKE,
 CLARENCE L. ESSEX,
 BENJAMIN MOSER,
 ROBERT BRUCK,
 WILLIAM SMITH,

Committee on Labels

Delegate Smith: I want to take the floor to suggest that the delegates here at this convention show their real enthusiasm for the union label by taking advantage of some of the displays in the hotel lobby. There has been criticism of the Textile Workers for the type of hosiery that has been on sale bearing the union label. We have finally been able to have the label placed on some of the finest stockings made in the United States. This is hosiery that no one need be ashamed to wear. In the mills where the Pequot sheets are made the workers have decent conditions.

Delegate Manning, chairman of the committee: I don't desire to take up your time needlessly, but I have one or two points to make that I think you will be interested in. We are reading a great deal in our daily papers about industrial depression. We have heard the word "depression" challenged on the platform and the statement made that it should be "hard times." It is not a matter of words, but a matter of facts we are facing, and despite these conditions that none of us relish, I think from the department of which I am an executive we have some real good news for you. We are all well advised of the fact that work has not been plentiful nor spending money coming in such a bounteous supply in the past year as in the previous year.

Our department for a number of years has conducted campaigns of education, trying to instill into the minds of our members a feeling that they are a very potential power if they will be guided and will guide their families by the thought that their power to purchase would be a tremendous factor for improving and maintaining our conditions. I am pleased to state that our campaign of this year was by far the most successful we have ever conducted. The meetings held were more than treble those of any previous year. The advance was tremendous in most cases.

In one city a meeting was held in a hall with a seating capacity of 12,000, and other thousands had to be kept out of the hall. Fairs were held in various cities where articles bearing the union label were displayed. One of the displays held in St. Paul had an attendance of 10,000 a day for four days. Instead of sending out three or four hundred thousand pieces of literature in the past year we sent out more than eight hundred thousand. New label sections were formed. At our recent convention in this city testimony was given by several national unions of the great benefit that campaign was to them.

I only take this part of your time to indicate to you that, despite all the pessimism we have heard, in our department we are blazing with optimism. We realize that the fighting spirit has been aroused in those in whom it had been rather dormant. We heard an address on Wednesday morning from Miss Fitzgerald, of the Women's Union Label League. She made only one request of you, and that a very simple one. You do not have to leave your home to comply with it; you can do the work in your own home. Her request, in substance, is that when you go to your homes you interest your women in this matter. Most of your international organizations have national auxiliaries of women. It would not hurt the women and it would do our movement a lot of good if you would interest them in their power to purchase in spending the money you bring into the home. We don't ask you to go out and look for the union label on goods, for we know you are doing that, but we want you to take back to your women the desirability of forming these Union Label Leagues. The prospect of bettering the conditions of all around them is the thing that will interest our women.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I feel I would not be doing my duty as a delegate from an organization that has been interested in union label propaganda as long as it has been in existence if I did not say something on this subject. I will not tell you the experience of the organization I represent, but the movement and the agitation is for the union label of every organization. I believe the union label proposition is a most vital one to the movement. We come here to this convention and adopt the reports that are made. We pledge our support to the label, but that is all. I do not want to criticize, but I have learned from experience to feel that a majority of the delegates live up to union principles and patronize only union label goods, but that does not solve the question. We pass resolutions, but if we let it rest at that the work done here will be useless.

We may say that the agitation for the label is only propaganda for certain organizations. I know from experience that something must be done more than to resolve here and let it go at that. I have been in cities and towns where more than 90 per cent of labor is organized, but the condition with regard to the label is a crime. We sometimes wonder why certain organizations are dwindling. The condition in those towns is due to our neglect to

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

educate the people at home. The cigarmakers have a label, yet I can mention dozens of towns where I traveled this summer in which not a store had a box of union cigars in the show cases. Wherever I went I took cigars with me from St. Louis, because I found it was impossible to buy union cigars in so many towns.

In a great many cities and towns there are no stores that have union shoes or union-made garments. That is not just or right to those organizations that are struggling for existence. Is there any one here who can tell me that if the proper agitation and education are carried on through the national and international organizations that such conditions would exist? I say no. Those things could be easily remedied if we would only take a little more time to consider them.

People have come in here and given us good advice, but we do not follow it out. I hope that national and international organizations and central and state bodies will try to get men into the union halls to help educate the people to the real meaning of trades unionism and real brotherhood. I am sure if a little more time and energy is expended in that way the organizations that have dwindled will gain ground again. You are the only people who can help them.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted. The report as a whole was then adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

In accordance with instructions received from President George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, we recommend that the name of D. J. McDonald be substituted for that of Wm. H. McHugh.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

National Legislation

On that part of the Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, pages 100-101, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council makes mention of ten successes that attended its efforts in the first session of the Seventy-First Congress.

Your Committee notes with approval the progress made legislatively during the Seventy-First Congress, despite the antagonistic attitude of leaders in the House of Representatives.

We believe the time is opportune for the Executive Council to contact with other interested groups in an endeavor to bring about a reformation of the parliamentary rules of the House to curb the present arbitrary power of the few leaders, who have repeatedly used the archaic House rules to prevent a fair consideration of organized labor's legislative objectives.

We therefore recommend that the Executive Council take appropriate steps toward bringing about a liberalization of the House parliamentary rules to prevent the throttling of legislation by sharp parliamentary tactics which are subversive of representative government.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Rate of Wages

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 104, the committee reported as follows:

The legislation referred to and which is now pending before the House of Representatives is fundamentally sound and should be speedily enacted into law. It is a glaring inconsistency, at least, for government officials to preach of the economic advantages of high wages and then permit the government in its capacity of a builder to undermine and destroy prevailing wage standards in any given community.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts for the early passage of the pending legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Panama Retirement Bill

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 104, the committee reported as follows:

This legislation has been endorsed by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and your committee therefore urges the Executive Council to continue its endeavors for its early enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Prisons

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 105, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its vigilance and its insistence that prison legislation conforms to the policies of the American Federation of Labor, as enunciated at various conventions, to prevent unfair prison competition against free labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 106, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with pleased approval the success that crowned the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to liberalize the Civil Service Retirement law.

It is pertinent to observe that this constructive legislation has now been in operation for ten years and its great worth to the government and the employees has been fully demonstrated. Due to the retirement law, for which labor took the lead in advocating, no longer are aged federal employees summarily dismissed in want and penury; neither are they retained on the payrolls beyond their years of capable service. Thus, the public service and a large group of wage earners are mutually protected by a law that points the way towards the solution in industry generally of the vexed problem of superannuation and old age security.

It is the aim of interested affiliates to secure the liberalization of the law to permit of retirements at the option of the employee at earlier ages than at present, or after a fixed number of years of service regardless of age.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its helpful cooperation toward the improvement of this important legislation at the earliest practicable date.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Good Roads

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 106, the committee reported as follows:

The particular attention of the delegates is called to the statement in the Executive Council's Report that wages in road building is a matter of state adjustment. It is therefore im-

portant that officers in state federations of labor watch with extreme care the methods followed by road contractors so that adequate wages and proper work standards be followed. Very often a vigorous protest lodged with state or county officials will bring corrective results.

We recommend to the Executive Council that an investigation be made to determine the feasibility of legislation limiting or withholding federal appropriations for road construction to those states that will not guarantee certain prescribed standards of employment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: I believe the report of the Executive Council on this subject should be brought directly to the attention of the representatives of state federations of labor. It is clearly a state problem, and during the past year, in a number of states where road work was under way, contractors reduced the wage scale far below the usual rate paid for road and street construction in those states. I think it would be wise for the Executive Council to follow out the statement that something should be done when Federal appropriations for road building are under consideration to see that a scale of the localities prevails.

President Green: The committee advises me that that recommendation is embodied in their report.

Delegate Obergfell: I understand that, Mr. Chairman, but I want to bring it to the attention of the representatives of the state federations of labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Safety Bureau

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 106, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee agrees with the Executive Council's view that a national machinery museum need in no way interfere with the creation within the department of labor of a safety bureau. The latter objective has long been urged by the organized labor movement.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its activities towards the speedy enactment of the pending legislation for the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

establishment of a safety bureau in the Department of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Equal Rights

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 106-107, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in complete agreement with the view, attributed to members of Congress, that the so-called equal rights constitutional amendment is "a preposterous proposition." The emphatic condemnation of this absurd proposal made by preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor need not be reiterated at any length.

(There have been no developments to justify any change of position on the part of the organized labor movement. The proponents have made no progress and there is an utter lack of support for the amendment in Congress, due largely to the opposition of the American Federation of Labor as voiced from time to time by the Executive Council.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue to expose the fallacy and danger of this proposed amendment until agitation for it ceases.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lame Ducks

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

The proposed constitutional amendment, known as the Norris resolution, which would eliminate the so-called "Lame Ducks" session of Congress, has repeatedly been blocked in the House by a few leaders, despite the practically unanimous favorable Senate action. The ability of a few reactionary legislative leaders to thus delay an important constitutional change of direct concern to all the people, emphasizes the need, already referred to by your committee in this report, for a revision of the parliamentary procedure of the House of Representatives, in order that the public will can no longer be flouted by a small group of politicians unresponsive to the wishes of the electorate.

Your committee urges the Executive Council to continue without abatement the fight for this desired constitutional change which has been unduly delayed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Gag Law for Teachers

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

The right of direct petition to Congress is a constitutional guarantee and its interference with, as indicated in the Executive Council's Report, is of grave concern to all wage earners. It is of particular importance that school teachers be not denied the right of freedom of utterance or approach to committees of Congress for redress of their employment grievances.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council endeavor to secure early enactment of the Blaine Bill—S. 4588—or any other suitable protective measure—in order that the teachers of the District of Columbia be not restricted in the exercise of their constitutional right of petition to Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, pages 111-112, the committee reported as follows:

It is heartening to know that the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Bill—the enactment of which followed labor's long fight to correct the abuses of convict labor competition—has been favorably received by the respective States. A sentiment favorable to the state-use system is developing among those who heretofore have fought this plan. This change in sentiment is due to the steady persistence of the American Federation of Labor in urging the state-use system and breaking down the opposition of those who for years held out against it.

It must be kept in mind that the Hawes-Cooper Act is but an enabling law and requires supplemental legislation on the part of the States. New York State has already acted, and New Jersey, Ohio and other States are planning to take appropriate action when their legislatures convene.

Special notice should be made of the fact that 38 legislatures will meet this winter and your committee joins with the Executive Council in urging the state federations of labor to take necessary action for the enactment of suitable convict labor legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Foreign Convict Labor

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 112, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the success of the efforts of the officers of the A. F. of L. in having legislation enacted to bar foreign convict labor products from importation.

We recommend that the administration of this law be carefully observed in order that its purpose is not defeated by any abortive interpretation of the amendment relating to the consumptive needs of the country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Endorsement of Bill Designed to Correct Abuse of Patents in the Radio Art

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate W. Thos. Polston of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice has ended ten years of immunity for the Radio Trust by filing a suit in the United States District Court at Wilmington, Delaware, to dissolve the illegal combination of the Radio Corporation of America, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, General Electric Company, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company and General Motors Corporation, better known as the Radio Trust; and

WHEREAS, The Government charges that these companies have violated the Sherman Law by forming an illegal patent pool, and that they have used their patents to destroy their competitors in the radio art; and

WHEREAS, This abuse of patents has become the practice of many corporations seeking to violate the anti-monopoly laws under the pretense of alleged patent rights; and

WHEREAS, This abuse of patents threatens to destroy the American patent system, and has already done grave injury to the rights of independent inventors; and

WHEREAS, The Patents Committee of the United States Senate, after extended hearings, has unanimously made a favorable report recommending the passage of the Dill-Davis Bill, a non-partisan measure designed to make patents unenforceable while they are being used by trusts to violate the anti-monopoly laws; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we consider the aforesaid Dill-Davis Bill as a most important item of anti-trust legislation now pending in Congress, and urge the immediate and favorable consideration of that measure by both Houses of Congress immediately upon the convening of the December session, and its signature by President Hoover, in order that it may be promptly enacted into law.

Your Committee is in accord with the intent and purpose of the resolution and recommends its concurrence, with a slight change in phraseology by changing the article "the" to "a" in the third line of the resolve.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

President Green: The Chair wants to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council. It is the report of the fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and it will be incorporated in the proceedings.

The report is as follows:

Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada,
October, 1930.

To the President and Members
of the Executive Council of the
American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

As your representative to the 46th annual convention of the Trades & Labor Congress of Canada, I wish to submit the following report:

The forty-sixth annual convention of the Trades & Labor Congress of Canada was held in the city of Regina, Saskatchewan, during the week of September 8th. At the opening session the convention was addressed by Hon. Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, Premier of the Province; Hon. M. A. MacPherson, K.C., Attorney-General; Hon. J. A. Merkley, Minister of Railways, Labor and Industries, who is a member of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers; Alderman Chas. Gardner, Deputy Mayor, and by Harry Perry, President of the Regina Trades & Labor Council. Owing to the special session of Parliament no representative of the Dominion government was present, but letters of well wishes were read from Premier R. B. Bennett and Hon. G. D. Robertson, Minister of Labor.

The roll call showed that some 225 delegates were in attendance, just five less than attended the 1929 convention.

Unemployment was the chief item to come before the convention. All resolutions submitted on the question, together with the report of the executive council, were submitted to the committee on officers' reports, which was headed by Alderman F. J. White, M.L.A., of Calgary. This report, enunciated policies for Canadian workers, and calls for:

1. A national system of unemployment insurance.
2. Restriction of immigration to a minimum.
3. That no manufacturer or employer of labor be allowed to import labor into Canada without first having the Employment Service Council of Canada bulletin such requests in all cities.
4. That the present governments, federal and provincial, be requested to enact legislation providing for the establishment of an eight hour day and five day

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

- week, and that such provisions be immediately inserted in all government contracts and for work that is subsidized by governments.
5. That the powers of the National Research Council be extended to permit it to act as a fact-finding body on all questions affecting employment and unemployment.
 6. That control be exercised over tariff protected industries so as to compel preference of employment for Canadian labor; observance of hours and rates of wages equal to those adopted by the federal government for government workers; prevention of stock watering and charging of unreasonable prices to the consumers, and the granting of a tariff high enough to allow of these matters being put into force and yet enable the industry to successfully meet competition in the home market.
 7. General support of the National Research Council so as to encourage fullest development and use of our natural resources.
 8. The carrying on to the greatest extent of public works and the purchase of supplies during periods of depression.
 9. The abolition of all fee charging employment offices.
 10. The prohibition of the entry of contract labor.
 11. Co-ordination of seasonal occupations.
 12. Assistance for the settlement of industrial workers on vacant land and other proposals of this nature included in our migration program.

In addition to the above the convention went on record as favorable to the finding of the Employment Service Council of Canada at its recent meeting. These recommendations called upon the government to proceed with all necessary public works at once and where work cannot be found that direct relief be granted on a threshold basis, or by distribution of the cost between the federal, provincial and municipal authorities.

The report prompted a lengthy debate. It was adopted without change and the secretary-treasurer instructed to send a wire to Premier Bennett containing a summary of the findings. This was done and before the convention adjourned a telegram was received from the Minister of Labor advising the delegates that Parliament has approved the findings of the Employment Service Council of Canada.

Some 111 resolutions were submitted covering a wide range of topics.

The convention reiterated its stand on a number of questions, some of the important ones being:

The eight hour day and five day week.

Fair wage laws for all of the Provinces.

A national system of old age pensions, and pending its fulfillment to continue its efforts to have those provinces where it is not already adopted to carry out the provisions of the federal act passed in 1927.

One day's rest in every seven for all workers.

Abolition of the use of injunctions in industrial disputes.

The right to picket.

The right to organize.

Amendments to mothers' allowance act to provide allowance for a widow with one child.

Prohibition of all immigration until such time as conditions have become normal.

In addition to the above the convention went on record as favorable to legislation that would grant free medical attention to all old age pensioners. It also favored reducing the age limit from 70 to 65 years.

It also instructed its executive council to seek an agreement between Great Britain and Canada, or any other British Dominion in order that a change of residence within the British Empire shall not deprive an otherwise qualified pensioner from receiving an old age pension.

While the above does not by any means cover the wide number of subjects dealt with they constitute the most important decisions.

During the week the convention received fraternal greetings from Wm. Mansfield, M.P., secretary of the Cleveland Miners' and Quarrymen's Association, on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress, and from Adolf Kummer, President of the Cincinnati Trades & Labor Council, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Tom Moore was again elected President, this being his twelfth election. P. M. Draper was also re-elected secretary-treasurer, a post he has occupied since 1900. R. J. Tallon, J. T. Foster and James Simpson were re-elected vice-presidents defeating two opponents. Wm. Stephenson of Moose Jaw was elected as fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, while Robt. Levitt of Calgary was selected to carry the fraternal greetings to the 1931 convention of the British Trades Union Congress.

Provincial executive committees were elected as follows: Manitoba, F. McIntosh, chairman; Jas. Graham, R. W. Hill and W. R. Lowe. Saskatchewan, H. Perry, chairman; Alex. M. Eddy, Wm. Stephenson, and H. D. Davis. British Columbia, Colin McDonald, chairman, and F. Hoover. The Trades Councils of Prince Rupert and Victoria will be asked to complete the committee. Ontario, Alderman Humphrey Mitchell, chairman; Alderman Rod Plant, T. Jackson and R. H. Hessel. Quebec, Pierre Lefebvre, chairman; Omer Fleury, Ph. Carrièreau and J. O. Daoust. Owing to the small attendance from Nova Scotia the executive council was instructed to appoint a committee for this province.

Federations of Labor exist in Alberta and New Brunswick, which perform the work of the executive committees, and no officers are therefore necessary.

Vancouver was selected as the next convention city, defeating Hamilton by a small majority.

During the week a splendid program of entertainment was provided, including a trip to Moose Jaw, where all the delegates and their friends were guests of that city.

The convention on the whole enacted much constructive legislation in the interest of the wage earners of the Dominion of Canada.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of the honor awarded me at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor in electing me as fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor

Congress. It was a most instructive and delightful experience to me to have the honor to mingle with the officers and delegates guiding the trades union movement of the Dominion of Canada.

Fraternally submitted,
A. KUMMER.

Secretary Morrison: A resolution was received Thursday from James Duffy and James Turner, delegates from the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters. Delegate Duffy stated that he called at Parlor E before 11:00 o'clock Wednesday evening and found the door closed. It is true the door was closed, but resolutions were received until half past eleven o'clock. I want to make the report to the convention, which is the reason the resolution does not appear in the printed proceedings of Wednesday.

Special Sunday Service

President Green: A special service for officers and delegates attending the convention will be given at the Cathedral on Sunday morning at ten o'clock. Cardinal O'Connell will officiate at the Mass and a special sermon will be delivered by Father Corrigan.

In addition, fifty leaders of the American Federation of Labor and nationally prominent

social service secretaries will occupy the pulpits of leading Protestant and Jewish churches on Saturday and Sunday. These arrangements were made by the Greater Boston Federation of Churches in co-operation with the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Speakers from labor convention are also addressing the students of theological seminaries and colleges of Boston and nearby cities.

This project which has been carried out by the Federal Council of Churches in all the cities where the American Federation of Labor has convened in recent years is designed to bring about closer fellowship and understanding between the people of the churches and the organized labor movement, and to give to the people of the churches an opportunity to hear labor's own interpretation of its aims and ideals. For assignments see the newspapers tomorrow. A special invitation is also extended to delegates to attend the service of worship at First Church, Monday night, when Bishop Francis J. McConnell will preach.

At 5:30 o'clock the rules were suspended and a recess was taken to meet at 9:30 A.M., Tuesday, October 13, 1930, in the ballroom of Bradford Hotel.

Sixth Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts,
October 14, 1930.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Gillmore, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Richard, Schulte, Meyer, Marshall (H.S.), Beardsley, Wolff, Burns, Hannah, Britton, Berry, Burke (J.P.), Sullivan (H.W.), Mitchell (W.M.), Cullen, Kaiser, Stierle, Taylor (T.N.), Graham, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson, Bowden, Aoser (C.J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Laude, Machado, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Becker, Katz, Souza, Long, Burton, Murphy (P.E.), Nealey, Dacey, Shave, Kelly (W.), McDonald (F.C.), Donahue, Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Fitzpatrick, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Mack, Claw, Murphy (M.G.), Rogers, Walsh, Clarke (E.B.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Mitchell (T.), Miller, Vaccarelli.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your committee have examined credentials and recommend the seating of Frank E. Doyle to represent the South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly with one vote.

In accordance with instructions received from President Lewis of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, we recommend the seating of M. E. Sherman, with one vote, to represent that organization, in place of Delegate Lewis.

Instructions have been received from President M. J. Keough of the International Molders' Union of North America, requesting that the name of John P. Frey be substituted for that of D. B. McCormack. We recommend the seating of John P. Frey to represent the Molders' International Union.

In accordance with instructions received from President Patrick E. Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, we recommend that John J. Walsh be seated in place of Michael J. Kelly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams and communications:

New York, N. Y., Oct. 6, 1930.

William Green, President,

American Federation of Labor.

The proposals of your Executive Council to relieve unemployment have aroused sincere interest of hundreds of our members who although wounded during the war are able to carry on and are members of your organization and ours. The Disabled American Veterans of the World War extend greetings and best wishes to organized labor.

H. H. WEIMER,
National Commander.

Denver, Colo., Oct. 12, 1930.

William Green, President,

American Federation of Labor,
Boston, Mass.

In view of the earnest efforts we are putting forth to become affiliated with the Trades Union movement conducted by the American Federation of Labor we feel it is our duty and privilege to follow closely the important nature of its deliberations while in convention assembled and which at the present moment have such a far-reaching effect and bearing upon the pressing social and economic problems of our national commonwealth, to you, Mr. President, your Executive Council and the great mass of delegates in attendance at your convention we extend fraternal greetings and most earnestly express the hope that in the wisdom of your movement it will be found possible for our national association to become an affiliated craft properly chartered.

M. GUTIERREZ,
General President;

A. RODRIGUEZ,
General Organizer,
Beet Workers Association.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 13, 1930.

William Green, President,

American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Just returned from an extended trip through Europe and Palestine where I studied labor problems and I hasten to add greetings to all others on occasion of your fiftieth convention. The American Federation of Labor has in its fifty years carried on an untiring battle for the economic betterment of the American masses. It has forged the links of a powerful labor movement which secured decent conditions and a happier life for the American worker. Not only has it striven for better material conditions, but it has also carried on systematic educational work which

has raised the American worker to a high cultural level. All glory to the American Federation of Labor. While in Palestine, I read your message to a gathering of ten thousand organized workers called together by the Histadruth, the Federation of Jewish Workers of Palestine. The message was enthusiastically received and highly appreciated. At that meeting I was delegated to deliver to you personally and as President of A. F. L., a message of gratitude for your words of encouragement and cheer to Histadruth and its members who are striving for better economic conditions as well as for a national Jewish homeland in Palestine. In Berlin I attended a World's Congress called by the Histadruth at which representatives of twenty-four different countries were assembled and there too your message was joyously received and gratitude to you expressed. Congratulations and best wishes for still greater achievements in the future.

M. FEINSTONE.

Pocatello, Idaho, Oct. 13, 1930.

William Green, President American Federation of Labor, Convention, Boston, Mass.:

We join with Utah in extending you a hearty welcome to Salt Lake City for your convention in Nineteen Thirty-one. The Intermountain states have never before been honored by your body as convention city. We therefore pledge ourselves to do all in our power to assist our sister state, Utah Federation, to make it a very pleasant and enjoyable visit for your delegates if Salt Lake City is chosen as convention city for Nineteen Thirty-one.

W. L. ROBINSON,
President Idaho State Federation of Labor.

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 13, 1930.

William Green, President American Federation of Labor, Convention, Bradford Hotel:

Association of Fire Fighters of Ohio joins with all other Ohio labor bodies and trades unions of the Middle West in inviting you to Columbus next year. Central location will insure large attendance, where you will not be disturbed by other conventions. More than three thousand comfortable rooms in sixteen hotels, excellent convention facilities and all the radio you want. National hookups already arranged. Thousands in the Middle West want to join you in three days of pageantry over the week-end in celebration of the completion of one-half century of organized labor's progress at the birthplace of the A. F. of L.

OHIO ASSOCIATION OF FIRE
FIGHTERS,

CHARLES E. STRICKLER,
President.

New Kensington, Pa., Oct. 1, 1930.

Hon. Wm. Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Forty-ninth Annual Convention, Boston, Mass.:

Dear Sir and Brother:

Whereas, at the last regular meeting of the Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union, it was

brought to our attention that the A. F. of L. would celebrate its Golden Anniversary in 1931.

It was also brought to our attention that the A. F. of L. was originally formed in the City of Pittsburgh, Pa., and being so closely related to Pittsburgh, we feel that it would be to the interest of Labor if this Anniversary would be celebrated in the city of its origination.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we petition the Forty-ninth Annual Convention to allow Pittsburgh, Pa., to have the pleasure of entertaining the A. F. of L. at its Fiftieth or Golden Anniversary.

Fraternally yours,

C. M. SLINKER,
Secretary.
JACK HASSON, President.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 6th, 1930.

Hon. Wm. Green, Pres., American Federation of Labor, Forty-ninth Annual Convention, Boston, Mass.:

Dear Sir and Brother:

The Pittsburgh Central Labor Union desires to call the attention of the Delegates of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention to the fact that the A. F. of L. was founded on Nov. 15th, 1881, in the City of Pittsburgh, Pa., and we desire to congratulate the Federation on the splendid growth that it has maintained from that time until the present time. Not only in the number of membership increases but in the amount of other achievements that has been secured through the efforts of the A. F. of L.

During all these years the labor movement in Pittsburgh has consistently maintained its affiliation with the A. F. of L. and it was with extreme pleasure that Pittsburgh again entertained the A. F. of L. Convention at its Silver Anniversary, which convention we believe was one of the largest conventions that had been held. However, since that time, we have not had the pleasure of entertaining the convention of the A. F. of L. in our city. A quarter of a century has passed since you have visited the "Workshop of the World," and we believe that there should not be any other city considered for the 1931 Convention, which will be the Golden Anniversary of the A. F. of L., than Pittsburgh, which was the Birthplace or "Cradle City" of the A. F. of L.

It will be an extreme pleasure to the Labor movement in Pittsburgh, if the Delegates of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention will agree to again allow us to entertain you, especially at your Golden Anniversary. We feel that we are entitled to this consideration, from the fact that the Federation was born in our city and it is with extreme pleasure that the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union invites the A. F. of L. to hold its Fiftieth or Golden Anniversary in the City of Pittsburgh, Pa.

We assure you that we have ample conveniences for the Delegates and Visitors that may attend this convention. Hotel accommodations are plentiful and meeting places wherein the Federation meetings may be held are ample. In fact, there can be a choice of places where the same can be held and we will do everything in our power to see that

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

the Golden Anniversary of the Federation is fittingly observed.

Again extending you a hearty invitation to select Pittsburgh, Pa., as the Golden Anniversary Convention City, we are

Very truly yours,
P. J. McGRAH, Secretary.

W. A. CRISSMAN, President.

The Pittsburgh invitations were supported by a letter from Mr. James Rae, President of the Chamber of Commerce, in which were set forth the advantages of Pittsburgh from the standpoint of hotel facilities, etc.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Thomas Flaherty, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Favoring Extending Age Limit for Applicants for Employment in Federal Government Service

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate John Burns of the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The existing age limit for applicants for employment in the various departments of our Federal Government is limited to the age of forty-five years; and

WHEREAS, We believe this unfair to men of long experience in our various trades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Officers and Delegates to this Rhode Island State Branch Convention endorse the extending of this age limit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Boston, Mass.

While your committee is in sympathy with the idea that the Government should impose no unreasonable age barrier against those seeking employment, we are aware there are numerous involvements in this question.

For instance, in the postal service the work of mail distribution on trains and distribution and delivery in post offices requires an alertness of mind and strength of body that precludes the absorption into these activities of workers of relatively advanced age. This is likewise true of expert work in many other government departments where years of training is required along special lines and the present civil service entrance age limitation of forty-five years has worked no great hardship on these groups.

On the other hand there are government activities employing workers who learn their trades in private industrial establishments and who are frequently deprived of an opportunity to enter government employment because of the age restriction.

Due to the many complexities of this question your committee recommends reference of the resolution to the Executive Council, with instructions to confer with all the affiliates concerned, in an endeavor to formulate a new policy appropriate to the needs of each group of government workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Bill Providing for Modernization of U. S. Battleships

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A Bill, H. R. 12064, the object of which is to modernize three battleships, the "New Mexico," the "Mississippi," and the "Idaho" is now pending in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The enactment of this legislation is in harmony with the Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament, signed at London on April 22, 1930; and

WHEREAS, A discharge of approximately 5,000 employees at certain navy yards will take place in the event the modernization program sponsored by the Navy Department is interrupted; and

WHEREAS, The serious unemployment conditions at present confronting the country warrant the continuation of this modernization policy which has been carried on for a long term of years by the Navy Department; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse H. R. 12064 and the corresponding bill S. 4750, introduced in the United States Senate, and that every effort be made to secure their enactment early during the forthcoming session of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Bill Providing for 4-Hour Day on Saturdays Throughout the Year for All Federal Employees

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We believe that the present serious unemployment situation has to a large

extent been brought about by the introduction of improved processes and improved machinery in industry, due to the inability of industry to make readjustments necessary to absorb the hundreds of thousands of workmen discharged because of such improved processes; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the shortening of the hours of labor is one of the most important methods by means of which the unemployed may find an opportunity to participate in industry; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the United States Government should at present as in the past take the lead in shortening the hours of labor for those in its employ; and

WHEREAS, A bill, S. 471, is now pending, the object of which is to establish a 4-hour work day on Saturdays throughout the year, without loss of pay, for all employees of the Federal Government, excepting those in the Postal Service and a few others whose interests are taken care of in other bills of similar import; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record in favor of the early enactment of S. 471 in the forthcoming session of Congress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as President Hoover is expected to submit a report to Congress early in December, commenting upon the feasibility, desirability, cost, etc., of this legislation, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to request the President of the United States to recommend the enactment of this measure.

This resolution conforms to the principles and pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor and is satisfactory to the affiliates directly affected. Your committee therefore recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Passage of House Bill No. 9039 Proposing Restriction of Employment of Enlisted Men in Navy in Competition with Civilian Workers

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Due to economy methods the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy is being used to a greater and greater extent for repairs and maintenance work on vessels of the United States Navy in violation of the spirit of the Act of Congress dated August 22, 1912, which restricts employment of enlisted men on repair work on vessels at navy yards and stations; and

WHEREAS, This employment of enlisted men is unfair and not in keeping with their purpose of enlistment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in opposition to the employment of enlisted men and officers of the Navy in the performance of repair and over-haul jobs on vessels of the United States Navy, thereby depriving skilled mechanics and their helpers of the opportunity for continuous employment in the Navy yards and stations of the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the immediate passage of Bill H. R. No. 9039, which proposes to regulate and restrict such work, and gives greater employment to civil employees of the Navy yards and stations on vessels of the Navy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use their best efforts to secure the immediate passage of this legislation.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Declaring in Favor of House Joint Resolution 334 Proposing Radio Broadcasting Rights for Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior for Apportionment to Stations of the Most Representative Groups

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates H. H. Broach, E. D. Bieretz, Emil Preiss, Charles M. Paulsen, Martin T. Joyce of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor" Radio Broadcast Station, operating on 970 kilocycles, and WOXAA, its recently installed short wave relay broadcast station, operating on 6080 kilocycles, is the only radio station in the world which is owned, controlled and operated by the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, WCFL-WOXAA, endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national, international and state organizations, is justly entitled to one of the national, cleared, unlimited time channels, out of the ninety available; and

WHEREAS, Radio takes its place alongside of the development of the printing press and the establishment of the public school; it is the super-means of entertainment, education and propaganda. Whoever controls radio broadcasting in the years to come will control the Nation. For good or ill, radio will pour into the homes of the land, into the minds and hearts of the people, a constant stream of song and story, of history, science, economics, politics and propaganda. overshadowing and outraging all other means of communication, radio has become the unrivaled master of human destiny; and

WHEREAS, Radio broadcasting is the most effective means known to man for influencing public opinion. More people listen to the radio than read all the daily newspapers in the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

land. The mind cannot conceive of the influence which radio is destined to exert upon the thinking, the habits, the character and the progress of mankind; and

WHEREAS, The public interest, necessity and convenience requires that this marvelous new means of communication should not be placed within the control of a few great monopolistic corporations, or handed out as a free gift to a few hundred private business concerns for commercial exploitation; and

WHEREAS, The "public interest, necessity and convenience" requires that radio broadcasting provide not only entertainment but information, not only music but science, history, economics and all other things that make for human welfare. It requires that the serious problems of life shall be presented, not from one group or one viewpoint only, but from many groups, and many points of view; and

WHEREAS, The "public interest, necessity and convenience" is nation-wide, it is age long, it has to do with the physical, mental, moral, social and economic welfare of all of the people; and

WHEREAS, The "public interest, necessity and convenience" which the law fixes is the same as the "public welfare," being that which contributes to the health, comfort and happiness of the people, which provides wholesome entertainment, increases knowledge, arouses individual thinking, inspires noble impulses, strengthens human ties, breaks down hatreds, encourages respect for law, aids employment, improves the standard of living and adds to the peace and contentment of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Like the air we breathe, or the sunlight that gives us life, radio must be charged with a public trust—the heritage of mankind—and no man or corporation must be permitted to appropriate it, any more than they should be permitted to appropriate the air or the ocean; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has contributed immeasurable service to the Nation; it has vastly improved working conditions, raised the standard of living, infused hope and courage and patriotism into millions of hearts; it has battled for needed reforms, sane and useful legislation, and social and economic justice for all who toil; it has established principles, policies and ideals which are as essential to the welfare of our country as is sunlight to the growing fields; it has a message for all mankind; it asks no monopoly, no special privilege, no right to exploit the air for commercial profit, but asks only that it be allowed to use one of the ninety available radio channels in order that it may freely promulgate the principles and ideals and thereby protect and serve the entire public; and

WHEREAS, Evidence of the tendency of the Federal Radio Commission to allocate the most desirable wave lengths to private corporations, in disregard of the public interest, necessity and convenience, is demonstrated by the fact that the forty "cleared radio broadcasting channels" established by the Federal

Radio Commission, have been allocated as follows (some for part time only):

- (1) Twelve channels to corporations formed for the specific purpose of operating a broadcasting station;
- (2) Seven channels to corporations manufacturing radio equipment and supplies;
- (3) Ten channels to corporations dealing in merchandise of various kinds;
- (4) Eleven channels to corporations publishing newspapers;
- (5) Three channels to public utility corporations;
- (6) Five channels to insurance corporations;
- (7) One channel (limited time) to a fraternal corporation; and
- (8) One channel to a municipal corporation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fiftieth Annual Convention, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, this 7th day of October, 1930, endorse House Joint Resolution No. 334, introduced on May 9, 1930, by Congressman Reid of Illinois (who was impelled to introduce this resolution on account of the arbitrary and biased action of the Federal Radio Commission in denying a cleared channel to the station of Organized Labor, WCFL), to amend the Radio Act of 1927, by providing that the Federal Radio Commission shall assign three cleared-channel broadcasting frequencies to the Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior, which shall be licensed to the radio stations recommended by the heads of those Government Departments as being most representative of the labor, agricultural and educational interests of the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Senate Bill Providing Pensions for Crews of Transportation Vessels Used in U. S. Military Service

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is now in the Senate of the United States a Bill entitled H. R. 6997, granting pensions to the men who manned the ships engaged in the transportation of troops, supplies, ammunition and other materials of war during the period of our war with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the Chinese relief expedition and other purposes, and the Bill cited above was passed by the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, It is thirty years past since these wars; and these men owing to economic changes in industry, and due to their age, are nearly all incapacitated to follow their crafts; and

WHEREAS, This Bill has received the endorsement of several State Labor Federations and of numerous employee organizations affil-

iated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty (1930), request the Executive Council to instruct the Legislative Committee to use their best endeavors to have this Bill (H. R. 6907) pass the United States Senate favorably.

Your committee is in accord with the purpose of this legislation, namely, to give military pensions and hospital privileges to a small group of men who were employed in a quasi-military capacity, and therefore we recommend concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Immediate Enactment of Welch Bill
H. R. 13900, Regulating Immigration of
Filipinos**

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America, C. L. Bagley of the American Federation of Musicians, David Levine of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Council, Rowland Watson of the Washington State Federation of Labor, Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor, H. C. Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, Daniel P. Haggerty of the International Association of Machinists, W. A. Granfield of the San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council, John P. McLaughlin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, C. J. Welch of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

WHEREAS, Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor the question of Filipino immigration has become even more aggravated in that they are arriving directly from the Philippines to the mainland in continuously increasing numbers, and

WHEREAS, The Filipino is racially unassimilable and therefore will add to the race problem already vexing this country; and

WHEREAS, There has already developed a condition of social concern culminating in tragic race riots due to desires of Filipinos to transgress upon the sanctity of our women in their forced efforts to assimilate; and

WHEREAS, The ship owners desiring to sell transportation are using every kind of attractive propaganda to lure the Filipino from his native land; and

WHEREAS, Unscrupulous employers in their selfish desire for cheap labor are replacing our workers with the ever-available Filipinos and are thus further adding to the un-

employed and subsequent destitution of our workers; and

WHEREAS, Our health authorities declare that the mode and conditions of life in the Philippines tend to destroy the stamina of these people, making them easy victims of various contagious diseases endangering the health of our people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 50th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, while reaffirming its previous actions of the 1928-29 convention on the subject, insists upon the immediate consideration and favorable action by Congress on the Welch bill H. R. 13900.

The troublesome question of Filipino immigration has been considered by previous conventions and, for the sufficient reasons cited in the resolution, the American Federation of Labor has favored the application of the exclusion principle to the Filipinos.

Your committee believes the early enactment of the Welch Bill will accomplish a long desired end and we therefore recommend concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Shorter Working Week in Postal Service

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, John A. Kelley, Sol Cohen and John F. O'Connor of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnian, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins and Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The trend toward a shorter working week has been marked in recent years, largely due to the intelligent and militant program of the organized labor movement, and it has proved to be a sound economic policy of far-reaching benefit to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government in its capacity as an employer has not kept pace with this beneficial economic development, as evidenced by the continuation of a forty-eight hour weekly work standard for the large groups of postal employees, to the detriment of the public welfare and the direct disadvantage to postal substitutes whose appointments have been unduly deferred; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before the 71st Congress the Kendall-La Follette Bill which seeks to shorten the working hours of postal employees by establishing a four-hour work day on Saturday or the equivalent of a five and a half day week, and which if enacted into law will materially assist in stabilizing the present unsatisfactory postal employment situation; therefore, be it

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That this 50th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the need for having the Government establish and maintain advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated postal organizations to the end that the Kendall-La Follette measure may speedily become a law.

Your committee is in entire accord with this resolution. There has been no reduction of working schedules by legislation for the larger groups of Postal Employees for more than seventeen years. Meanwhile the productivity of postal employees, measured in dollars and cents, has increased approximately one hundred per cent for these groups. The postal service as the largest governmental civil establishment should set an example at this time by absorbing additional surplus postal labor, of which there is an abundance, as a stabilizing factor in the industrial depression.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Urge Law Providing That Only Civilian Mechanics Shall be Employed on Federal Penal Institution Construction Work

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The United States Government is employing prison labor on Federal penal institution building construction; and

WHEREAS, Civilian mechanics when employed on penal institution building construction are required to work with Federal prisoners; and

WHEREAS, Anti-prison labor legislation has been based upon the principle of the prevention of employment of prison labor in competition with civilian mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The employment of civilian mechanics on Federal penal institution building construction is in accordance with the Federal Government's rehabilitation and stabilization program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department in convention assembled recommend to the American Federation of Labor that the following resolution be adopted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby directs the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to draft and submit to the United States Congress an amendment to existing law which will provide that civilian mechanics shall be employed on all Federal penal institution building construction.

Your committee recommends concurrence. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, John A. Kelley, Sol Cohen and John F. O'Connor of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnian, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins and Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, John Fitzgerald and John W. Ross of the National Federation of Federal Employees; A. O. Wharton, Fred Hewitt, Chas. Fry, C. B. Cline, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty of the International Association of Machinists; Andrew Fallon of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful, objectionable, speed-up practices; the liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; a reduction of night work; the establishment of a civil service employees' court of appeals; the improvement of postal substitute employees' working conditions; the establishment of higher wage standards and shorter working schedules and kindred improvements; and

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of government employees have been introduced and are awaiting action by the Seventy-first Congress; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor that the government establish and maintain employment standards in advance or at least abreast of the highest standards prevailing in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

245

To Assist Postal Laborers in Securing Wage Increase

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Toronto convention referred to the Executive Council Resolution No. 24, which called for assistance being given the Postal Laborers in their efforts to secure increased wages, with instructions to use its best endeavors to this end; and

WHEREAS, H. F. 2402 as amended would give each grade of laborers a fifty dollar increase; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council continue its efforts to assist this group in their efforts to secure the passage of H. F. 2402 as amended.

The Post Office laborers are the lowest paid of any postal group and the modest wage increases requested in the Bill in question should not be denied on the specious plea that it would interfere with the President's financial program. It is pertinent to note in this connection that the Congress granted substantial salary increases to the higher-paid postmasters, most of whom are political appointees.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Coal

Under the caption Coal, page 106, the Executive Council's Report.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council watch carefully the legislative developments that may follow as a result of the investigation mentioned, to the end that this important basic industry may receive all necessary governmental aid appropriate to its needs.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Ornburn: This concludes the committee's report.

Respectfully submitted,

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY, Secy.
LUTHER STEWARD,
NEIL McLELLAN,
W. W. BRITTON,
WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
WINFIELD KEEGAN,
C. L. ROSEMUND,
THOMAS J. DONNELLY,
GEO. S. LEVI,
D. J. TOBIN,
H. W. STRICKLAND,
JAS. M. DUFFY,
J. N. DAVIS,
EARL HOAGE,
Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Ornburn moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Legislation as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green presented to the convention at this time a quartet of Negro singers from the Florida Normal and Industrial Institute. The quartet entertained the convention with a number of songs.

Referring to the work of the school one of its representatives said:

This school was invited to come to St. Augustine from Jacksonville and was given a thousand acres of land on the edge of St. Augustine. They have erected \$300,000 worth of buildings in the last ten years. Some of those buildings have been given by wealthy white friends in Florida. The president of one of the leading banks is president of this institution and it has the confidence and support of a large number of the people.

There are 30,000 Negro boys and girls in Florida that will never be able to darken the doors of a school house as things are now. There are no educational advantages for them. Florida has been tremendously hit with four major disasters—one the dropping out of the bottom of the boom, another the terrific hurricane that swept across Southern Florida, and worse than either the Mediterranean fly that made them pull all the citrus fruits off the trees and bury them. That caused in one month the failure of twenty-nine banks and in a year the failure of one hundred banks, and on top of that the drouth of the year which has hurt the farmers seriously.

The principal of this school has served for thirty-seven years, and every year he has had to come north and lay his cause before the people. This year everything has been harder than ever before on account of the universal hard times.

I want to thank you men and your great President who made that wonderful address in Tremont Temple in defense of labor. I appreciate the privilege of coming over here this morning and of laying the facts before you. I am speaking to men whose eye and arm are the drive wheel of American civilization. If that becomes idle, with all our millions and with all our crops, everything will be paralyzed.

I want to thank you for the generous way in which you have received us this morning. God bless you.

Union Management Cooperation at Pequot Mills

President Green: We have with us this morning a representative of the Pequot Mills, a manufacturing enterprise located not far from here. There has developed between the employes of that mill, the owners and the management a union cooperative relationship that has attracted the attention of progressive

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

employers and the membership of organized labor. They are experimenting there with our union management philosophy, and the distinguished representative of the company will tell you something about it for a few moments. Following his address we will hear from the secretary of the local organization. We will, therefore, have the plan in operation, its successes or its failures, presented to the convention by the agent of the mills and by the representative of the workers.

I am glad indeed to present to you Mr. J. Foster Smith, the agent of the Pequot Mills.

MR. J. FOSTER SMITH
(Agent, Pequot Mills)

Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I think it was very nice of the Entertainment Committee to preface my talk by these talented young men from way down south in the land of cotton, which, of course, gives me a cue to start with.

To you men who perhaps have great interests in mines and steel and that sort of thing, it may seem that our effort is rather a small one, but to the textile industry with its old traditions, it is something quite unusual, and Mr. O'Connell is going to tell you a little about our association, while I am going to give you a little bit of a background about the Naumkeag, so that you can see how the union starts in, and that will be explained more particularly by Mr. O'Connell.

A hundred years ago the business men of the ancient seaport of Salem, twenty miles to the north of where we are now convened, were seriously considering a new enterprise.

The old town, which for nearly two hundred years had been solely interested in the sea, and things relating to the sea, was preparing for a new venture, not to some unknown part of the Far East for cargoes of tea and spices, ivory and silk—but for a venture so different from anything to which the townspeople were accustomed, that it seemed little less than revolutionary. They were raising the capital to build a cotton mill!

It came about this way. Ever since the war of 1812, and the disastrous embargo of shipping, business had drifted away from Salem to the growing ports of Boston and New York, and the local merchants, ship-owners and ship-masters, reluctant to follow their business to these new centres, were put to it to find some promising investment for their idle funds, and the thriving industry of spinning and weaving cotton, already operating along the watercourses of the Charles and Merrimack rivers, naturally attracted them, and in 1839, ninety-one years ago, sufficient money having been subscribed, a company was incorporated and the erection of a mill was soon under way.

The new industry was called the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company—"Naumkeag" for the Indian name of the locality, "steam" to differentiate this mill from all the other mills in New England which were universally driven

by water power. The new mill was built to be driven by a steam engine, and the steam was to be generated by the new fuel called coal. Coal had been introduced into New England only a few years before. In 1828 anthracite coal was introduced into New England and there was a great deal of doubt about its efficiency, and nobody thought it was going to compete with water power. However, it did compete, and almost ninety years ago the wheels began to turn and the factory was very soon in successful operation, and continued a growing and generally prosperous business up to the day of the great fire. There was a good deal of doubt about the efficiency of this substitute for wood, but it turned out better than the townspeople had dared to hope, and almost ninety years ago the wheels began to turn and the factory was very soon in successful operation, and continued a growing and generally prosperous business up to the day of the great fire.

On June 23rd, 1914, at noon, a fire started a mile or so away, and after an irregular course from the changing wind, reached the neighborhood of the mill late in the afternoon. The entire water service having failed, the buildings were soon in flames, and in a few hours all that was left of the plant, built up thru seventy years of effort, was a few brick walls and tangled heaps of junk in the mill basements.

A progressive board of management immediately ordered the erection of a new mill, to be equipped with most improved machinery, and moreover with particular attention paid to the details of light, ventilation, sanitation and every feature that might contribute to the well-being of the workers.

To these material things, I have always added what to me seem the four essentials most desired by my employees—first, good running work (nothing is more discouraging to efficiency than poor stock); second, the best possible wages (I hold that not only local but national prosperity depends upon a fat pay envelope); third, continuity of employment. There isn't anything like a steady job with the money coming to you every week. Somewhere I read a poem that tells the story well, a verse of it goes like this—

Yes—it's easy to fight
The foe you can see,
But it's a different tune
When you face poverty.
On three squares or a lunch
You can pack the old punch,
You can battle all day,
When you're getting your pay
And a cup of hot java,
And a cool soothing smoke.
But it's hell when you're jobless
And broke.

I have always striven to give my employees a full year's work, but to actually promise it is rather beyond my powers, for that would inevitably predicate the production of goods for which there might well be no present or prospective market; that is not business but folly. One of my most particular affairs just now is to budget my production so that the slack and the crowded seasons in merchandising may be equalized to some uniform and stable unit of production. And fourth, some adequate provision for the time when

an employee through advanced years or declining health must give up work. That provision means the laying of the haunting spectre of a penniless and dependent old age.

My fifty-two years spent in a cotton mill, working for a great part of that long period in positions other than that of the chief executive, provide a background which makes me feel at home here today. Beginning at the very bottom of the ladder, and on up through the various jobs I have held in the mill, gives me personal knowledge of the position of labor, and naturally I am able very fully to understand and appreciate the attitude, the aims and ambitions of organized labor. Nothing gives me a happier feeling even now, in the period of life when one's capacity for enthusiasm is inevitably less than in youth, than to see young men and young women better their position in this work-a-day world. Progress made by any of my employees, by any working people as a class or as individuals has always given me a thrill of pride and satisfaction—and still does—I know what it is to get along and I do not forget.

As I stand before you, grateful for this opportunity to appear as a guest speaker, it would be unfair to you did I not speak frankly, openly, in the same friendly spirit which actuated you in inviting me here, and I want you to know that it gives me sincere pleasure and satisfaction to note that the trend of the times is toward an ever-increasing co-operation and understanding between employees and management, and it gives me peculiar satisfaction to state that the Pequot Mills of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., of which I am the Agent, has the unique distinction of being the first cotton mill to put into effect, with the co-operation of organized labor, a plan to reduce production costs, and with the reduction of production costs, to increase wages. I might say, in passing, that Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, as you undoubtedly all know, are the only 100 per cent Union made bed linen manufactured in the United States.

The existing agreement between the United Textile Workers' Union and the management at the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company puts into effect a labor extension plan increasing wages, reducing production costs, and relieving skilled employees of unskilled work. So far as I know, it is the first and only one in the history of the American cotton industry, if not in the entire world.

This adoption of improved manufacturing methods came after more than a year of study and research carried on by representatives of the workers in cooperation with a technician and the management. The amount of machinery which should be operated by each skilled operative was determined through actual tests made by fellow workers of the operatives in the mill with the technician who was employed at their suggestion.

Under the plan, every process in manufacturing comes under scrutiny, from the raw cotton to the finished product. An elaborate inspection and repair system insures that the machines in all the processes are operating to the utmost standard of efficiency.

It means careful consideration of all machine settings, adjustment of all parts to produce near perfect work as possible. The

whole object is to eliminate end-breakage and all other difficulties which add to the work required of the skilled operative. As the plan progressed through the mill, the work of cleaning machinery, which had hitherto been a part of the activities of the skilled worker, was placed in the hands of unskilled employees, thus permitting the skilled workers to devote all their time to production.

When the announcement of the agreement was made last spring, John P. O'Connell, Secretary of the Salem Local of the United Textile Workers' Union, said: "The plan has been jointly worked out and adopted by the workers and the management. It represents a long and careful study. The Technical Research Department in Pequot Mills which is responsible for the working out of the details, is the only joint research department of workers and management in any of the cotton mills. Pequot Mills are paying higher wages than any other mill of the kind in the United States. Under this plan, the worker has at least 12 minutes fatigue period of every hour of working. There is no doubling up of machinery."

In this co-operation between labor and management I wish to emphasize in all friendliness the vital importance to the Unions in this country that organized labor guard itself against failure to meet the other fellow half-way. There is, as I have said, a distinct trend toward greater cooperation between labor and management. Let us all do everything within our power to foster that trend. Let us all strive to see the other fellow's position, his difficulties and his viewpoint. Let us do our utmost to do as much for the other as we expect him to do for us.

Labor seeks a fair return for its work. Management seeks to earn sufficient funds to pay labor and stockholders a fair return. We are all striving to attain a common and satisfactory end.

It seems to me that labor has nothing to fear from more progressive manufacturing methods. The theory that it eliminates jobs is a mistaken one, since even the more progressive manufacturing methods may for the time being displace some workers; those workers will soon find employment because the machine-made product, being produced more cheaply, will create more markets and ultimately result in the employment of more persons.

Restricted immigration means that the country's workers are increasing at a slower rate than the country's requirements for manufactured products. Consequently, the increased capacity must come through further machine development. It is natural for many of us, particularly at this time of poor business and widespread unemployment, to say: "Well, there is too much machinery now." That situation does occur, but believe me, when it does, it is only temporary.

The general public's idea about the cotton industry is 30 or 40 years behind the times. Years ago conditions in a cotton mill were undoubtedly unfavorable, yet it is a historical fact that the cotton industry was the first to take up and to make use of modern-day improvements as they came along. It was the first industry to use electricity for light and power, the first to use machines to eliminate

dust and dirt, and also it led in the use of artificial humidification. Today cotton mills are among the most sanitary and healthful places to work. Figures with regard to accidents in industrial plants compiled from time to time by the National Industrial Conference Board and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the textile industry is the safest of the major industries in the country. American cotton mills lead the cotton industry of the world in the use of automatic devices and hence in efficiency.

In an industry spread over a number of states, such as the cotton industry, no group in any one state can advance much faster or further than the least progressive state. Should any group advance much faster in the matter of shorter work week and higher wages, the manufacturing costs in the advanced state become so much higher that the expansion and growth of the industry will be most noticeable in the backward states; or in other words, in those states where the work week is longer and the wages lower.

Labor will be infinitely better off to try to work over the entire area rather than concentrate on one section with the likelihood of curbing or driving out an industry and eliminating jobs.

The cotton industry in this section of the country pays higher wages than are paid in other sections of the country. We want to see those higher wages maintained. We do not want to see lower wages. What we hope is to see higher wages in those sections of the country where they are now competing with us with vastly lower production costs, due in no small measure to much lower wages than ours.

It is often stated that the low wages in the South are compensated for by the advantages afforded the operatives there over those in the North, and in that connection I want to quote from a book entitled, "Labor in the Industrial South," published by the Institute of Research of the University of Virginia in which, commenting on welfare work in the Southern cotton mills, the author says:

"The northern mill worker receives, with one or two exceptions, all of the services furnished in southern mill villages, but he receives them as a citizen of his respective community rather than as a worker in his respective factory. But in every case, either through city taxation or voluntary contributions, the northern mill pays for what its workers receive."

and they don't take it out of the pay envelope—not on the Naumkeag anyway.

In discussing wages, the author shows that for a number of selected tasks, the average full time weekly earnings in Southern cotton mills were \$5.70 less than those in the North, while the actual weekly earnings in the Southern mills were \$6.71 less than in the North. This difference actually exists, although the cotton mill workers in the South work from five to six hours more per week than those in the North.

I want particularly to urge mill employees to take an individual interest in their local or city government. They should endeavor to see that public money is not wasted by the town or city administration, because excessive tax as-

sessments resulting in high taxes on the plants in which they work may affect the success or failure of the management of those plants to provide employment. In any event, all of us should realize that high taxes always make things additionally difficult for persons working for a living and affect them to a large extent through the increased costs of rent, food, clothing which result from unnecessarily high taxes.

And I want also to express the appreciation of Pequot Mills for the co-operation received from the Labor press. In the Labor papers published in more than thirty States are printed from time to time articles about Pequot sheets and pillow cases as being the only 100 per cent union made bed linen on the market. These articles urge all members of organized labor throughout the United States to purchase Pequot products, and their effect should result in a real increase in the distribution of Pequots.

I take my leave now with the hope that your convention will be eminently successful and that labor and management will work harmoniously toward a common goal of greater prosperity for all.

All of us have hopes, aspirations, day dreams; with each it varies according to temperament, training, environment. Mine is a little ambitious perhaps. It is to see the complete success of the Naumkeag's Employer-Worker Co-operation. We are well over the threshold of this new era in industrialism; there are more steps to climb; some will be difficult; there will be delays; we may slip back a step or two, but I am sanguine that some day we shall reach the top—the achievement of all that I and my employees hope for in our common effort. Then, indeed, on that happy day my dream will come true!

President Green: It is clearly evident that the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention very deeply appreciate the visit of Mr. Smith and the delivery of his message. The address will be printed in today's proceedings. I listened to it very carefully, as I know all of you did. It contains within it much of educational value. It is indeed very interesting and I hope the officers and delegates will read it when it appears in the proceedings.

We shall all watch with ever-increasing and sympathetic interest this unique experiment in the development of human relations and industrial relations in industry. I know that you are silently expressing the hope that this great experiment may prove to be a complete success. I know I can pledge to the organized workers of the Naumkeag Mills, to the agent who appeared here this morning, and to those who are earnestly and sincerely endeavoring to make the plant success the complete and sympathetic support of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you for your visit and your message, Mr. Smith.

Now we will hear from the officer of the local organization. It is indeed interesting to

observe that the management and the representative of the workers came to us with their messages dealing with the development of human relations in a great industrial enterprise. We have just heard this inspiring address from Mr. Smith. Now we will hear from the secretary of the local union, the spokesman of the workers elected by the workers to represent them, to speak for them and to bring to you this message.

I present to you Brother John P. O'Connell, Business Agent of Local Union No. 33, United Textile Workers of America.

MR. JOHN P. O'CONNELL

(Business Agent, Local Union No. 33, United Textile Workers of America)

Mr. President and Delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of American Federation of Labor. It is with some timidity that I take up your time on subjects that you have recorded yourselves in favor of time and time again, in convention and through your Executive Council reports. President Green has expounded the principles of the American Federation of Labor to the textile manufacturers and others; and to further prove the philosophy of the trade union movement as interpreted by him, has invited the previous speaker, Mr. Smith, agent of the Pequot Mills, and myself, as agent of the Union, to place before this convention an exhibit of union-management cooperation that pays and has caused some of the press to call it the "Wonder Mill."

Almost immediately after Mr. Smith's promotion to agent, succeeding strikes took place for increased wages and recognition of the union. In both cases Mr. Smith, the responsible head, closed the mill, submitting the first strike to the State Board of Arbitration, out of which the workers received the maximum demands; and in the second strike called the conference at the end of the seventh week and acceded to the requests of the Union, which were:

1. Recognition of the Union, collective bargaining, with monthly conferences.
2. A system of dues collection within the mill.
3. Establishment of a minimum wage for women.
4. Establishment of shop committees to adjust grievances with the foremen.

These strikes took place in June, 1918, and September, 1919, respectively, and in both cases this management did not resort to legal fighting methods in the form of yellow dog contracts, injunctions, or any strike-breaking activities.

During the post-war period when wage reductions were common in the textile industry, this management of the Pequot Mills disassociated itself from the rest of the textile manufacturers and complied with the Union's request that the wages in effect be maintained, the Union proposing that it could equalize such reductions by reducing costs by way of

a quality and quantity campaign of cooperation. Then began the use of heads, hearts and minds, toward the solution of the problems of Pequot, versus the competition of the non-union, low wage, long hour sheeting mills of the North and South.

In this quantity and quality campaign, the Union, in order to provide stability of employment for faithful service, deemed it advisable to take the personal feeling out of the condition of employment and proposed the establishment of a seniority rule covering all jobs, and the management agreed to this arrangement.

Then followed the adoption of a written agreement between the Pequot Mills and the United Textile Workers of America, modeled after the agreement existing between the railroad unions and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

I will outline briefly the foregoing factors which made possible the cooperative relationship at the Pequot Mills.

First—Union recognition and the introduction of collective bargaining, together with the establishment of shop committees to help maintain conditions of employment, adjust grievances and collect union dues.

Second—The acceptance by the management of the principles of seniority as applied to preference jobs, transfers, and reductions in force, as well as the elimination of the practice so prevalent now of making old age a cause of discharge.

Third—The adoption of the written agreement, setting forth the methods to be observed in maintaining peace and harmony, by the orderly adjustment of major differences.

Fourth—The agreement by the company to maintain good working conditions, fair wages and steady work, and in return the agreement by the Union to cooperate with the Management for quality and quantity production, and to promote the sale of Pequot sheets and pillow cases as well as effecting economies in manufacture; and finally recognition by the management of the desirability of having every employee working in the mill a member of the Union thereof.

This departure from the archaic ways of the textile industry in treating with its employes has had its fruition in the fact that Pequot mills have paid better dividends and better wages than any mill in the country, and that Union-Management relationship pays.

With this background thousands of matters were adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned, dealing with the introduction of labor-saving machinery, transfer of workers, adjustment of wages and the proper sharing by improved production.

The Union, realizing the necessity of organization in low wage and long hour competitive centres, joined with their parent body, the United Textile Workers of America, in an intensive campaign to organize the sheet and pillow case industry. No expense was spared, but our efforts were met with disappointment, whether it was at the Pacific Sheet at Dover, N. H., or Utica Sheet at Utica, N. Y., or Pepperell Sheet at Biddeford, Maine, or Dwight-Anchor at Somersworth, N. H., and Chicopee, Mass., or Cast Iron at Waterville, Maine, or Erwin of Dur-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ham, N. C., or Cannon of Kannapolis, N. C., or Page of Thomaston, Ga.

We met with the hardened opposition of these non-union employers who had applied their stretch-out system with successive wage reductions, with their methods of discharge and intimidation, which created such a surplus of displaced labor that it was apparent that the workers feared these textile barons to such an extent that organization would be slow.

It was during this period that the United Textile Workers of America at the Detroit convention placed before the convention the resolution for the promotion and purchase of Pequot sheets and pillow cases, and at this time we wish to thank the great American Federation of Labor for its great measure of support which has been the means of stabilizing our employment and permitting full time employment in this plant.

For two years we have been working five days a week. Our members make the wage sacrifice, and in conference it has been stated that the five day week is as economical as the five and one half day week.

Therefore, we are hoping that some day the textile manufacturers will use their heads and approve of the five day week as a way out of their present difficulties. This has been the Pequot program of stabilizing employment by way of increased sales and shorter hours and increased wages. The average wage in 1925 was \$22.00 per week, and the average wage now is \$24.00 per week. Not a high wage to be sure, but a big wage for the textile industry, and all during the organized relationship the workers have shared in the prosperity of the company.

During the years from 1919 to 1929 the great majority of competitors, having no conscience with respect to labor conditions, worked their employees long hours at pitifully low wages, resorted to the stretch-out system, company unions, and denied their employees the right to organize, making it increasingly difficult for Pequot to sell its production at a profit.

So after discussion in conferences extending over a period of a year, the company laid its difficulties before the union in the form of a proposal and asked the union to help find the way out. Being aware of the company's position, the union agreed that certain facts were needed before it could proceed with a remedy to cut costs. Consultation was had with Mr. Morris L. Cooke, former President of the Taylor Society, and contributor of several articles in the American Federationist, and arrangements were made for a survey and the facts to be reported to the union and the management.

So two months after the company's proposal to cut costs, the union submitted to the management on January 30, 1929, the report of the survey as made by the engineer under authority from Mr. Cooke and which was accepted. The contents of the union proposal I will not read but will submit it for the records.

Tentative Draft Regarding Proposals

The proposals of December 13, and December 26, 1928, show an unused opportunity for joint effort toward cost reduction. The union sees the importance of reducing the cost of

manufacture and agrees that proposals of the nature of these under discussion mark progress toward this goal. But such proposals should have been made piecemeal, for each separate operation, as the idea was developed, instead of accumulating a number of independent proposals and urging their simultaneous adoption.

By such individual consideration, economies are realized earlier and without prolonged friction, and relatively few adjustments are forced upon employees at one time. For a large number of employees to be released at one time is a very heavy burden upon local prosperity and it takes months for many of them to get relocated in a flooded market; whereas the same number of readjustments may be made without loss if there is suitable machinery to decide upon the changes a few at a time. The situation which has arisen shows that we still lack suitable machinery for bringing up possible waste reductions and for considering and effecting them without disorganization.

Section 1. The Proposal Proper

The union proposes that each question under discussion shall be settled separately and upon the basis of analytical research. It is believed that this analytical approach will not only settle these points now at issue, but will supply elemental facts leading to other forms of economy, aid in the selection or rejection of new equipment, and above all, give practice to both parties to our agreement in discussing upon a factual basis matters at issue.

1. This research work should be headed by a technician employed by the company. The union would accept some one appointed by Mr. Morris L. Cooke as having the requisite viewpoint.

2. It is also proposed that the present machinery for discussion be supplemented by a committee on waste elimination. This committee would act, or appoint individuals to act, as aid to the above mentioned technician, and have the power to review the facts leading up to decisions relating to manufacture recommended by the technician.

This committee confines itself to such constructive proposals under provisions somewhat as follows:

"The parties to this contract (or agreement), recognizing their common stake in eliminating waste, and realizing that wasteful practices generally result, not from intention but from lack of common understanding of such practices and their injurious effect upon both earnings and wages.

"Hereby agree to set up a joint research committee composed of three (four or five) representatives of the management and three (four or five) representatives of the union, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the facts and to devise methods of cooperation for the elimination of waste and the improvement of working conditions as related to quality and quantity of production. This research committee shall in no case entertain complaints or grievances, but shall concern itself exclusively with constructive suggestions for the promotion of the common interest of the

parties signatory to this agreement in eliminating waste."

This committee should be furnished not only with relevant figures obtained by research but it should also be furnished with factors of the major cost and quality problems arising from competition which confront the management. It will then be possible also to indoctrinate the employees at each operation with a concrete picture of their part in the goal, to wit, costs and quality which enable Pequot to compete successfully.

3. Although the employees may realize at times that the costs must be upon a sound basis, they do not have any way of knowing the effect of their output upon the costs nor any goal which is present at all times. There is a psychological need for concrete and immediate facts of this nature if habits of economy and pride in achievement are to be further developed.

This procedure, first of research and second of joint factual consideration, will furnish the machinery for sufficiently frequent and constructive discussions. This is now lacking and to this lack is due the dilemma with which both parties are now faced.

Section 2. Master Planning

The union realizes that the elimination of waste in its several forms is partly dependent upon other considerations than this matter of adequate machinery for constructive discussion. They cannot indefinitely continue to endorse a program which will reduce the labor requirements per unit without reasonable assurance that the sales problem is being met in the same forward-looking and resourceful spirit. At present they are concerned about the distribution in a time of unprecedented change in this field. They can cooperate fully upon the basis that, humanly speaking, the future sales are under control, and that plans are made ahead for preventing sudden drops in production due to failure to forecast sales, and to coordinate the forecasts with the labor requirements in terms of the next succeeding year.

This need for reasonable security is the foundation for continuing cooperation, as Mr. Morris L. Cooke wrote in a recent article:

"To manufacture effectively the working force must be backed by an effective sales policy. In other words, an industrial establishment is an organism, and each function must operate in harmony with all the others. Little is gained by special pressure at one point if it is not related to the common effort. . . . Far-sighted employers are coming to look upon continuous employment as one of the first requirements of good manufacturing and are learning how to provide it. In such plants the workers have every incentive to give to waste elimination their whole-hearted allegiance."

If there is not now the necessary sales planning to give assurance to the employes, this lack should be the major concern in order that the place of Pequot in the market may not be injured by the many powerful changing elements in the field of distribution—the increasing chain-store development, the general dissatisfaction with and review of present sales methods, the introduction of new

basic fabric and intensive study of product design.

Section 3. Unemployment Reserve

In the event that this sales planning is adequately carried out, it should become possible for the management to develop plans running at least a year or two in advance, which provide for an even or increasing staff coupled with a decreasing cost. The union feels that steps should be taken to work out a financially sound unemployment reserve fund. They do not insist that this fund be started at once, but believe that with a competent sales-planning function, which is integrated with the other administrative functions of financing, buying, manufacturing and planning labor requirements, such a fund will not be a drain upon the company. On the contrary, it will give two vitally important benefits; first, it will provide a valuable stimulus to continuing a far-sighted sales administration, and second, it will liberate an unprecedented degree of cooperation.

In addition such a fund should not mean a heavy outlay. With adequate control of the distribution problem, the amount expended may be trivial. And the financing may be made conservative by limiting the amount of liability to the amount of the reserve.

To sum up, the union believes that the company can supply conditions which will cut waste in line with their proposals by supplying the machinery for constructive discussion, by getting and giving out the facts relative to the cost requirements, and supplying in some way the confidence that lower costs will not only work to the ultimate benefit of all concerned, but that readjustments within the company, or from the company to other companies, will be made in conformity with the practical needs of the employees.

A special research bureau in charge of a competent and acceptable engineer, Mr. Francis Goodell, was organized consisting of three members of the Union and a like number from the management. These were inducted into the science of time study, and drew up plans for reducing the cost of production, by the number of machines assigned to an operator, with regard for quality as well as output. Inasmuch as 65 per cent of those employed in our industry are women the fatigue allowance is from 25 per cent to 30 per cent in rearrangement of forces tending machines. Demonstrative studies are held for the great bulk of operatives. This affords opportunity to express themselves in the fullest manner as to the correctness of the study, making it absolutely necessary to have borne in mind the interests of employees as well as those of the company, with the result that the job is practically settled in the department. However, the figures and facts are submitted to the union and voted on in regular meetings, then the Executive Committee on the instruction of the group affected by a rearrangement in work, adjust the wage schedule, sharing the savings gained. This up to date has been accomplished to the satisfaction of both the union and the management. In this crisis the amicable relations between the union and the management saved both the industry and the worker from loss and suffering.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Up to date production costs have been reduced, wages increased, and the company has increased its production and business accordingly, so that there has been no displacing of employees nor loss in our membership.

Concurrently with the activities of the research bureau, a firm of engineers, expert in textile machinery maintenance and operation, were engaged to make a survey of the physical equipment and make recommendations for performance improvement, so that production performance has increased to the benefit of both the company and worker in the way of wages.

Next the comprehensive study of sales and distribution was made, to inquire into methods used in the sale of Pequot, with the result that important reforms were introduced in this field. Much valuable information came from our promotion campaign through Central Labor Unions and State Branches.

As a result of these surveys which we have mentioned, it became necessary and essential to have all our understandings of shop rules and regulations worked out so that each step would be clearly defined, and such rules are in effect in several industries, notably on the railroads, and our union applied itself to that competent engineer, Mr. Otto Beyer, who gave his kind assistance, to the end that shop rules and joint conference procedure to integrate the Union and management have been worked out and agreed to.

The details of this plan of applied union-management cooperation are the result of the assistance of Otto S. Beyer, who, together with Sir Henry Thornton addressed the convention last year at Toronto on cooperative labor developments on the Canadian National and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads. Hence a detailed description is unnecessary.

Suffice it to say that in keeping with the spirit underlying the labor relations at the Pequot Mills, this local Union feels that this comprehensive document governing conditions of employment is its greatest accomplishment, especially when judged by the state of relations existing in the textile industry at large.

As to the soundness and wisdom of this particular relationship it may be too early to make any boasts. Speaking from the worker's point of view, we sincerely believe that what has been done has been fully justified.

Much can be said for the management for assuming the responsibility for these courageous reforms and progressive labor steps, which provided for stability of employment during these twelve years of our cooperative efforts, and what a blessing it would be to the textile industry and to all workers of this country in general, if there were more concerns like Pequot having a love for their fellow workers.

As for the spokesman for the management, Mr. J. Foster Smith, I do not know that I can close my remarks more fittingly than to say of him as was said of Abou Ben Adhem: "May his tribe increase," and the reason I say this is because we can, as in the case of Ben Adhem, write him "As one who loves his fellow men."

And to you Delegates we have tried to picture that truly cooperative effort for the benefit of all at this mill, where the highest textile wages are paid, where stabilization of

employment actuates every move, where old age is not considered a cause of unfitness and where the fullest expansion on the part of the workers through their union is welcomed.

And we ask your continued support of Pequot sheets and pillow cases so that this union may be a fitting example for the rest of the textile industry and labor in general.

President Green: I want to express our gratitude to Brother O'Connell for his visit and for his address. I think a very substantial way in which we can help these members of organized labor in the furtherance and perfection of this plan of cooperation would be for every one of us when we go back home to make ourselves a committee of one, requesting and urging our families, relatives and friends, when they are purchasing sheets and pillow cases, to insist upon having goods manufactured by this union-management mill. Let us bear that in mind.

I again express my thanks to Mr. Smith and Brother O'Connell for coming to us this morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Clarke, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Again we meet and greet. In exchanging our greetings our minds and our hearts carry us back over the years that have passed. There are few if any with us at this convention who were present at the birth of this splendid organization. The names and deeds of those enumerated in the "introduction" to the report of the Executive Council to this convention revives, rekindles and fires anew in us a greater determination to carry on the work and bear the responsibilities that we, the successors of those sturdy pioneers, have inherited.

The founders of this movement were heroic men. They knew what they wanted to do and they clearly and courageously set about to carry their hopes and their aspirations to a successful conclusion. Their planning and their accomplishments formed an excellent foundation upon which has been builded this unequalled structure, the American Federation of Labor.

There may be some, however, who might feel that all that should have been accomplished has not been acquired, or that our progress has been slow. But the most accurate rule with which to measure our progress and accomplishments is the rule of comparison. To fully understand our advanced steps and our present standing we are required to contrast our wages,

our hours of labor, our living conditions, our comforts, our entertainments, the luxuries that our people enjoy, and the general freedom of those whom we represent, with the conditions confronting the workers of other countries. If we will make such a comparison we shall immediately realize that our labor movement and its accomplishments are in advance of any other movement of a like character the world over.

Generally speaking, our wages are the highest, our hours are the shortest, our living conditions are the most advanced, our comforts are the best, our entertainments unsurpassed, while our luxuries and our freedom of action are not excelled by the people of any other nation. Yet, with all this, we are not and we should not be satisfied, for when people are satisfied a situation is reached where inactivity and decay shall promptly follow. This must be avoided.

But with our progress, our accomplishments and our standing there have come difficult problems for us to grapple with and to solve. The work of the inventive genius and that which has followed as the result of inventions, have made undreamt of strides in the way of separating our people from their positions and this has been aided by mass production and under-consumption until we are now confronted with many present-day problems that almost challenge our every hope and our every effort.

The Executive Council has very wisely and very appropriately pointed out that "the scope, the intricacy, the present-day situations, rapidly changing methods and techniques, require us to find new approaches and new programs." This suggests the imperative need of an aggressive leadership and of an informed and an alert trade union movement to a greater degree than at any other period in our history.

In the opinion of your committee, each and every member of this trade union movement must assist by making their contribution towards meeting our present and our future problems in the spirit and with the determination of those undaunted characters who laid the foundation for this splendid association.

Your committee recognizes the value of the suggestions of the Executive Council and at the same time we emphatically declare that we are confident that when our successors appraise our efforts and our accomplishments they will feel as elated over our achievements as we now feel because of the accomplishments of those who builded that we may enjoy. It is in

this spirit that we urge a new and a persistent effort to broadcast the noble principles and high ideals of the trade union movement as typified by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Benefit Service of National and International Unions

The statistical data presented under the foregoing caption, pages 67-71 of the Report of the Executive Council, is illuminative and informative. It brings to the students of our movement as well as those directly identified therewith facts that bear unmistakable and conclusive evidence of the progress made and is a true exemplification of the many humane activities which have contributed so much to alleviating the distress that arises from sickness, disability, unemployment, old age, etc. We appreciate the manner in which this information is imparted and express the thanks of the movement to all who aided in the collection and the compilation of this information.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdictional Problems

We find reference to this general subject on page 73 of the Report of the Executive Council. Considering the intricate and complex problems arising in our modern industries, the wonder is that more controversies have not arisen. We congratulate the officers and members of the movement on their tendency to compose their differences and we express the hope that this spirit shall continue to actuate those who are confronted with jurisdictional problems, to the end that conflicts shall be avoided by wise counsel and a fraternal approach to such difficult problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Stationary Firemen—Engineers

On page 73 of the Report of the Executive Council, we observe that a difference arose between these two organizations which was finally adjusted by an adherence to an agreement reached at the New Orleans convention in 1928. We congratulate the representatives of these two organizations on the wisdom of settling their misunderstanding by complying with an already existing agreement and we express the sincere hope that all agreements made in good faith shall be adhered to. It

is only by recognizing and observing agreements and decisions that we can expect those who are not familiar with our aims to have that faith in us which is so essential to our success.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers

The Executive Council reports their efforts to amalgamate these two organizations. Reference to this appears on page 73 of the Report of the Executive Council to this convention. The Council likewise suggests that they be permitted to continue their efforts and your committee recommends that their wishes be concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers

The Executive Council reports the conference held between the representatives of these two organizations, which report appears on page 70. It is our information that a meeting was held in conformity with the provisions of resolution No. 68 of the Toronto convention, and that it was there agreed that those representing each side would prepare and submit a brief to sustain their respective contentions. This has been done and the subject matter is now in the hands of the Executive Council for action.

In presenting their report to this convention, the Executive Council states that their report is merely to show that progress is being made, and they recommend that the subject matter be left in charge of the Executive Council for the purpose of continuing their efforts to reach a mutually acceptable understanding between the contending parties.

Your committee approves of the recommendation to leave the question with the Executive Council and we express the hope that a satisfactory decision shall be rendered on as early a date as possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Theatrical Stage Employees vs. Electrical Workers and Some Other Organizations Affiliated with the Building Trades Department

Reference to this subject can be found on page 73 of the Report of the Executive Coun-

cil to this convention. It is related that a conference lasting for one week was held and that substantial progress was made. The Council suggests that further efforts be put forth to reach an agreement and we commend this idea and recommend that this problem be left with the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hod Carriers—Independent Bricklayers' Helpers

On page 74, of the Report of the Executive Council, we are informed that the difference that existed between these two organizations has been adjusted. We congratulate all who were a party to such a happy termination of this dispute and give our approval to the action taken.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Teamsters—Railway Clerks

An extended review of this dispute appears on pages 74-76 of the Report of the Executive Council to this convention. Your committee reaffirms our action of one year ago and approves of the course outlined in the Report of the Executive Council for future negotiations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists

On page 77 of the Report of the Executive Council is recorded the efforts of President Green, Secretary Morrison and the officers of the organizations named to reach an understanding on this long-standing controversy. It appeared practically impossible to surmount some of the difficulties that now stand in the way of a satisfactory conclusion, but the manner in which the problem has recently been handled and the spirit in which it is now being considered cause your committee to feel that time will demonstrate the wisdom of conforming to the recommendation of the Executive Council which provides that the Council be permitted to continue their efforts, and your committee so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Change in Titles

This matter comes to us on page 77 of the Report of the Executive Council. Not having

had any complaint presented against the action taken by the Executive Council, this committee gives its approval to the changes made in the titles of the three organizations named in the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Longshoremen's Compensation Law

Reference to this matter appears on page 74 of the Report of the Executive Council. We commend President Joseph P. Ryan for his efforts in behalf of the members of his union and express the hope that future efforts to amend the law may prove successful.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Official Changes

On page 122 of the Report of the Executive Council we are reminded of the untimely and tragic death of our Fifth Vice-President, Brother James P. Noonan, who died at Washington, D. C., December 4, 1929.

In the passing of Brother Noonan a militant, outstanding leader in the trade union movement was removed from our midst, but during his unusual active services he made his impress on the period in which he lived. The members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, whom he served with a fervor worthy of emulation, will miss him most for the work he so well performed and the things he accomplished. We mourn the passing of this outstanding champion of the rights of all the toilers. He contributed his part towards making the lives of the workers happier and sweeter, and we trust that he is now enjoying his eternal reward.

In the death of Brother Noonan a vacancy was created on the Executive Council which was filled in harmony with constitutional law. This committee approves of the selection of G. M. Bugniæz to the position of Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees—Request for Transfer of Sleeping Car Porters

This matter comes to this committee through Resolution No. 57, introduced in this convention. Our committee recommends ref-

erence of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Painters Request Extension of Jurisdiction

This question comes to your committee through Resolution No. 60, introduced in this convention. It is our judgment that this request should be investigated and disposed of by the Executive Council. With this in mind we recommend the reference of the subject to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conclusion

Conditions are bad. No one can foretell just what the future has in store for us. But we must not feel discouraged. In hours of trial it is the wise man who will be more alert than during ordinary times. This we should all resolve to be.

In making such a suggestion we have the increased activity of our Executive Council as an example for our guidance. We congratulate the members of the Executive Council collectively for the aid and encouragement they have given us, and our Secretary and our Treasurer are entitled to share with the other members of the Council in our congratulations.

Without detracting from our congratulations to the other officers of the American Federation of Labor, may we not make special mention of the excellent work performed by our distinguished president. The efforts of President Green are worthy of our highest commendation. His standing everywhere brings to us joy and satisfaction. In the homes of the humble toilers of our land his name is spoken with reverence. He is our champion and we wish him well. We have faith and confidence in the hopes and in the deeds of President Green. He is an inspiration to each of us. For his untiring efforts we express the thanks and the gratitude of the toilers of this and other lands, who are now profiting by President Green's services to humankind.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Secretary Clarke: This completes our report, which is signed:

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,
 WM. P. CLARKE Secy.,
 GEORGE L. BERRY,
 THOMAS KENNEDY,
 WM. L. HUTCHESON,
 F. H. KNIGHT,
 EDW. FLORE,
 J. J. HYNES,
 ANDREW FURUSETH,
 JAMES C. SHANESSY,
 SAMUEL MOORE,
 JOHN J. MARA,
 FRANK KASTEN,
 JOHN J. STRETCH,
 BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
 CHARLES SUMNER,
 W. M. COLLINS.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Building Contracts

Under this caption on page 104 of the Executive Council's report a bill that would be helpful in having government buildings erected under union conditions is dealt with. The bill did not come to a vote in the last Congress.

Your committee commends the Council for its efforts in behalf of this measure. The government of the United States should be first in upholding the American standard of living, not only by calling conferences at the White House but in actual execution of work carried on by the government.

Nevertheless government building contracts throughout the United States are constantly awarded to non-union contractors operating under conditions that tend to break down the standard of living and destroy working conditions established through the efforts of organized labor. The practice is intolerable and un-American and should not be allowed to prevail. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have this evil abolished.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Labor Policy of Chain Stores

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Arthur J. Beauregard, of the Providence Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, The country is being overrun by the chain store system, and their employees do not belong to any labor unions in most cases; and

WHEREAS, We of the Building Trades Department are confronted with a serious menace by these concerns where they are employing so-called maintenance men to do our work, and now they are negotiating with some manufacturer direct to buy their material and having same installed by their maintenance men, who work longer hours and receive considerably less wages than the men to whom this work rightfully belongs receive, who are affiliated with labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Mass., October 6, 1930, shall go on record as opposed to these methods of certain chain stores; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of the Executive Council be instructed to wait on the officials of these firms and see if this evil can be corrected.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Labor Policy of War Department in West Point Construction Work

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Samuel Squibb of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, The War Department of the Federal Government has been doing all the construction work that has been done at West Point for the past eight years; and

WHEREAS, Those in authority have violated the prevailing wage and working standards established in the vicinity of West Point during this entire period; and

WHEREAS, Every effort so far to change this unfair situation has been met by the opposition of those in charge of West Point, supported by the War Department; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest against this action of the War Department and that the Executive Council take up the matter with Government officials in order that wage rates and working standards established in the vicinity of West Point may apply on construction work done by the Government in the future at West Point.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Employment of Convict Labor in Cutting Granite for State Office Building, Madison, Wisconsin

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Samuel Squibb of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, The State of Wisconsin is using convict labor to quarry and cut the granite for a new State Office Building being erected in Madison, Wis.; and

WHEREAS, Serious unemployment in the building trades is made worse by this use of convict labor; and

WHEREAS, A state capitol and all buildings connected with it should be symbolical in every way of the ideals of a free people; and

WHEREAS, Using convict labor to erect such a building is injurious to free labor and contrary to the ideals of a free people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council request the Legislature and the Governor of Wisconsin to have free labor do all the work on the new State Office Building and that all labor bodies in Wisconsin be urged to take a similar stand against this use of convict labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: I hesitate to take issue with the representatives of any international union when an effort is being made to conserve work for their membership, but we cannot consider this resolution without taking into consideration as well the position of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the state-use system. In many of the states an effort has been made to prevent prison products from going into the open market. In some respects some success has been had. In this particular instance the question arose whether the State of Wisconsin shall conform to the Hawes-Cooper Act, which is, as I understand it, after all merely an enabling act, by beginning somewhere to do some work for the state itself.

The Board of Control hit upon the plan of using some state owned real estate upon which there were quarries to do certain work for the state institutions. We did not suggest that this be done, but they felt that a start be made, inasmuch as labor insisted that no work be done in the future to be put on the open market. If this resolution is adopted you will put your-

selves in the position of asking the State of Wisconsin not to put into operation the plan the American Federation of Labor has been fostering. You will not only be helping the Board of Control, which is opposed to this plan and which appeared before the committee when the Hawes-Cooper bill was up, in opposition to it—you will not only kill the plan we are sponsoring and extend to other states, but it will make your Executive Council look ridiculous to go into Wisconsin and ask them to prevent this work being done.

We stopped the sale of monumental stone sold in the open market. We who sat in these conferences knew that some group is bound to be affected. We also knew that we were compelled to concede that prisoners, after all, must do some work. The American Federation of Labor was forced to concede that. If you adopt this resolution you are going to ask the American Federation of Labor to run counter to the very plan they have adopted and asked the states to put into execution.

Delegate Squibb, Granite Cutters' International Association: Delegate Ohl, in his remarks, spoke about this being an initial attempt to put into effect the policy of the Hawes-Cooper bill, and he asked what will be the effect if this protest is entered against it. I would like to ask him, I would like to ask all the delegates here, if it be the idea of those in authority in our states to build all our public buildings with convict labor, what will be the result then? It seems to me that if endorsing this resolution does involve even the reversal of policy, in the interest of the men we represent we should not hesitate to reverse the policy.

President Green: The American Federation of Labor is not in favor of public buildings being erected by convict labor. We favor the employment of convict labor for the purpose of manufacturing goods and material for state use by the state and by the political sub-divisions of the state, but we always contend that in the erection of public buildings our skilled free workmen shall be employed. I wish that the delegates may not become confused regarding our policy.

We realize that the convicts in our state institutions must be considered; we favor the employment of convicts in the manufacture of goods for state use within the state and by the political sub-divisions of the state. We secured the enactment of the Hawes-Cooper bill so that a state that had adopted a convict labor measure prohibiting the manufacture and sale of

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

convict-made goods manufactured within the state in competition with free labor within the state, could prohibit the sale of convict-made goods within the state, manufactured by convicts in other states. We have in the past succeeded in having the bill passed, so that the same state and the same legislature might enact a supplementary law prohibiting the importation and sale within the state of goods manufactured by convict labor in other states. The Hawes-Cooper bill enables a state legislature to deprive convict goods of an interstate character through state legislative enactment.

In connection with the employment of convict labor we want to pursue a humane and reasonable policy, but we do not believe that goods manufactured by convict labor should be sold in the open market and convict labor used in competition with free labor for the purpose of reducing our American standards of living.

Delegate Ohl: The understanding is that the construction work will not be done by prison labor, it will be confined to the quarry. In answer to Brother Squibb's question I would say that it is not our idea to have the state do construction work. We want them to keep away from the work that comes under the jurisdiction of ourselves. The idea in Wisconsin is that about four hours of the time of the prisoners be devoted to education, but I don't know what Florence Curtis Hanson would say if we put some of those prisoners on the faculty of the prison; I don't know what Joe Moreschi would say if we put some of the men on state road work, and we don't know but what Fred Baer would protest a prison fire department.

Delegate McDonough, Plasterers: Are you opposed to the adoption of this resolution?

Delegate Ohl: Certainly. I don't think it ought to be done that way. I would suggest that the Executive Council make further inquiry and see if they can do anything in respect to some of these things without going back on a plan they have adopted at several conventions.

Delegate McDonough: I want to say for the information of the brothers that our committee received information that the State Federation of Labor was in accord with the plan of using convict labor for cutting granite. There was nobody before the committee from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to deny that statement, and, personally, I believe it will not embarrass the Executive Council or the officials of this organization to prohibit the use of

convict labor on buildings. I believe the resolution should be unanimously adopted by this convention.

Delegate Ohl: This was not a proposal, nor was it in agreement with the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. The Board of Control and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor did not work out this thing to begin the system at the quarries. That was done by the Board of Control. We felt if we entered a protest in this case that protests would be made in other states.

Delegate Squibb: I hate to take up the time of the convention discussing this matter, but it seems there is confusion in the minds of some of the delegates concerning the question. If there were buildings being constructed by convict bricklayers and carpenters and other trades, there would be a terrific outcry. According to Delegate Ohl's discussion it would be a proper thing to put a shed up alongside the building, put convict granite cutters inside of it and the idea would be all right.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman McDonough: This concludes the report of the Committee on Building Trades.

M. J. McDONOUGH, Chairman,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN, Secy.,
WM. J. MCSORLEY,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
FRANK FEENEY,
DAVE EVANS,
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY,
J. E. ROONEY,
EDWARD RYAN,
JOHN REUL,
H. C. ROGERS,
CHAS. M. RAU,
M. W. MITCHELL,
SAM SQUIBB,
J. M. GAVLAK,
EMIL PREISS,

Committee on Building Trades.

The report was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Flynn, Newspaper Writers' Union: I move that the address delivered by Cardinal O'Connell and the address delivered by Father Corrigan at the special services for labor held at the Cathedral Sunday be printed in today's proceedings.

Delegate McInroy, Railroad Telegraphers: I move as an amendment that the sermon of

President Green, that was delivered at the Methodist Church last Sunday night, be also published.

Delegate Flynn accepted the amendment as part of his motion, and the motion was adopted as amended.

Delegate Ross, Mississippi State Federation of Labor: I move that an article on convict labor which appeared in the New York Times of October 13 be printed in today's proceedings.

The motion was seconded and carried. The article is as follows:

PROTEST TO MELLON ON RUSSIAN LUMBER

Manufacturers Charge Failure to Ban It on "Evidence" of Convict Labor

POINT TO SOVIET "BOUNTIES"

Item and Putting Burden of Proof on Importer That Every Shipment is Exempt Under Law

Washington, Oct. 12.—Declaring that importations of lumber from Soviet Russia were of grave concern to the American lumber industry and the 1,000,000 men employed by it, Wilson Compton, secretary and manager of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, sent to Secretary Mellon yesterday a complaint against the failure of the Treasury Department, through its division of customs, to prescribe regulations to prevent admission to this country of Russian lumber, alleged to be convict-made.

Mr. Compton held that there was ample reason for suspecting every Russian lumber importation to be illegal under Section 307 of

the tariff act of 1930, prohibiting convict-made imports, and he contended that the department had sufficient information upon which to act. In his letter to Secretary Mellon Mr. Compton said:

"It is our understanding that there has been on the part of the Treasury Department some hesitation in carrying out the mandate imposed by Section 307 because of the difficulty of proving conclusively, as to each parcel of lumber imported, that convict labor has been used in its production.

"Irrespective of the degree of difficulty of proof, the statutory mandate still remains, which imposes upon the Secretary of the Treasury the explicit duty to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to secure the exclusion of convict-made products. This has not been done. Convict-made Russian lumber continues to have access to American markets.

"Acceptance as proof from the interested importers and exporters of mere denials without proof will result only in the nullification of the law itself.

"May we further ask your attention to the free raw materials, free plants and equipments, free transportation and in effect subsidized labor, used in the manufacture of lumber in Russia as constituting indirect 'grants' or 'bounties,' subject therefore to the provisions of Section 303 of the tariff act of 1930; also to the statutory requirement in Section 304 thereof, under the terms of which we ask that on all lumber imported from Russia, unless each piece is distinctly marked showing the country of origin there be imposed the additional charges provided by the law."

Arrangements were made to have the official photograph of the convention taken at the close of the session.

At 12:30 o'clock a recess was taken to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Sixth Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Gillmore, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Richard, Schulte, Meyer, Marshall (H.S.), Beardsley, Wolff, Burns (M.J.), Britton, Berry, Badaracco, Dart, Burke (J.P.), Cullen, Kaiser, Egan, Stierle, Graham, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson, Bowden, Moser (C.J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (C.G.), Laude, Machado, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Tucker, O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Souza, Augustino, Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Nealey, Dacey, Distle, Shave, Kelly (W.), Williams, Donahue, Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Lawrence, Fanning, Dorsey, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Covert, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Carey, Walsh, Clarke (E.B.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Hill, Mitchell (T.), Miller.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, announced that Delegate Pryor, of the same organization, was ill, and because of that was absent from the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

Delegate Bannister, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Union Progress

That part of the Executive Council's report to be found on pages Nos. 64, 65, 66 and 72, entitled "Union Progress" and with particular reference to "Five-day Week," has been referred to this committee, and your committee commends the action of the Council, and urges a continuance of wide-spread careful surveys to secure definite and accurate information as to the growth of the Five-day Week.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Shorter Saturday Workday

That part of the Executive Council's report to be found on page 105, and entitled "Shorter Saturday Workday," has been referred to this committee, and your committee commends the action of the Council, and rec-

ommends that the Council continue its efforts to have the bill pass the House.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Bannister: Resolutions No. 40 and No. 43 both deal with the same subject. The committee has prepared a recommendation to cover both collectively. The resolutions are as follows:

Eight-Hour Day for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Edward J. Looney of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The fire fighters of the United States and Canada are now working what is known as the "two-platoon system;" that is, an average of twelve hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters are practically the only body of civic employees who work such long hours, other employees' work being such that they shall not exceed eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters has gone on record as favoring an eight-hour day for all paid fire fighters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, does hereby go on record as approving of the eight-hour day for all paid fire fighters in the United States and Canada, and further instructs the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils to assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when the campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters.

Eight-Hour Day for New York City Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Edward J. Looney of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The establishment of an eight-hour day in the New York fire department, as provided by a bill now before the Board of Aldermen, will help relieve the distress of unemployment while increasing the efficiency of the fire force and giving relief to men who now work eighty-four hours a week in protecting the lives and property of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, hereby directs the attention of the officials of the City of New York

to the importance of early enactment of the Fire Department Eight-Hour Law and call upon all trade unionists to urge the adoption of an eight-hour day for firemen as in keeping with labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

In view of the fact that civic employees can only obtain relief through legislation, your committee concurs in these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Action to Secure 48-Hour Work Week Law in All States

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr and William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The trend toward shorter working hours is becoming general in many divisions of industry in our country; and

WHEREAS, This movement of the shorter work day and work week is accepted by all fair minded men and women as a real attempt to stabilize industry and avoid unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The textile industry is at the lowest ebb in its history due in a great measure to the lack of vision of many textile employers in not promoting or assisting to bring about in their various states an equitable and fair work day and work week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor take up with their various affiliated organizations in the several states not now having the 48-hour work week in the textile industry and request the officers and members of these State and City organizations to start at once a movement to bring about a maximum 48-hour work week similar to the Massachusetts 48-hour law.

Your committee recommends the substitution of the following Resolve:

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor take up with their various affiliated organizations in the several States not now having the eight-hour work day for women and minors and request the officers and members of these State and City organizations to start at once a movement to bring about a work day of not more than eight hours for them.

With this change your Committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Demonstration for Five Day Week

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Thos A. Slavens of the Newport, Rhode Island, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, As stated in our Executive Council's report, unemployment is the outstanding economic fact of the past year; and

WHEREAS, The greatest immediate factor for the reduction of unemployment would be the general adoption of the five day week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the workers of the United States of America, organized and unorganized, to lay down their tools for one day as a symbol of their determination to secure the five day week as labor's contribution towards the stabilization of employment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That our Executive Council select a day for this demonstration as near in the future as plans can be conveniently formed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention call upon all State Federations and Central Labor Unions to arrange mass meetings in their respective states and cities at which Labor's program will be explained; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green be instructed to arrange for a national radio hook-up, in the evening of above named day, over which he shall send Labor's demand for the immediate adoption of the five day week.

Your committee is convinced that there can not be too widespread educational effort in connection with the question of a five-day week. Your committee, however, is of the opinion that setting aside a special day, and requesting Labor to shut down industry, would not be a satisfactory method of carrying on such education.

We cannot look with approval on the method of declaring holidays for special educational purposes, when other and more satisfactory and practical methods are at our disposal. Therefore, while agreeing with the introducer of the resolution, that it is most necessary that every practical educational effort should be made, we believe it advisable to non-concur in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Slavens, Newport (R. I.), Central Labor Union: In presenting the resolution as read by the committee it was the desire of Newport labor that American labor take some effective action to relieve unemployment. It was our desire that the question of the five day week be brought directly home to every American worker within this nation. We felt that the most effective means of doing this was to require each worker in this nation to pay observance to that ideal on a fixed day set aside by the American Federation of Labor.

We are aware that there may be some elements within the state that might attempt to use that date to cause trouble, but we believe if this problem is approached in a sane way,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

after a thorough understanding with Government officials on the part of our leaders and with the leaders of industry, the five day week can be brought to the forefront and placed in the minds of the workers so that they will have an opportunity to show by nation-wide demonstration that they intend to adopt that policy throughout industry.

I personally am employed every day. I am in daily conversation with my fellow workers. I know they desire to make personal sacrifices for the American labor movement. I know they recognize the value of resolutions, but they, as individual workmen, demand that they be given an opportunity to show, by individual and collective action, that they intend to give something towards the stabilization of employment and of that condition, I believe if this day were set aside by this convention you would see a great revival throughout this nation. You would see thousands and thousands of workers coming back under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. You would see a genuine interest manifested in our factories, in our mines and in our workshops, back of the real program which leads towards stabilization of employment.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Proposing Declaration in Favor of a 5-Hour Workday

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, One of the necessary and legitimate purposes of the trade union movement is to regulate the hours of labor in industry; and

WHEREAS, Trade union activity in the United States replaced the hours of labor from sunrise to sunset by a 10-hour day; pressed forward and established a 9-hour day, and continuing its efforts established an 8-hour day which is now generally applied; and

WHEREAS, Many wage earners now work less than 8 hours per day, and in a large number of instances have established the 5-day week through agreement with their employers; and

WHEREAS, During the entire period in which the hours of labor have been gradually reduced the per capita production in industry has greatly increased instead of decreased; and

WHEREAS, Under existing industrial methods the use of power applied to machinery has trebled and quadrupled, and will be greatly increased in the immediate future, this increasing use of power being accompanied by new types of machinery and the application of chemical and other processes which of themselves greatly increase the per capita productivity of those employed in our industries; and

WHEREAS, The capacity of industry to produce has been so rapid that a steadily growing condition of unemployment has been established which operates regardless of the cycles of business; and

WHEREAS, The most reliable statistics gathered by the Federal Government, associations of employers, economists working independently, and the American Trade Union movement indicate that if our industries with their present equipment of machinery and use of power were to work at full capacity 150 days in the year the total volume of production would be greater than it has been; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, after giving these economic and industrial facts careful thought and exhaustive examination in its Twenty-second Annual Convention just adjourned, through a unanimous vote declared in favor of a basic 5-hour day, with the provision that where necessary two or more 5-hour shifts may be established in industries requiring partially continuous or continuous production, or where the demand may require a greater production during certain periods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare for a basic 5-hour work day, and pledge itself to take the necessary steps to bring about its operation and establishment at the earliest possible day.

Your committee in reaching its conclusions upon the intent and scope of this resolution, endeavored to secure information relative to the reasons for its presentation.

We found that the officers of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor had, for some time past, studied all available official sources of information relative to modern methods of production, and their influence upon the capacity of industry to produce. We learned that the subject had received careful and exhaustive examination by the delegates to the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the Metal Trades Department, and that, after this thorough-going examination of the subject, they had by a unanimous vote, declared in favor of a basic 5-hour work day, with such additional number of 5-hour shifts in any plant or industry which were necessary because of the demand for production.

Before entering upon the reasons which have led your committee to submit their recommendation we desire to call attention to the apparent radical shortening of the work day which is involved. While this shortening of the work day may seem a radical change, it fails to parallel the drastic change which has taken place in industry which has so enormously increased per capita production.

We would emphasize the fact that it is no longer possible to consider the length of the work day from the same basis which our trade union movement did when it established

the 10-hour day, and later the 9, and then the 8-hour day. During that period the use of power applied to machinery, the types of machinery in existence, and the scientific methods, chemical processes and other methods of accelerating production, had scarcely indicated themselves.

Comparing industrial processes and methods of production during the 10, 9, and the beginning of the 8-hour work day period, and those being applied today, and which to an increasing extent will be applied tomorrow, seemingly indicates that the change from a 10 to a 9-hour work day, or from a 9 to an 8-hour work day, was a much more drastic shortening of the work day, so far as production is concerned, than changing the 8-hour to the 5-hour work day under existing industrial methods of production.

Federal statistics for the five-year period ending in 1927 indicate that approximately 2,000,000 wage earners were eliminated from the production and transportation industries. Over 900,000 were eliminated from our manufacturing industries. Approximately 240,000 from our railway transportation service (and this does not include the railway shopmen), and some 800,000 from agriculture. Yet, with the elimination of 2,000,000 wage earners during this five-year period, we find that at the end of the period our manufacturing industries were producing more in volume and value than ever before; that the number of ton miles and passenger miles hauled by our railroads was larger than ever before, and that agricultural products had increased.

This five-year period was practically a normal one. There had been no artificial stimulation of industry. There had been no serious depression. While we would not attempt to forecast, the experience of this five-year period would justify the conclusion that during normal times in the future, if scientific and technical methods continue to be applied to industrial processes, there will be still further elimination of those employed to produce in the industries of our country.

The marvelous transformation in industrial processes, the continually growing capacity of industry to produce, has already had a marked influence in the attitude towards hours of labor on the part of a large number of bankers, investors and manufacturers. For some time a number of the leading spokesmen for these groups have asserted the necessity for reducing the hours of labor, not so much

for the benefit of the wage earner as for the stabilization of industry and commerce itself.

It is the first time in the history of our nation that representatives of these groups should speak as they have, for during the period when we shortened the work day to 9 hours, and afterwards when we reduced it to 8 hours, their voice was generally heard in strongest opposition, and they were frequently assisted in their position by men of prominence in the field of economics.

For several years some of our most prominent industrialists have publicly stated that in their opinion the hours of labor must be shortened. Many of them have placed their personal belief into operation, so that we have witnessed the establishing of the 5-day work week for a large number of workmen, without those violent conflicts of opinion and of action which occurred in connection with the establishing of the 9 and the 8-hour work day.

Many of our trade unions have already declared for a work day considerably shorter than 8 hours.

In reaching our conclusions, we have been aware that no complete data exist which would enable us with absolute and scientific accuracy to assert that a certain fractional length of work day exactly provide for the volume of production which our country could consume, and which could be exported. We have not, however, been without impressive and authoritative statistical and other information to guide us.

It has been recognized for some time that in a number of our industries a large degree of idleness and part time work had become a permanent condition, and that many groups of wage earners during what are considered normally good times are unable to secure more than 150 to 200 days' work per year.

The reports submitted by statisticians employed by some employers' associations, and those compiled by governmental agencies, seemingly indicate that if our present industrial equipment, with its buildings, existing machinery and technical processes, were to work at its full capacity 150 days per year, that the total output would be even greater than what it was at the close of 1927.

Complete statistics of production for 1928 and 1929 are not yet available, but all data which have been collected indicate that there had been a steady increase in per capita production during these two years, and a continued increase of displacement of men by power and machinery.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

In connection with this subject, we desire to direct your attention to the fact that entirely new considerations enter into the question of shortening the hours of labor than those which moved us when our trade union movement first began to shorten the work day. Originally one of our principal purposes was to secure a little leisure time, to have a better opportunity of enjoying the social life, the relaxation and the recreation to which we believed the wage earners were entitled.

There were humane considerations. We were convinced that the wage earner should be something more than an industrial drudge, giving the entire day and practically all of his vitality to industrial labor. We insisted that the wage earner should have sufficient time to spend with his family in the enjoyment of his home, and in improving his mind.

While humane considerations must continue to influence us in connection with the part we play in industry, the facts which we must now consider are largely of an economic character. Old methods of production have been superseded by new ones. The old fashioned reaper is displaced by the combine. The transportation system has undergone as great a revolution as the displacement of horse drawn vehicles by the automobile. Power in continually increasing volume is being applied to do the work which in our own lifetime was performed as the result of the wage earner's muscular effort and mechanical skill. New types of machinery and other processes applied to production have rapidly replaced manual labor and craft dexterity.

Your committee, therefore, has been compelled to study the question of a shorter work day in an entirely different manner from which committees dealing with the shorter work day considered it thirty, forty and fifty years ago.

We have been informed by some authorities, that the great displacement of labor which has recently taken place, due to improved methods in production, has been compensated for by new types of service employment. That the automobile industry has placed a large number at work as chauffeurs; that the electrical industry has created employment for many whose work is that of servicing household and other electrical equipment. That the amusement industry has absorbed a large number of those displaced in industry, transportation and agriculture.

While it is unquestionably true that new industries have absorbed a large number of those

permanently displaced from the industries in which they had made their livelihood, no satisfactory evidence has been presented which would indicate that these new industries absorb those displaced in the older ones; neither is there any evidence that those securing employment in the newer industries are able to secure the same wage which they received during their previous period of employment.

The experience of our International Unions, the statistics which they have kept relative to their membership and employment, indicate that many of those who have been displaced have been unable to secure work, and that many others have been forced to accept employment under wage rates immeasurably lower than what they had formerly received.

In addition, there seems to be a conviction on the part of the leading authorities on the subject that unless some new industry giving employment to hundreds of thousands or millions (such as the automobile industry has done) comes into existence in the near future we will be faced with a rapidly increasing number of permanently unemployed.

While technological unemployment has become a serious problem for the mechanic, there is developing a species of semi-permanent unemployment as serious for the semi-skilled and the so-called common labor.

Your committee feels it necessary to express its belief that shortening the hours of labor is the only way of meeting the economic condition created by modern methods of industry, with their constantly increasing capacity to produce. In the presentation of this subject your committee must call attention to the economic fact that shortening the hours of labor can not be expected to cure unemployment. At best it can only relieve this situation. There is another necessary condition.

Unemployment such as we have experienced in our country is manifestly due principally to the fact that the wages paid have not increased in proportion to our per capita production in industry, transportation and farming. The wages paid have been far from sufficient to enable the mass of the people to consume the products of their own industries. It is this unsound and uneconomic wage which has caused the piling up of manufactured goods in warehouses, and brought about periods of depression.

We do not intend to discuss the economic principles involved in wages, for this is properly a subject for another committee dealing with the question of wages, but we do call your

attention to this apparently well-established fact, that the present depression with the tremendous suffering it has forced upon the wage earners, was due, not to the collapse of the stock market last fall, but to a condition developing during the past six or seven years when industry was gradually and then more rapidly producing more than the wages paid enabled the mass of the people to purchase.

The question of the "shorter work day" and of the "wage rate" are closely connected, but the length of the work day is one of the factors determining the amount of production, while the wages paid is the factor which determines the volume of consumption.

In dealing with the resolution submitted to it, your committee has given its consideration to the problem of production as it now exists, and as it is developing.

In view of the tremendous economic and social questions created by modern industrial methods of production and the shortening of the work day and work week which has become an industrial necessity, your committee recommends that the resolution and the committee's report be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to give the subject their immediate and thorough consideration; to secure all available statistical information related to the problem, and to present in its report to the next convention of the A. F. of L. their conclusions, and which will also contain a recommendation for the length of work day and work week, which the American trade union movement should apply all its energies to establish.

DELEGATE JAMES O'CONNELL (President, Metal Trades Department)

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: As the introducer of the resolution which the committee has just dealt with, if I should sit idly by and not say something in connection with it and the report of the committee it might indicate that I had lost my interest in it. To some it may appear that this resolution which I have the honor to present is an extremely radical one. I am not a radical, I am not an anarchist or a communist or a socialist or even a prohibitionist. For more than fifty years I have been a trades unionist and I have been very greatly interested in that period of time, in the question of the shortening of the hours of labor. No question that this convention will deal with, no subject that it may consider is of such great importance to the wage earners of our country as the question of the hours of labor. We have other great questions to consider, other subjects that affect us very materially—the question of injunctions, the question of wages, and other questions.

But we are living in a time and in a period in the history of this country and in our lives when we see, not thousands nor hundreds of thousands, but millions of wage workers walking the streets. And when you speak of wage workers you must take into consideration the families of wage workers, the wives and the children. And so, rounding up the figure, you have several millions of people unemployed.

We are facing now winter, which is the time of year when, if we need work at all, if we need wages at all, that is the time. Of course it is more expensive to live because of the extra expenditures for carrying the household—clothing for yourselves and your families, fuel for your houses, increased costs on every side. What is the outlook for the coming winter? It is extremely serious, extremely dangerous.

And so we come to you suggesting the shortening of the work day. More than thirty years ago I started a shorter work day movement in the organization of which I have the honor to be executive head. A great battle ensued in that trade with our employers. It lasted several months and in some portions it lasted into years—a battle to reduce the hours of labor half an hour. Finally they were reduced from ten to nine and a half and then to nine hours.

We have been dilly-dallying with the question of the reduction of hours while productive man power has increased at a phenomenally astounding rate. I am not here to oppose the report of the committee and there is not the slightest attempt to enforce our personal desires or the desires of our Department, a department representing more than a quarter of a million skilled workers in this country. As you may know, I had the honor to be a member of the Executive Council for more than twenty-five years, and I know something of the things the Executive Council has dealt with in the past and the seriousness with which they consider the problems confronting them. Coming from an old stager, a man who has had as much experience in this great movement as any man in this convention and who is looked upon as a most conservative labor leader, it may seem strange that with that record of conservatism I should introduce into this convention a resolution revolutionizing the hours of labor. Several delegates have asked me what has happened to me or what kind of dope I was taking. And I say after mature consideration and thought, after looking around and traveling around interviewing employers, interviewing specialists, interviewing men who have to do with public affairs, labor officials, any one that I have come in contact with who seemed to know anything about this problem, it is the consensus of opinion that the reducing of the hours of labor by half an hour or an hour would be no more effective at this time than if you left it alone.

Surely we will gain some experience in the coming winter. Surely the Executive Council will have the opportunity of investigation, the opportunity of observation of what takes place the coming winter, and if the hearts of the nation, the hearts of the Government, the hearts of the employers are not softened after what is going to occur during this win-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ter, then the milk of human kindness has left the heart of man.

It is not necessary to discuss the things that the committee has exhaustively reported to you on this investigation they have made in the very limited time they had to give to the subject. It is not necessary to call your attention to what machinery is doing. You know what it is doing—not yesterday nor the day before, but while we are sitting here new inventions are coming, new things are taking place, new processes are being introduced. Right here in this very city where you are meeting, only recently one of the great railroads centering in Boston electrified its switching yards, in which hundreds of men were employed in switching and making up trains, with all that goes with that sort of thing. Today that work is all done through electrical appliances and the human element enters into it in a very small degree, if at all.

While coming to this convention city I got into a discussion with a gentleman who is in charge of a large commercial house. Among other things we were discussing unemployment and he said to me, "I don't know what your business is, I don't care; but I have been down to Connecticut where they are alleged to have made wooden nutmegs, and I have just concluded a contract for a machine that will displace 300 girls in my office. Two machines will displace six hundred, and if I buy three machines I won't need any girls at all."

Just think of those things that are going on. In my early days when I talked to machinists—and we had a very limited number of members then—I used to talk the shorter workday to them and I used to tell them that some day they would only have to push a button and the day's work would be done. I was not such a fool at that. That day is coming rapidly. It may be an effort for us to push the button, it may be hard for us to get up and do it. It may be the wrong hour we are called upon to do it, but that thing is going to occur.

You may resolve and resolve, but what we want at this time, when the air is surcharged with the atmosphere of the shorter workday to take care of the unemployed, is that the Executive Council give to this subject its immediate consideration and work out as best it may something that will bring to us next year a much more satisfactory proposition than we have submitted to you, and that we may be in position to start out definitely and positively in the direction of reducing the hours of labor by the day and by the week, so that this unholy state of unemployment now existing in our country cannot come about in a day.

DELEGATE ANDREW FURUSETH

(Seamen's International Union)

Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great attention and great gratification to the report of the committee, the paper that has just been read. I listened with equal attention to the statement of the Secretary of Labor when he dealt with the same subject, and the question that it all forces upon me is: Is that the

remedy? I do not for one minute question that it is part of the remedy, but I doubt whether it is the remedy as such.

The report here is to refer it to the Executive Council, and I am in favor of that. I agree that it needs study, together with the question that arises in my mind and that has been working there for some time, namely: What is our modern civilization going toward? A constant destruction of individual skill, a constant reduction of the hours of labor, all through the introduction of the modern machines.

It seems to me, therefore, when the Executive Council is instructed to consider and report upon this subject that they should give due attention at the same time to the causes that bring this thing about and that they extend their investigation in such a way as to ascertain if, together with the proposition from the Metal Trades Department of the Federation, it may not be well to go deeper into the subject and see whether there is some other thing that ought to be coupled with it.

Constant reduction of the hours of labor—from twelve to ten and from there down to five—unquestionably it runs in the direction of what a large number of men think is the right thing.

It is a strange thing when we think of it that all through the ages men have been developing skill, the brain being assisted by the hand and the hand being trained by the brain. To see that which has been developed through the ages pass away means that civilization passes away. A reduction of the hours of labor, if you can maintain skill, if you can develop the creative faculties as a result of it, may be a glorious thing, but my belief is that at the same time there are some other things operating in human society today which the Executive Council should consider at the same time that they are considering this particular report.

I hope that the report will be passed, that is to say, that it will be sent to the Executive Council with instructions to consider it and to consider together with it whether there is anything that works in the direction of having these processes in such a way as not to make it dangerous.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Chairman Keough: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

M. J. KEOUGH, Chairman,
THOS. A. BANNISTER, Secretary,
W. J. GAINOR,
L. F. BEAUDRY,
J. FITZGERALD,
WM. M. REILLY,
LEE HALL,
FRANK P. BARRY,
JOSEPH W. MORTON,
JAMES P. MEEHAN,
GEO. MOORE,
PERCY THOMAS,
JOSEPH A. DART,
ROBERT B. HESKETH,
DANIEL HAGERTY,
CHARLES M. PAULSEN,
THEODORE MITCHELL.

COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

Chairman Keough moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I rise at this time for the purpose of offering a motion that is usually made at about this stage of the convention's proceedings. We are getting into the second week of the convention. The committees are reporting and the work is progressing very favorably.

I move that three o'clock Thursday afternoon, October 16, be set as a special order of business for the election of officers, fraternal delegates, and the selection of the next convention city.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I have attended every convention practically since 1890, and when that thing which is now proposed has been done, fifty per cent of the delegates quit; they leave the convention. We have not yet had a single report from the Committee on Resolutions, to which committee has been referred practically everything in the convention. There are some things that need to be discussed in this convention, and instead of setting a time which practically closes the convention it seems to me we had better have a night session if the Committee on Resolutions is prepared to report. I am opposed to the motion.

The motion offered by Delegate Maloney was adopted.

President Green: There is present on the platform just now a distinguished representative of a great industry, and a great American citizen. Our friend came here this afternoon to pay us a short visit. We are delighted to have him. The printing pressmen and the International Typographical Union representatives, in fact, all of those connected with the printing trades, have known our friend, Mr. Francis, for many, many years. It is my impression that he is an honorary member now of one of the printing trades organizations. He has always been a friend of organized labor, and particularly of organized labor in the printing trades. He understands economics, our trades union philosophy, and

it has always been given his sympathetic support.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Charles Francis to say a few words to you.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS

(Francis Press, New York City)

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—It is a great pleasure to me to be here today. I have not addressed the American Federation of Labor convention before, but I have addressed the conventions of the Pressmen's Union and the International Typographical Union, in both of which I am an honorary member. I also hold cards in two local unions in the jurisdiction, so that I have four memberships in a trade union. I began as a union member sixty-five years ago and I doubt whether there is anybody in the room who can beat that. I am now approaching my eighty-third birthday.

There is one thing I have always done, and that is to depend upon the people who work with me to put me on the top, and they did. In 1906 when we had the eight-hour day coming in, about which you have been talking just now, I made up my mind that I would not join in a strike on the 1906 platform. I was a member of the Employers' Association and they were going to strike, so I went to my men and called them together and said: "Gentlemen, I am not going to strike on this eight-hour business, I am going to put it up to you. If I can't make good on this proposition you are the only ones that can. If you make a success of it I will be delighted, because I will take the hours just as well as you." That was the way we started on the proposition and those boys made good.

We have always had satisfied employees because I wanted them as friends as well as employees. They have given me sufficient so that I have gained enough out of the printing business at the present time that I can live the rest of my life, and I am still chairman of the Charles Francis Press in New York City. Therefore, I thought it was my turn to step out and give the other fellows a chance.

On the question of unionism I have always been a union man from start to finish. If I have not been an active member of the union, I have been an honorary member. I changed that position in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1886. I held a card in the Louisville Typographical Union and I withdrew the card to become an employer, and they immediately made me an honorary member of the union, so that I have remained a member of the union since that time.

I have found always that if employees were approached in the proper manner they are conservative and will follow discretion. I maintain that the printing business should lead in every forward movement for the benefit of all parties. I don't mean unions especially, because employers have got to realize that there must be consultation, conciliation and arbitration. I formulated the Printers' League on that basis, with an addition to it, that arbitration should be by people

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

who know what they are talking about, cutting out all lawyers and everybody except people who were interested in the organization; also that there should be a friendly relationship between the employer and employee. I believe that any employer who will take those mottoes into his system can get along with a bunch of employees, no matter who they are or where they are, if he goes and consults with them and finds out what is best for the industry.

You have been talking about this shorter week. That is a question that ought to come up in a cooperative movement between employers and employees, to see if we can stop this unemployment proposition. That is what ought to happen and I hope it will, because it is just as bad for the employer to have unemployment as it is for the employee. And so they should get together and find out the best possible means by which we can make this five-day week or any other proposition that will tend to stop unemployment a reality.

We are not so badly off in this country. Every other country is worse. We have about 1,650,000 unemployed in the United States at the present time, with a population of 120,000,000, and in England, with a population of about 38,000,000, they have over 2,000,000 unemployed.

The forward movements in this country between employers and employees have brought about a condition which is better than anything else could be. I have always had admiration for the American Federation of Labor because of its conservative manner of acting. Whether everybody understands it or not I feel that I understand it, and I feel that it has stopped many radical movements that would have destroyed our industries all the way through.

Just one word on printing. Of course you will understand I am a printer. There is not one of these improvements that would have come about if it had not been for our industry, the greatest industry in the world. There would have been no books for the men to have studied and therefore you would have nothing like this if it had not been for the printing industry. Every one of us is better off today than we were before these inventions came along.

We must have conciliation and arbitration, we must agree among ourselves as to the best methods of working together, employer and employee. That has been my aim throughout my life and will be until I pass away. Anything I can do to make that sort of thing better and to bring about a more happy condition in all things I would like to do.

I thank you.

President Green: We are very much pleased to have this remarkable man with us, and we thank him for his message.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the Committee: Your Committee on Adjustment has had the following four resolutions referred to it:

Technical Engineers and Draftsmen Protest Jurisdiction Encroachment of Federal Employees

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions:

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Federal Employees was organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor and granted jurisdiction over men and women in clerical capacities and other Federal employees not eligible to any of the existing National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It now develops that the National Federation of Federal Employees is disregarding the recognized claims of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions, and has accepted and is accepting into membership such drafting room employees who were former members, in some cases those who have been suspended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to make an investigation and adjust this jurisdictional trespass at its earliest convenience.

As both parties to the controversy outlined in this resolution were in accord with the suggestion, that a conference should be called for the purpose of settling the differences that exist, your committee recommends this proposed meeting should be called by President Green within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Building Trades Department vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

The following resolution was ordered submitted by the Building Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, affiliated to this body, but not in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, having withdrawn some time ago; and

WHEREAS, This organization has repeatedly violated the jurisdiction of the various International Unions of the Building Trades who are also affiliated to this Federation; and

WHEREAS, The said Brotherhood of Carpenters have refused to adhere to or obey any jurisdiction that has been handed down by the late Jurisdiction Award Board or of the Building Trades Council of the Department; and

WHEREAS, By their actions on jurisdiction matters they are attempting to break down the morale and weaken the militancy of the members of the various building trades mechanics within the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Recently in the City of Washington, D. C., they permitted the members of their Washington, D. C., locals to infringe on the jurisdiction of some of the trades on what is known as the Garfinkle job and the Tower Building. After repeated efforts by the representatives of that Association and the official of the local Building Trades Council to adjust the difficulty, the trades working on this job were compelled to stop work. Then the unfriendly contractor procured an injunction, and the Building Trades Council was restrained from compelling the contractor to obey the laws of the Building Trades Council, the Council claiming that the carpenters' representatives assisted the contractor in procuring the restraining order. The local council also was put to considerable expense to fight the case; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of the City of Washington, D. C., have protested to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department against the carpenters' organization infringing on all the jurisdictions of the various unions affiliated with that council, claiming that it has cost the body considerable in fighting injunctions forced upon them by the action of this organization. The Council have requested that they be given some redress or remedy by the Department, so that the rights of those locals in affiliation with the Council shall be protected; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention notify the Brotherhood of Carpenters through the officers of the Federation that they must cease infringing on the jurisdiction of the various International Unions who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, at once, and to obey the decisions handed down by the Building Trades Department in favor of the respective International organizations, failure on their part to carry out the decisions of the Convention, that the penalty be invoked in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Several representatives of the Building Trades appeared and discussed the subject matter contained in the resolution just read, at great length; your committee realizing how essential it is that a spirit of co-operation should prevail in this important department, recommends that the Executive Council make an effort to compose the existing differences.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pavers vs. Hod Carriers and Building Laborers

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah of the International Union of Pavers, Rammers, Flag-Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters:

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is infringing upon the jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, Rammers, Flag-Layers, Wood Block and Brick Pavers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, Asphalt Workers and Road Builders, by intimidating the membership of asphalt workers' local unions in Chicago, Illinois, affiliated with the International Union of Pavers, etc., and compelling them to join Laborers' Local Union No. 361, located in Chicago, Illinois, affiliated with the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborer' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made by the officers of the International Union of Pavers, etc., to carry out the provisions of Article 3, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor (held at Baltimore, Maryland, November 13th to 26th, inclusive, 1916), on a roll-call vote upon the report of the Committee on Adjustment, recognized the jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, etc., over the men engaged in the laying of sheet asphalt pavements (Resolution No. 140, Page 333, Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor); therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America be instructed to revoke the charter of Laborers' Local Union No. 361, of Chicago, Illinois, and refrain from interfering with the workers and jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, etc.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of the organizations interested in this dispute within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, where a sincere effort should be made to adjust the same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Paving Cutters vs. Granite Cutters

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Albert M. Anderson of the Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.

WHEREAS, A controversy has arisen between the Granite Cutters' Association of North America and the Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada over the jurisdiction of cutting of ashlers in East Weymouth, Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, Despite numerous conferences and much correspondence, no agreement can be arrived at as to which Union shall have the jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, The ashler cutters in East Weymouth have asked that this jurisdictional dispute be settled so that they may become organized; and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, Fifty per cent of the ashler cutters working in East Weymouth are paving cutters, and less than five per cent granite cutters, the rest having learned the trade there; and

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the tools used in cutting ashlers are classed as granite cutters' tools, while the remainder are recognized as paving cutters' tools, in many instances paving cutters' tools being used exclusively; and

WHEREAS, If the ashler cutters come under the jurisdiction of the Paving Cutters' Union, they can cut paving as well as ashlers, on account of the similarity in the work, while if the jurisdiction is granted the Granite Cutters' Association, the ashler cutters must confine their work to cutting ashlers only, as they have not learned the granite cutters' trade; and

WHEREAS, Five years ago the Granite Cutters' Association claimed only such work as was done with pneumatic tools and surface machines, which are not used in cutting ashlers in East Weymouth; and

WHEREAS, Two years ago the Granite Cutters' Association promised their co-operation in getting the ashler cutters in East Weymouth organized for the Paving Cutters' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 50th convention assembled grants the jurisdiction over ashler cutting in East Weymouth, Massachusetts, to the Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.

Secretary Maloney: East Weymouth is just outside of Quincy. Seventy-five men are involved. It was brought to the attention of the committee, and it was not denied, that 50 of these men were granite cutters; consequently the committee offers the following recommendation:

After an extended hearing given to representatives of the Granite Cutters' and Paving Cutters' Organizations, your committee is unanimous in the belief that this work, "the cutting of ashlers," properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Granite Cutters' Union and so recommends to this convention.

Delegate Anderson, Paving Cutters: It is a mistake that only 50 men at East Weymouth are paving cutters, as the Secretary stated. The rest of them learned their trade there. Cutting ashlers is considered hand work. Those men could go anywhere paving is cut and secure work. The Granite Cutters five years ago and two years ago did not claim jurisdiction over ashler cutting; in fact, they promised they would do anything to help us get the ashler cutters organized.

In the hearing before the committee the

representative of the Granite Cutters could find no real basis for their claim. I don't believe the committee understood the question. None of them had ever cut paving or granite. They did the best they could, but not being acquainted with those trades they could not come to the right conclusion. Anyone who wishes to know about the actual work can go to East Weymouth. I will be glad to take any of you out there, either accompanied by the Granite Cutters or anyone else you want to send.

Delegate Squibb: There is something that was not brought out in the committee's report that I think the convention ought to know. We called a meeting of those men and they told us they wanted to meet together themselves and decide on organization. They held a meeting among themselves and applied to our organization for a charter, which we issued to them. As the committee said, 50 of them are now members of our organization. Six of them are old men who are not required to take up membership in an organization.

These men drew up an agreement and presented it to the employers. The employers were favorably considering it until the representative of the Paving Cutters went on the scene and told the employers that any agreement entered into with our Association would be null and void. As a result, a minority of the employers who do not want any agreement at all said: "We are not going to sign an agreement and immediately be confronted with jurisdiction trouble."

They immediately wrote to Secretary Morrison and asked him what organization had jurisdiction over that kind of work. Understand that in what I am going to say I am not criticising any individual, but it seems to me this jurisdiction question is in such a state that everyone connected with the American Federation of Labor hesitates to say just what is right. Our organization has had jurisdiction over the cutting of ashlers ever since we have been an organization.

In 1929 the Paving Cutters asked for an extension of jurisdiction which would give them jurisdiction over the cutting of ashlers. We immediately protested that change, and as a result the change has not been made, so to all intents and purposes our jurisdiction has not been questioned, yet it has been impossible for us to get a clear-cut statement from the American Federation of Labor that the Granite Cutters have jurisdiction over

this work. You know, gentlemen, how influences work at times against an organization, you know how delay operates against an effort to organize. We have been subject to all that kind of influence simply because one organization stepped in at the eleventh hour and said, "This is our work."

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Maloney: This completes our report, which is signed:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,
JAMES MALONEY, Secy.,
ROY HORN,
JOHN F. McNAMARA,
J. B. ETCHISON,
CHAS. L. BAGLEY,
H. B. PERHAM,
PHILIP MURRAY,
W. D. MAHON,
F. H. FLJOZDAL,
M. F. TIGHE,
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN,
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,
JAMES HAUGH,
H. H. BROACH,

Committee on Adjustment.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Anderson, Paving Cutters: I would like to ask a question. Can this convention grant jurisdiction to the Granite Cutters over ashlers that are cut by paving cutters' tools?

President Green: I think the question you have just raised and about which you inquire was covered pretty completely in the resolution you introduced. The committee considered the resolution and all the evidence in connection with it and made a report to this convention. The convention adopted the committee's report, and that becomes the decision of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Anderson: It seems queer to me that you grant jurisdiction over these men to the Granite Cutters when they never used granite cutters' tools in their lives.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Martel, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on State Organizations has had referred to it three propositions, two of them, "Older Workers" and "Porto Rico," reached us through the Executive Council's

Report and the third proposition, Resolution No. 14, "Affiliation of Local Unions with State and Central Bodies," introduced by Delegate George W. Lawson of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Your committee having considered these three propositions beg to submit the following report and recommendations:

Older Workers

The problem of the older workers is one that has aroused deep interest in the councils of the trade union movement and among all people who are interested in the human family.

In commenting upon the section of the Executive Council's report, "Older Workers," on pages 89-91, your committee can not refrain from urging continued and more intensive work during the forthcoming year. The American Federation of Labor is virtually the only practical instrument through which society can protect the elderly workers. These workers are not, and can not be, organized as a group; and it is the indifference of impersonal corporations to the problem which makes the problem so acute.

It appears certain that there is an unnecessary tendency to eliminate elderly workers. The age limit appears to be decreasing. The Department of Labor of Kentucky (Bulletin 35), says in a recent report:

"The displacement of workers over forty years of age by younger men is a problem that tends to become daily more acute, more extensive and more difficult of solution. Discharge at an arbitrary age, that has an ever increasing tendency to become lower, is rapidly becoming more widespread; indications are that this practice will become a general policy in the industrial world.

"The occupational statistics of persons forty-five and over in the 1920 census clearly indicate this trend; these figures show that thirty-five per cent of the agricultural workers are forty-five and over, and that men engaged in public service and the professions are approximately the same. But the ages of men engaged in manufacturing and the mechanical industries average 28.2; in transportation 25.9, while men engaged in the extraction of minerals average 23.8 years of age.

"The age at which men are displaced in industry seems to have a constant tendency to become lower. In some industries men at forty-five and even forty are automatically released from their jobs."

It appears also that old age pensions can not greatly mitigate this problem. Eleven states now have old age pensions. The age limits in each vary from 65 to 70 as follows:

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

New York	70
Colorado	70
Montana	70
Maryland	65
Kentucky	70
Nevada	65
Wisconsin	70
Wyoming	65
California	70
Minnesota	70
Utah	65
Alaska	65 (Men) 60 (Women)

It is certain that a worker eliminated at 45 or 50 can not wait in idleness until 65 for the state to pension him.

The problem of the elderly worker is complicated by the speedup of American industry. The elderly worker has more skill, specialized knowledge and reliability than the untried, but he has not the alacrity to time his work to the raging tempo of industry. We believe the true approach to the problem of the elderly worker, therefore, is sane production methods, and a willingness of management to reallocate the elderly worker to jobs where his qualifications fit him. We recommend that unions discuss the problem frankly with employers at the time of wage negotiations.

We concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council that further study of this subject be made by the various states and that the facts be placed before the public.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Porto Rico

The recommendations of the Executive Council in regard to Porto Rico on pages 119-120 are important inasmuch as they again call attention to the fact that provinces with less defined labor movements than ours need the sympathetic cooperation of the movement. The picture painted so graphically by the Council's report leaves the inevitable impression of an outlying tropical state pretty well exploited from New York. Low wages and mean conditions are consequent upon such conditions. The recommendations of the Council that Porto Rico's plight be remedied by legislation, invoked by American labor, should be immediately acted upon.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Affiliation of Local Unions With State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate George W. Lawson of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies are unable to function to their fullest extent in carrying out the work assigned to them by the American Federation of Labor unless they have the affiliation, support and co-operation of the local unions in their respective districts, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its executive officers has co-operated with the State Federations and City Central Bodies in urging upon International Unions the necessity for their local unions giving to the State Federations and City Central Bodies this co-operation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recognize the necessity of such affiliation by local unions if the work of State Federations and City Central Bodies is to be made effective, and continue its efforts to have all International Unions take every means possible to bring about such affiliation of their local organizations.

This resolution again brings before the American Federation of Labor Convention the question of proper support for State Federations, City Central Bodies and other duly chartered bodies of the American Federation of Labor.

It has long been recognized that the State Federations and City Central Bodies are an important factor in the machinery of our movement. Each year sees a growing importance of these organizations in making effective the legislation passed in these conventions.

The important work of securing proper city and state legislation on the abuse of injunctions in labor disputes, the yellow dog contract, old age pension laws, minimum wage provisions on city work and a multitude of other subject matters of interest is left to be carried on by State Federations and Central Bodies.

It is through State Federations and Central Bodies that the forces of labor are mobilized to make effective the program of the American Federation of Labor to "Reward its friends and punish its enemies."

In order that proper consideration be given to national labor legislation, it is first necessary that the right type of public officials be sent to Congress.

Having these ends in mind your Committee feels that the time has come to give to State and Central Bodies the full measure of recognition that their splendid work merits.

Your committee recognizes that there has been some criticism of the conduct of some Central Bodies, but having in mind that there are some 850 of them in existence we believe

that everyone appreciates that where there are grounds for criticism it is an exception, and that it cannot be charged that Central Bodies as a whole have not functioned efficiently and in the interest of our movement.

We believe it is the duty of every local union affiliated with an international union, that is a part of the American Federation of Labor, to properly support Central Bodies in existence in their territory.

The American Federation of Labor has recognized this principle on many previous occasions and it is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to instruct Federal Labor Unions to affiliate with State and Central Bodies. Therefore, your committee recommends, in view of the foregoing, that each International Union in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor include a provision in its constitution which shall provide that local unions of such International shall be directed to affiliate and attach themselves to the various State and Central Bodies in their localities.

Very respectfully submitted,

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman,
FRANX X. MARTEL, Secy.,
S. C. HOGAN,
JOHN BOYLAN,
JERRY HORAN,
J. M. GILLESPIE,
PATRICK GORMAN,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
JOHN F. MUGAVIN,
WM. E. WALTER,
JOHN B. TIERNEY,
A. J. DE ANDRADE,
GEO. W. LAWSON,
T. N. TAYLOR,
HOWARD C. WOODSIDE,
FRED BAER,
J. GOLDSTONE,
Committee on State Organizations.

Delegate Sullivan, New York State Federation of Labor, asked if the report would apply to both State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

President Green: The Chair would construe it as applying to both State and City Central Bodies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Following are the sermons that were made part of the proceedings, by motion, during the morning session:

Sermon Delivered by His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Sunday, October 12, 1930

It is a very great pleasure to all of us to welcome here in this beautiful church President Green and the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. This association, which began, as all great things begin, very humbly and quietly, has grown to be of gigantic proportions. This association contributes not only to the welfare of the individual members of the organization, but to the whole country and indeed to the whole world. It is rather a singular thing to look back a very short time, even within our own life, and remember the apathy, the indifference which capital, the employer, had for laborers. The laborer was paid the smallest possible pittance. His condition was despised, his labor sweated, and he was cheated out of his wages by a type of inhuman employer who had no heart for his employe and no brains to understand his responsibilities. It is almost incredible that that condition should exist in our lives. In those early days, so changed from what they are even in our own lifetime, it is hard to realize that such hard-hearted greed and inhuman oppression could exist among the very class that prided themselves on their moral and intellectual superiority.

Fortunately for the working man, the great moral power of the pulpit was the only influence in those times that could fearlessly bring the hard-hearted rich to a sense of their responsibility toward labor. And the Church did it. Well, you know what happened.

In the 16th Century there was a great schism, and that wonderful power, the united power of our church was broken and the kings and the powers of the earth made their own church and put themselves at the head of it, so that in all those places where the unity of Christendom was broken the head of the church was the king, and the noble. Where was the working man? Where was the poor man then? Had he a voice or a right to raise his voice? It was incredible that a thing of that kind should happen, but it did. At that time it was treason to bring the word of the church into England and some other countries. The rich and the wealthy could do what they liked and there was no one to say them nay. In fact, the moral power of the church was throttled by the wealthy.

Finally the day came when the great Leo XIII raised his voice, and that voice was so just and so strong that the power of no one could close his ears to it. It was the voice of Leo calling out to employer and employee, to labor and capital, to cease in God's name this bitter fratricidal war and come to terms of understanding and cooperation. It was that voice which enunciated that the basis for success was not greed and power, but cooperation.

From that day the rights of the laboring man have been more and more respected, until today the laboring man understands perfectly well the dignity of his life, he understands perfectly well that brutal greed and oppression will crush him and ruin

him unless there is cooperation on both sides. Why is it that those who possess wealth, the greedy capitalist, the tyrannical boss, continue the blind quest for gold and more gold? It is insanity, but we see it all around us.

But in these days the laboring man has a voice that must be heard. My dear men of the Federation of Labor, lift up your hearts and thank God and ask Him to preserve you from the greed of the rich, the heartless rich—not the rich who have hearts and who are all the time trying to do something for labor—God bless them, I am not condemning them; I am talking about the greedy, wealthy, heartless rich, and there are too many such still too powerful.

This coming winter we are going to have very hard times. According to all signs we are going to have very disagreeable times, and now is the time for those who control industry, those who control the banking systems, to stop and think that united and cooperating with this great movement which is going on for the welfare of all, for the welfare of the whole nation, we may avert in some measure at least the catastrophe that threatens.

May God's blessing rest upon you, as it does rest upon you here this morning, and may the times which we all hope for be brought about, so that this land will be what it really was intended to be, a blessed land of peace and prosperity.

SERMON DELIVERED BY REV. JONES I. CORRIGAN, S.J.

(Professor of Sociology, Boston College)

(Sunday, October 12, 1930)

"Behold the hire of the laborer which by fraud hath been kept back, crieth; the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (Words taken from the second epistle of St. James, Chapter V, Verse 4.)

My Lord Cardinal, beloved brethren: We have been witnessing during the past week in our city the attendance of a great convention of working men, delegates from all over the United States gathered here to discuss industrial principles and the economic interests of our country. It is a timely convention, meeting when millions of our people are suffering from economic depression throughout the land. It is a significant convention because these delegates represent 3,500,000 workers in their organizations, and indeed they represent in an indirect way the 40,000,000 workers of our country.

It is fitting this morning that these gentlemen and ladies have come to this great Cathedral, to Holy Mother Church, the house of God, to pray for light and to ask God's blessing upon their deliberations that mean so much for the peace and happiness of our country and for the well being, economic and social, of so many of our homes. It is fitting, I say, because Holy Mother Church has ever been the friend of the worker, because she has ever understood that justice and charity are the solution of the problem, rather than greed and antagonism. Again and again the voice of the Church has rung out, urging upon the different elements in this great industrial relation to give heed to the

law of justice rather than to the law of the jungle, to forget greed and think of justice and of charity.

In the early centuries of the Church the Fathers' voice rang out—Augustine and Ambrose, Chrysostom and Jerome, warning the people of their time of the danger that is inherent in economic injustice and of the need of having thought of justice and charity if peace is to reign.

It has not always been thus, unfortunately, but the Church has ever held that an essential element in justice is to consider all workers' energy as a human thing. That idea that human labor is a commodity is an atrocious thought, because it refuses to recognize the human necessity of the worker's toil and its relation to his home, to his wife and to his children. Not is the worker's toil a market commodity, says the Church, but a human necessity whereby human energy wins the necessities of life for home and family.

If this thought were taken more into consideration, if the economics of Mammon, which have been taught in our schools and colleges to the elimination of all human consideration in the worker's toil, had been changed to the more humane concepts of the Church, the present widespread trouble in our country would not cause so much alarm and distress, and men would look forward with greater courage to the day when industrial peace and economic well being would be found in greater proportion throughout the land.

The Church has ever called attention to the fact that the living wage is a minimum of justice for the worker's toll. Forty years ago this year it was that the great Leo XIII, the great Pope of the working men, called the attention of the world to the living wage and insisted that the worker is defrauded who does not receive for his honest toil enough to support his family in decency and in frugal comfort. Ah, it is sad to think that those who might help so much in solving these great problems of the land, those who have the education and the power and the economic resources, who are leading in industrial life, the great captains of industry, it is sad to think that they have not yet awakened in many cases to the definite responsibility that is on industry to help solve the problem of unemployment, the definite responsibility, economic and social, for the well being of our land.

Here is the solution of the Church—justice and charity; labor no commodity, but a human thing; a living wage, and a definite responsibility upon industry itself to help the worker receive his just remuneration for his work.

We cannot expect industrial peace itself, if when a worker has given twenty, twenty-five or thirty years of his life to industry, he is then turned out without any thought on the part of industry for its obligation to him and to his family. We cannot hope to have industrial peace when sweat labor is even tolerated in our midst, when men have forgotten, in the greed for wealth and the lust of possession, the ultimate human things that enter essentially and integrally into this relation.

Gentlemen of the Federation, it is well this morning that you should be here to ask the

Church's blessing and God's help in your deliberations, for your great association has deserved well of our country for at least three things: for your service, social service to the land in ever insisting on human rights, human needs, human standards being understood and included in any industrial solution.

You have indeed, besides, deserved well of our land because of your patriotic service in sensing from the first that Communism and Bolshevism are false solutions to this problem and in warning the workers themselves against the siren voices of those two false systems that would lure them to destruction.

And you have deserved well of the land, too, in ever putting your energy and brain to the solution of the industrial problems that have arisen in our country for the past fifty years. Never once have you shirked the responsibility of labor in an effort to arrive at a solution.

And now the command is onward, the command is onward for God and for country. With conservative leadership, prudent, wise and constructive measures you can do so much to better the worker's lot and to bring him a wider measure of social economy and justice in these days.

We also pray that God will shed his light upon the deliberations of this great convention during these remaining days, that that light may shine, and that God will grant to our country the united voice of a wise, constructive policy based on justice and charity, rather than on greed and antagonism.

At 4.50 o'clock Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, moved that the rules be suspended and a recess taken until 9.30 o'clock a. m. Wednesday, October 15th. The motion was seconded and carried.

Seventh Day-Wednesday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts
October 15, 1930.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees

Gillmore, Mullaney, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Richard, Cohen (S.), Schulte, Zuckerman, Meyer, Kaufman, Marshall (H.S.), Beardley, Wolff, Burns (M.J.), Britton, Berry, Burke (J.P.), Mitchell (M.W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Soderberg, Stierle, Graham, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson (G.), Bowden, Moser (C.J.), Ryan (J.), O'Connell (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Laude, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Souza, Augustino, Summer (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Dacey, Shave, Kelly (W.), Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Woodmansie, Fitzpatrick, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Walsh, Clarke (E.B.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzi, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Hill, Mitchell (T.), Fearn, Miller, Cronin.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your committee have examined credentials and recommend the seating of A. P. Bower to represent the Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pennsylvania, with one vote.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Newark, Ohio, October 14, 1930.
Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled: The Newark Federation of Labor joins other Central Labor Unions in this state requesting that Columbus, Ohio, be selected as the next convention city.

J. H. SHARRETT,
Secretary.

Columbus, Ohio, October 14, 1930.
Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Bradford Hotel, Boston, Mass.
Fraternal greetings and congratulations from an old timer to a great convention. Having

attended the meeting where our great organization was formed and christened I rejoice in its continued progress. Wish I were with you, but my eighty-seven years forbids. I am with you in spirit. Do hope you will come here to Columbus next year so I can be with you once more.

DAVE BOYER.

Salt Lake City, Utah.
October 13, 1930.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
A. F. of L. Convention,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers request that the American Federation of Labor convention for the year 1931 be held in the city of Salt Lake.

JAMES B. RANKIN, President,
EDWARD E. SWEENEY, Secretary.

The Young Women's Christian Association of Boston sent an invitation to the women delegates and friends to a tea on Wednesday afternoon at 4:30 o'clock at the Association building.

President Green presented Mr. George M. Trotter, Director of Convention Publicity for the Chamber of Commerce, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Trotter addressed the convention briefly, personally supplementing the various invitations which had been received from labor organizations and civic bodies to hold the 1931 convention in that city. He pointed out the various advantages of Columbus as a convention city.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: I rise, Mr. President, to ask permission from the convention to withdraw Resolution No. 67, third day's proceedings, provided we are allowed to substitute another resolution that will be changed from the Committee on Laws to whatever committee the President desires.

President Green: You have heard the request of Delegate McMahon. He wishes to withdraw a resolution which was referred to the Committee on Laws, providing for an increase in per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, and with that request he submits a request for unanimous consent to introduce another resolution.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Isn't that a matter that ought to go to the committee? If he has any recommendations to make why doesn't he submit the proposition to the committee?

President Green: Brother Mahon, under the rules a resolution cannot now be introduced except by unanimous consent.

Delegate Mahon: I understand that, but it is a recommendation to the proposition that he has. Why isn't it possible for the committee to deal with the proposition instead of introducing a resolution at this time?

Delegate McMahon: The Committee on Laws, of which I am also a member, feels that the present resolution is solely a resolution for the Committee on Laws. The substitute or changed resolution would be for the Resolutions Committee, I presume, and not the Committee on Laws.

Delegate Mahon: What is the nature of the resolution, Mr. Chairman, that we may know what we are doing?

President Green: A request has been made for a statement of the nature of the resolution. The delegates are entitled to that information.

Delegate McMahon: I will read it. Instead of the 1 cent per capita increase we have substituted that this convention instruct the Executive Council to map out definite and concrete plans to create a defense fund in the future.

Delegate Mahon: You are bringing that from the committee?

Delegate McMahon: Yes, sir.

Delegate Mahon: Why doesn't the committee make its recommendations to the convention?

Delegate McMahon: I beg your pardon, Mr. President, I am not bringing it from the committee.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: I would like to ask the delegate, since he is a member of the Committee on Laws, why he does not offer the proposition as a substitute instead of bringing it to the convention.

President Green: Delegate Mahon was asking for information. Did you get that information?

Delegate Mahon: I don't know that I have got it clear, Mr. Chairman. What I was trying to find out was why the committee did not bring in their recommendations on this instead of wanting to introduce a new resolution, when it is within the power of the committee.

Delegate O'Connell, Metal Trades Department: For the Committee on Laws, the committee had a session on this proposition yesterday and rather an embarrassing situation arose, which prompted the committee to sug-

gest to the delegation represented by Brother McMahon that the resolution be withdrawn. It was suggested there that the committee might submit a substitute for the resolution. That would again place the matter in an embarrassing position, because the committee would have to give some reason for substituting. We do not want to go into a discussion here upon the matter, but in the interests of fair play and in the interests of not trying to embarrass anybody, including the Federation itself, the request of the delegation should be granted. I ask that on behalf of the Committee on Laws.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: The original resolution provides for an increase in per capita tax. The substitute resolution deals with the question of a defense fund. In either case it necessarily is a question for the Committee on Laws and it seems to me there is no necessity for any action on the question now. If they are willing to withdraw the resolution dealing with the per capita tax, that is nothing new in this convention. It has been done over and over again and I don't suppose anybody will object.

Vice-President Ryan: As Chairman of the Committee on Laws I sincerely trust that the delegates to this convention will permit Brother McMahon to withdraw that resolution, and to offer another resolution which, if accepted, without objection of this convention, will be handled then by the Committee on Resolutions. The resolution itself provides that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and that does not in any way involve a change in the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duffy: I move you that the question be divided, that we first deal with the request of Brother McMahon to withdraw his resolution and that after that we deal with the substitute resolution that he proposes to submit to us.

President Green: It seems to me, Brother Duffy, that that procedure is unnecessary. Under the rules of the convention a delegate can withdraw a resolution which he introduced for consideration of this convention, providing there is no objection. Consequently he can only introduce the resolution after the time limit has expired if there is unanimous consent. If any one objects to the introduction of the resolution it cannot be introduced. I think myself that Brother McMahon ought to make himself clear and not have the two

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

propositions connected. That is, that you withdraw the resolution providing you can introduce the other. That is very difficult.

Vice-President Duffy: Mr. Chairman, there are two questions. We may be in favor of one and not in favor of the other.

Delegate McMahon: Our delegation—who were signatories of the original resolution—is asking permission to withdraw, providing we can submit another one that leaves the subject matter in the hands of the Executive Council. If that request was granted without a proviso to substitute something else we feel that we would be doing the wrong thing by the Executive Council of our International Union that directed us in convention about a month ago to come here with a proposition of that kind.

President Green: The Chair wishes to get this matter clear. The delegation representing the Textile Workers' Organization may decide for itself as to whether or not the resolution shall be withdrawn. That is a matter you may determine. Upon the other question he asks for unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. That resolution can only be introduced under the rules by unanimous consent, the time limit for the introduction of resolutions having expired. The Chair is now going to inquire if there is any objection to the introduction of this resolution.

Delegate Mahon: We are not yet clear as to what the resolution is.

President Green: Please read the resolution, Brother McMahon, so everybody can understand it.

Delegate McMahon: "RESOLVED, That the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to map out definite and concrete plans whereby sufficient funds will be raised to promote and protect organization in the South; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That these plans be completed and recommended to all International, National, Federal, State and Central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor not later than January 1, 1931."

The matter is entirely in the hands of the Executive Council, Mr. President.

President Green: Is there any objection to the introduction of that resolution?

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I simply rise for the purpose of being clear on the intent of the resolution. It means exactly the same thing in so far as cost to the organization is concerned. If I am not correct on that

I would like to be advised. The purpose is to create a fund in the American Federation of Labor to be known as a defense fund.

Delegate McMahon: For the continuation of the campaign in the South that has been so well started.

Delegate Wharton: Is that the only purpose?

Delegate McMahon: That is the only purpose.

President Green: May the Chair again inquire if there is any objection to the introduction of this resolution?

Delegate Feeley, Carpenters: I object.

President Green: Objection has been raised and the resolution cannot be introduced.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers: I want to ask if the delegate who has objected can give any valid reason to sustain his objection. I think the convention is entitled to that.

President Green: There is no rule, Brother Kennedy, that would require a delegate to give his reasons. He can simply object and that prevents the introduction of the resolution.

Delegate Kennedy: I think in all fairness to the other delegates he ought to give his reasons.

Delegate Feeley: I have no objection, Mr. President, to explaining my reason. I don't believe this body should set aside a fund for any one particular defense. I have no objection to setting a defense fund aside for the whole, but not for any one particular branch of industry.

Delegate McMahon: Mr. President, that is exactly what we desire. We want no special favors.

President Green: The matter has been disposed of and the Chair cannot change the situation.

Delegate Kennedy: Mr. Chairman, according to the explanation of the delegate he is under the impression that this resolution—

Delegate Mahon: Point of order, Mr. Chairman. The matter has been disposed of. It is not a subject for this convention to discuss.

President Green: The Chair would have to rule that the point of order is well taken, unless it is brought in in some other way.

Delegate Kennedy: Mr. Chairman, I wanted to point this out, that according to the explanation of the delegate—

President Green: Brother Kennedy, the Chair has been compelled to rule that the point of order raised by Delegate Mahon is well taken.

Delegate Kennedy: Let me ask the Chair this: Is there any way that this subject isn't

ter can be brought before the convention so that some concrete proposition can be worked out?

President Green: The matter can be presented to the convention again and a request made for unanimous consent to introduce the resolution at some other time. If the objections are withdrawn the resolution can be introduced.

WAGES OF NAVY YARD EMPLOYEES

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—In presenting the matter that I have to present to the convention at this time, I feel it is one that we would much rather not be placed in a position of having to present. It is a matter that vitally affects in a general way at least the wage structure that both the American Federation of Labor and all labor have been endeavoring to maintain, to prevent reductions in wages. We have presented to us a situation in connection with the government employees of the navy yards, an attempt to reduce wages brought about by a reclassification of the employees affected. This matter comes from a decision handed down by the Secretary of the Navy, or, in other words, an order issued to the various navy yards. The order is that they shall make a study of the classification of the employees, those placed in the first, second and third class, or in the maximum, intermediate and minimum rates.

For many years an insistent fight has been made on the part of all organizations whose men are employed in the navy yards to eliminate the second and third class classifications among the mechanics, and very largely that has been done. Now an effort is being made to re-establish the various classifications, which will result in a material reduction in wages to the employees affected. This order issued by the Secretary of the Navy can be best understood perhaps, if I read it:

"Subject: Labor, Helper and Mechanical Force (Groups 1, 2 and 3).

"(1) A study of the number of employees, groups 1, 2 and 3, in each of the three rates of pay for each rating shows great variation between the stations in the relative numbers of employees of any rating in the maximum, intermediate and minimum rates of pay, and also that for some ratings the intermediate and minimum rates are little used, if at all."

I call attention to the fact that the intermediate and the minimum wage have practically been abolished, and this was done, as you gentlemen who are affected in the navy yards know, after many years of hard and persistent effort.

"(2) The Department considers that there is work which can properly be performed by employees in the intermediate and minimum rates of pay."

Through this process of rerating an effort was made to create various classes of specialist men and under the subterfuge of reclassification.

"(3) Section 77 (a) of Reference (B) shows the intent of those regulations for the preservation of a balanced shop organization.

"(4) In view of the above and the necessity to conserve the appropriations, it is desired that steps be taken gradually to secure more nearly balanced forces."

That is signed by Secretary of the Navy C. F. Adams, under date of August 19, 1930. That has been followed out by the commandant in one of the yards, who issued the following order:

"Rating of Navy Yard Employees. To comply with the Department's policy, it will hereafter be required that there be a more nearly balanced force among the three rates of pay in each rating.

"For the time being, an endeavor will be made to gradually bring the force to such a state that not more than half will be rated first class.

"In accomplishing this change, reductions will be made in greater numbers from the first class mechanics when there is a preponderance in such rating.

"In taking on additional men, whether old or new employees, they will be assigned ratings in order to fit with a balanced force.

"In reductions in force, when directed by the officer in charge it will be permitted in some cases to retain some employees in lower ratings rather than discharge them."

I think it is quite evident to every delegate in this convention just what the Department is attempting to do. I said in the first place that we regretted the necessity of bringing this matter up, but we feel that the principle involved, when a department of our government attempts to make reductions in pay in this round-about way, through a reclassification of men to perform the same class of work under the second and third class ratings that they are now performing under the first class rating, is a matter for serious consideration. The only thing to be accomplished is a reduction in pay for the employees affected.

This comes to us as rather a strange procedure on the part of our Government in the face of the fact that we have been assured by the President of the United States that it was the intention of the administration to maintain wages at the present standing and to discourage and discredit any attempt at a reduction in wages. In this conference that was called by the President that point was stressed. The employees were urged not to strike for increases in wages and the employers were asked not to attempt to make reductions in wages, but to maintain their full forces as nearly as possible.

Then in the face of these things there comes an order from the government itself, intended solely and primarily to reduce wages under the cloak of reclassification. It is a matter that I think this convention and the officers of this organization should take unto themselves, and I feel it is necessary that the President and officers of the American Federation of Labor, together with the representatives of the various departments connected, take the mat-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ter up directly with the President of the United States in order that the government itself shall not be the agency to pave the way in a wage reduction process.

All the men of all these organizations that are employed in the navy yards are affected by this order, and it is one that I don't think we can stress too forcibly in our opposition and our protest against this effort on the part of the government to make this reduction in wages.

In conjunction with this they have, as you men who are familiar with the government yards know, reduced the forces to a mere skeleton of their former standing, a mere handful of men employed in the yards. Following that comes this order to reduce the wages through reclassification.

Mr. Chairman, I feel we ought to make the most vigorous protest we are capable of to the Government of the United States against this policy.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I wish to supplement the remarks of the previous speaker by reciting just a little history in connection with this wage adjustment case and the situation with which we are now confronted. As most of you know, navy yard employees are governed by regulations in connection with wage adjustments. Local boards are created, comprised of representatives of the navy yard officials and committees from the men. They are required to secure wage data and the local members, on the strength of the data gathered, are expected to make recommendations based on that information. That report goes to what is known as the General Wage Review Board. There the employees are permitted to appear and present arguments.

In 1929 the local boards recommended almost without exception that the employees of the navy yards should receive and were entitled under the law to receive an increase in pay. For reasons best known to those in authority that information was not given due credit and the men did not receive an increase that they were entitled to upon the basis of the information and in accordance with the provisions of the law. A protest was made. Eventually the committee appeared before the President and laid the facts before him, and out of this conference and this protest it was understood that there would be a reconvening of the General Wage Review Board on the return of Secretary Adams from the Peace Conference, which was then about to be held in London.

Subsequently, as you all know, an industrial depression set in and thousands of men were thrown out of employment, and because of that and surrounding circumstances the General Wage Review Board was not reconvened during 1929. In 1930, in accordance with the provisions of the law, the question again rose as to the action of the local board in conducting an investigation and ascertaining the status of wages and whether or not there should be an increase in wages. A meeting of the officers representing the employees in the navy yards was held in Washington, and out of that meeting a policy resulted which, in the final conclusion, brought about an understanding. That is as near as we approached a conclusion in matters of this kind in dealing with the government, that there should

be no convening of the local wage board, meaning thereby that there should be no interference with the existing wage rates for the year 1930 at least. That was just as definite an understanding as could possibly be reached through the procedure which the employers are required to follow in dealing with the government.

Of course you all recall the conference called by the President, referred to by the previous speaker, and the very definite pledge that so far as possible there should be avoidance of wage reductions. Assurance was given that every influence would be brought to bear upon the employers of the country not to disturb the wages under the present depression. And now we are confronted with what we consider about the worst type of increasing wage reductions.

Let me say in the first place that the employees in the navy yards are rated on a percentage basis and percentages control. Information has been given to us that large numbers of these mechanics who have been long years in the service and who cannot be questioned as to their skill or ability to do the work, now receiving the top rate, first had their percentages reduced without recourse. Every effort was made to find out why and they were denied that information. They were passed from one officer to another and always with the same answer, "You will have to see somebody else," but no information could be received as a basis for the reduction of these percentage rates.

Then came the reductions in forces, and in a number of instances the most active men in our organization, because of their being derated, were taken out of the service. Now comes the proposition that men on reentering the service will be employed at the lower rates, which means a substantial reduction in their hourly rates of pay, ranging from 10 to 20 cents per hour.

We think this is the proper time and place to voice a protest against any such procedure, and particularly on the part of the government, where there can be no justification in view of the expressed desire and policy of the government with relation to wages as they exist at the present time. We feel that the government itself should not be the agency to set the pace and introduce methods which will bring about reductions in pay. We certainly urge upon this convention and the officers thereof to use every means at their command to see that this wrong is not permitted to continue or to stand.

Delegate Keough, Molders: The case has been thoroughly gone over by the two speakers who preceded me, but I just want to say that we have reliable information that in one of the navy yards the foreman or quartermaster went to some of the men and told them they would have to lay them off, but if they were willing to go to work at a lower rate of wages they would be continued in the employment of the navy yard. We have a number of our members employed in the various navy yards and we have only one rate in the yards. That is the top rate. I have received letters since I came here advising me that in two of the yards, the Philadelphia Navy Yard and the Brooklyn Navy Yard, our members have been informed that they

will be rerated, and a number of them are to be placed in the intermediate rate and others in the minimum rate, and only a few on the top rate.

We have had this up before the Metal Trades Department and we discussed it threadbare, Mr. Chairman. We were informed at that convention that the officers of the Metal Trades Department had gone to see the Assistant Secretary of the Navy to learn what was meant by this order that was just read by Brother Franklin. My understanding is that the Assistant Secretary of the Navy told them that there was nothing to it and not to worry about it, but it seems that there is something to it.

I believe this convention should go on record protesting against this reduction in wages, instructing the President of the Federation, in conjunction with the officers of the Metal Trades Department, to call on the President of the United States immediately after the adjournment of this convention and enter a vigorous protest, and in that way we might be able to have that order rescinded.

While I am on the floor, Mr. Chairman, if I am in order to make a motion, I would move that immediately on the adjournment of this convention the President of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Metal Trades Department be instructed to call on the President of the United States and enter a vigorous protest against this reduction in wages.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I second the motion. Mr. Chairman, I have a telegram here that informs me that 50 per cent of the employees of the Philadelphia Navy Yard have been reduced to second class rates, and many of them have even been reduced to third class rates.

When President Hoover stood here the other day and told us that he wanted to maintain the standards of living I believed every word he said. I want to continue to believe it, but I believe we have a splendid opportunity now to assist him in maintaining the standards of living, at least for the people employed in the navy yards. All of us who have worked in the shops know what it means when a reclassification comes—it means a reduction in wages and a reduction in the standards of living.

In my opinion, when Secretary Adams gets done there won't be anything but second and third class standards of living in the navy yards of this country. I am heartily in favor of that motion.

Delegate Alifas, Washington (D. C.), Central Labor Union: It was only a few weeks ago that the President of the United States issued orders to all of the executive departments to cut down the appropriations in order to save on the tax end of the government expense, and as we understand it the Navy Department is expected to reduce its expenditures below the authorizations for appropriations of this year by thirty millions of dollars. In connection with that we have a number of very serious troubles that have started, and one of them is the effort on the part of the local management and the Secretary of the Navy to reduce the men's wages indirectly.

It seems to us that the United States

Government is in a position to lead the employers of the country in maintaining wage standards. If our Government is going to start in by trying to get first-class work done for third-class money, where they have received first-class money formerly, it will lead to the same situation in private industry. In private industry they could avoid reducing the wages by discharging the men and then taking them back at a lower rate of pay, which is the same thing, and I feel that the United States Government should be prevailed upon to abstain from that.

We have also the other serious complaint as a result of this economy program of the department. At the Boston Navy Yard here the enlisted men, the seamen, are doing all the work or a very large part of the work that was formerly done by the mechanics, and a series of discharges is now in contemplation as a result of it.

We feel that in times such as this the government should not reduce expenses, that all the money they could possibly spend should be spent in repairing vessels of the navy that need repairs, and that the enlisted men should do the work of enlisted men and not be placed in competition with civilian employees.

It seems to me that in addition to the motion as it stands it might be well to have the President and Secretary of this convention immediately send a wire to the President of the United States, protesting against this practice, in view of the fact that it is going into effect immediately—pending an interview with the President upon their return to Washington. I make that as an amendment to the motion.

Delegate Keough, Molders: I accept that amendment.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: Mr. President and Delegates—I join with my colleagues in the support of the proposition that is now before this convention relative to the unfair tactics being pursued in the matter of wage standards now prevailing in the navy yards in this country. It may be interesting to the delegates to know that the wage standards now prevailing in the navy yards of this country, even the so-called first class rates, are not even second class rates, because wages in navy yards are not based upon the law which provides that navy yard wages shall be at least equal to wages paid by private employers. This is not done, but arbitrarily an average is reached, and averages do not always give men what they are entitled to.

So we have the spectacle today of the government of the United States, during a period of unemployment, endeavoring to retrench at the expense of already underpaid workers who are the most skilled that can be produced in this or any other country. The people of our country and the delegates to this convention should be aware of the fact that not only in the navy yards of the country, but throughout all of the employment of our government the standard of wages cannot be classed as being first class, but upon an already small wage rate through some kind of manipulation it is the intent to still further reduce that rate.

On behalf of the men that I represent in these yards I enter my protest and I feel confident that this convention will approve of the motion now pending.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Delegate Bugnizet, Electrical Workers: The question has been pretty well discussed. Brother Wilson has covered one of the points that I wanted to bring before the convention, and that is that the government has never complied with the law as we understand it. They have never paid the prevailing wages in the localities. It is my opinion that behind this order is the handiwork of the private ship builders. They showed their hand at the last Wage Board conference and their representatives appeared before the Board and told the government they did not desire any further raises by the navy yards, as it would make it hard for them to get competent employees for their work. I think it is a move prompted by them so that they can point to the government for a reason that they might reduce still more the present pay.

It is about sixteen years ago that we abolished the rates in the navy yards. They remain as an entering rate. An employee would be given employment at the established percentage, and if he qualified in six months he was given the top rate. With this order it will be only a short time until, instead of having second class men they will all be third class men and it will take sixteen years for us to get back where we are now.

I don't think we can do anything too vigorous to put the matter before the President of the United States and to show him that one of his cabinet officers is not carrying out his policies as he has enunciated them, and that he is carrying out the policies of outside interests who have always been opposed to the men they employ and who have always tried to prevent them from joining an organization. I concur in the remarks of the other speakers on this question and think that the executive officers of the Building Trades Department should be added to the committee, because they are vitally interested in this question.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I wonder if the mover of the motion would include both of the orders which affect the wage structure in the yards, in addition to the order referred to by Brother Keough and Brother Franklin. There has recently been issued another order creating a new rate at a lesser wage of approximately 10 cents per hour, which would mean that men now performing work as welders would be dismissed and hired again as burners at approximately 10 cents less on the hour. And this in spite of the recent understanding that there would be no change in the wage schedule as it now exists, at least during the coming year 1931. I was wondering if the mover of that motion would agree that the President and the committee provided for in that motion would handle both of these orders, both of which affect the wage structure and the conditions in the navy yards at the same time.

Delegate Keough: Quite willingly will I accept the suggestion, and also the suggestion of Brother Alifas. If I may ask the indulgence of the convention I will include in that motion the officers of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Ross, Federal Employees: I would like to leave one thought. I heartily endorse everything that has been said by the preceding speakers, but the President has ordered a reduction in the expenditures of the government

from one hundred to one hundred and sixty millions of dollars, because we are told there is a deficit, a threatened deficit in the appropriations that will be available in the treasury. On the other hand, we are told that the outstanding bonds of the government this year will be reduced by five hundred million dollars. We are told on one hand there will be a deficit and on the other hand that the public debt will be reduced by five hundred million dollars. I should advocate that the officers of the Federation, in their visit to the President, emphasize this point, that as these are abnormal times and a period of depression is prevailing, the money spent for the public debt be used to pay these employees rather than reduce their wages and lay them off, and that we can make the money up later to reduce the public debt, in the ensuing years when the depression will be done away with.

Delegate Slavens, Newport (R. I.) Central Labor Union: I believe, Brother Chairman and Delegates, that there is a deeper purpose back of this move. I don't know about the other navy yards throughout the country, but at the Newport Torpedo Station 98 per cent of the active union men, that is, the men who actually carry on the work of the organization, stand at the bottom of the efficiency list. That means that these men will automatically take a reduction in pay. It is absurd to think that men who are actively engaged in union work, the vast majority of them, are inefficient, but that is the stand taken by the administration of the Newport Torpedo Station. The object back of it is to pass a direct reflection on all organizations, when they can carry it to a point to make an automatic reduction and reduce every one of these men to second and third class pay.

The motion offered by Delegate Keough, with the additions and amendments later suggested, is as follows:

That immediately upon the adjournment of this convention the President of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the Metal Trades Department and the officers of the Building Trades Department be instructed to call on the President of the United States and enter a vigorous protest against both orders which affect the wage structure in the navy yards, and that the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send a telegram immediately to the President of the United States, protesting against these practices.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, announced that his co-delegate, Delegate Pryor, was ill and unable to be in attendance at the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Hanson, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Education begs leave to submit the following report:

In keeping with the record of organized labor for maintaining a progressive attitude toward education in our schools, colleges and technical institutions of learning, your Committee on Education desires to express to this Convention its congratulation that intelligent, constructive forces throughout the nation are looking more and more to labor for the development of increased social support for education. Owing to the widespread character of trade union organization, it has been a source of satisfaction to us that occasional tendencies in public education toward favoring the few at the expense of the many, have been discouraged and the democratic distribution of opportunities through education have been promoted. Likewise, a tendency toward centralization of control of education through governmental agencies has been disapproved by us. We note with approval the fact that leading educators now generally favor decentralization, and urge, leaving education in the hands of the several states and their communities.

In order that the historic concern of organized labor with education, and especially with public education, may be maintained, your committee recommends that state federations of labor and local central labor bodies be urged to maintain committees on education which will include representatives of teachers' unions wherever they exist.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Federationist

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 91 and 92, the committee reported as follows:

A fact finding and fact distributing medium is invaluable to organized labor. Such a medium of information to our members and education to the public is the American Federationist.

Your committee congratulates the organization and the editorial staff on both subject matter and appearance, which compare favorably with any magazine published in the United States. It also congratulates the Federation that in addition to the improvement as a service agency, the magazine is becoming increasingly valuable as a business proposition.

In the American Federationist are to be found discussion of labor problems and policies

which concern labor, exposition of constructive methods and achievements as a guide to constructive policies, summary of unemployment data and information on official records and positions. The editorial policy is based on fact finding, fact facing and fact using. It is successfully helping trade unionists to meet practical needs as well as to interpret those principles and policies which are the basis of true trade unionism.

Your committee regards it as exceedingly regrettable that every member of the American Federation of Labor is not a subscriber to and a reader of the American Federationist, in order that the philosophy of trade unionism may be understood by them and they be assisted in solving the complex problems of our modern society that confront them.

Your committee therefore urges that all affiliated organizations make it very definitely a part of their year's work to arouse a greater interest in our official publication by securing paid subscribers and readers, and it further urges that each state federation of labor see that copies of this magazine are in the library of its state university and each central labor body see that copies are in the public and school libraries of its community.

The report of the committee was adopted.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 92, the committee reported as follows:

Outstanding among the services of the American Federation of Labor is the publication of the Weekly News Service, maintained to assist the labor press. It furnishes news and information regarding labor activities conforming to the policies and need of the whole labor movement. Your committee desires in the words of the report to "express on behalf of the organized labor movement our appreciation of the service of those who have been instrumental in keeping our labor press clean and powerful for human welfare."

The labor press and members of the trade union movement owe a debt of gratitude to the American Federation of Labor and the editor of the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service for this clean, fair, able publication conducted consistently and intelligently for the promotion of Labor's highest ideals.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

MONTHLY SURVEY OF BUSINESS

On the portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 93, the committee reported as follows:

The Monthly Survey of Business is organized on a scientific method and procedure. The service though new last year has been of great value both inside and outside the labor movement. It keeps union executives informed as to last-minute facts on the business situation as it affects wage earners, i.e., production, employment, workers' incomes, manufacturers earnings, etc.; it interprets the basic significance of present business developments in relation to our general welfare and progress. It has in mind the close relationship between workers' welfare, business prosperity and our general social, intellectual and spiritual advance; it goes to economists, libraries, business organizations; it is used by college professors in their classes.

Your committee desires to commend highly this excellent, careful, well-thought-out service.

Your committee urges that the executive officers of affiliated locals give hearty co-operation and prompt reply to requests for data for the use of the statistical bureau and in that way assist in making the service more complete and valuable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee urges the co-operation of all trade unionists with our representatives on the National Advisory Commission on Unemployment, John P. Frey and A. O. Wharton.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Library

On the portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 94, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor Library under the charge of a competent librarian has developed an excellent service. The library now includes practically every book of importance in print in English on Labor and related subjects. Many out-of-print labor books of historical value are included in the collection. Current state and federal government publications dealing with labor, trade union convention proceedings and all the official American, Canadian and English trade union journals are to be found in this A. F. of L. Library.

Your committee urges all labor organizations to co-operate by sending to the Library copies of their constitutions, all reports, publications,

and special studies, research material, organizing literature, and wage agreements in order to make this collection a research center for those studying labor problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Notes for Speakers

On the portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 94, the committee reported as follows:

A new and valuable service was inaugurated in May, 1930, in "Notes for Speakers." The booklet will be published monthly and will contain educational material suitable for use in speeches, publicity, articles and union discussions. There has been a constant demand for the service.

Your committee believes this to be one of the best means for educating young trade unionists in a sound understanding of trade union problems and therefore recommends its wide use by the members of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organizing Literature

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 95, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee wishes to express great approval of the organizing literature prepared and the use to which it has been put. This literature is more effective than ever before. It is based on sound educational principles. It is at the disposal of the affiliated locals for organization purposes. Your committee urges that all affiliated groups make themselves acquainted with this organizing literature and make use of all such literature as meets their needs. It also urges cooperation in this service on the part of organizations by compiling and forwarding to the American Federation of Labor headquarters facts of the services which they render.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legal Information Bureau

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 95, 96, 97, 98 and 99, the committee reported as follows:

The report of the Legal Information Bureau deserves special mention and approval. Eight Legal Information Bulletins were published,

containing 47 decisions. These covered a wide field of activity; e.g.: child labor contracts, compensation for accident, hours of labor, interpretations of compensation laws, yellow dog contracts and wages, complete records of the decisions that have been rendered are in the files at American Federation of Labor headquarters. It is recommended that full use of these be made by attorneys of trade unionists and of organizations involved in litigation.

Your committee desires to call emphatic attention to a pamphlet issued by the Bureau, entitled, "What can I do about it?" It explains the injunction, its effects, and results, and the manner in which trade unionists can be of assistance in curbing this evil, in simple, understandable non-legal language.

It is recommended that all organizations see that this pamphlet has a wide distribution.

Your committee commends without stint the work of the Bureau in preparing data and arguments explaining Labor's opposition to the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court bench. It congratulates the Bureau on this careful and scholarly work.

Your committee commends the work of the Bureau in the preparation and examination of important bills. It recommends that all national and international officers again advise and request their local unions to forward promptly to the Bureau copies of all legal papers relating to injunctions against them. It further recommends that the files of the Bureau which are at the service of all labor organizations, students and legislators, be called to their attention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 90, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee appreciates fully the difficulties of the permanent Education Committee and sympathizes with them, but urges that efforts be made in the coming year to overcome these difficulties so that committee meetings may be held to deal with the vital problems before education and educators today, such as mass education, large school units, overlarge classes, propaganda in the schools, control of the schools by special in-

terests, illiteracy, revenue problems, curtailment of school costs, etc.

Your committee congratulates the permanent Committee on Education on the constructive work accomplished in the face of financial handicaps and upon its successful cooperation with the National Advisory Committee on Education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers Education Bureau

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 99 and 100, the committee reported as follows:

The Workers Education Bureau has had an excellent year's program and has made substantial advances the past year.

The congresses held in industrial centers from coast to coast dealt with vital problems and were productive of much of value. The report of the conference at Worcester, Mass., in October, 1929, is available and should be in the hands of all students of labor problems. Your committee believes that these conferences are of such value that they should be continued and increased in number.

The summer schools for workers held in Arkansas, California, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina and South Carolina, have done some very fine work. It is satisfying to note the increasing interest and usefulness of this type of school and it is urged that continued and greater support be given to them.

We note with special interest the new project in Workers' Education tried out with success in Chicago. Through the inspiration of Secretary Olander of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the cooperation of Supt. William J. Bogan of the Chicago Public Schools, the facilities of the public schools were placed at the disposal of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The Schools Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor headed by the President of one of the Teachers Unions of Chicago and having other members from the Teachers Unions as well as other crafts had the matter in charge. Prominent instructors from Northwestern University and the University of Chicago were secured and large classes of trade unionists, lawyers, doctors, teachers, social workers, nurses, etc., were successfully conducted.

The plan of cooperation between the state federations of labor and the tax-supported uni-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

versities has advanced, Texas, Oklahoma, Wyoming and New Jersey have accepted this plan and have made arrangements for such a cooperative plan.

The plan of correspondence instruction endorsed last year has been worked upon. It is hoped to initiate the experiment during the year. Your committee urges this new development in Workers Education upon the attention of the members of the American Federation of Labor.

Their attention is also called to valuable publications of the Workers Education Bureau Press. "An Audit of America," by Mr. Edward Eyre Hunt, and the column on "The Place of Agriculture in American Life," by Dr. Wilson Gee, Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Virginia, are recommended to you.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's report and reaffirms its standards of Workers Education set forth in last year's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Maternity and Infancy

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 105, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor make every effort to settle the controversial difficulties delaying the passage of the maternity and infancy act, and to secure the passage of this most important legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Free Text Books

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with gratification the extension of the grant of free text books in Washington, D. C. Every extension of this principle is a distinct gain for education and social progress.

That Congress has extended the free text book law to cover public senior high schools is of special significance and occasion for congratulation. It stands as a rebuke to those who oppose the free tax-supported senior high school and argue that free public edu-

cation should stop with the elementary schools.

Your committee recommends that state federations of labor and central labor bodies be urged to continue with great vigor their efforts to secure free text book laws wherever they are not now on the statute books.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Censorship

The history of the attempts to establish by legislative action a censorship over the publication and the distribution of literature is characterized by failure. Unselfish and well-motivated as many of these attempts may have been, the fact remains that the machine-like operation of a law over human interests and tastes that change and are modified by varying culture and education interferes disastrously with the normal development of the judgment of what is good or bad to read.

Censorship is inimical to the normal growth of judgment and taste through education that is aided by the free criticism of experts, as well as by the no less sincere preferences of those who constitute the general reading public. Censorship by the very exaggerated form of its prohibitions not only tends to discredit itself, but also aids in actually giving greater currency to low-class publications that would soon die for lack of readers, even if their publishers did not lose professional standing by issuing them.

In the field of school book publications the failure of censorship has been even more pronounced. The attempts to dictate what the school children shall study in American history have resulted in legislatures setting up for emulation a form of patriotism based on the concealment or the misinterpretation of the facts of history. Thus, false attitudes toward life as well as toward history are encouraged, and dishonest standards are set up.

It is a fine testimonial to the intelligence of our people that except in one or two states every attempt to censor the use of school books on American history by legislative action has failed, and all attempts have been discredited.

The committee recommends that state federations of labor and central bodies be informed of these views of the American Federation of Labor on censorship, and urged to oppose future proposals in that field.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vocational Education and Rehabilitation

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

Further demonstration of the advanced social program of organized labor is given in its advocacy and successful support of the vocational and rehabilitation act. Your committee believes that to give special training to thousands of injured persons whereby they become assets rather than liabilities to the state and happy, helpful citizens, in this way adding in a great degree to the sum of human happiness, is a matter of special congratulation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation

Your committee desires to call attention to the fact that except in a very few states Workmen's Compensation Laws are not applied to teachers. In Illinois, through the efforts of the teachers' unions of Chicago, chiefly Local No. 2 of the American Federation of Teachers, the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, it has been shown that they can be so applied. They are now so applied in Chicago.

Your committee urges that efforts be made to make such application general.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor's Special Days

On the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 121 and 122, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee urgently calls your attention to the report of the Executive Council on Labor's Special Days. The increasing participation of all groups in our celebration of Labor Day is an indication of the increasing knowledge of interest in and public support of what Organized Labor stands for.

Your committee congratulates Labor on this gain and increasing interest and concurs wholeheartedly in the recommendation of the Executive Council that "every central labor union make our next celebration one of outstanding importance in commemoration of 50 years of achievements under federated trade union leadership."

Your committee recommends also that efforts be continued to acquaint the general public with the philosophy and achievements of the labor movement, through the press and leading magazines of the nation.

Your committee recommends also that closer relations with the churches be maintained through Labor Sunday and concurs in the statement of the Executive Council that "observance of Labor Sunday will become an increasingly effective method for helping all to understand the guiding purposes of the labor movement, which are its great power."

Labor's Memorial Day, the fourth Sunday in May, will not be forgotten by devoted trade unionists. They will welcome this day on which to pay tribute to the pioneers and faithful members and representatives who gave us this great institution for social justice and progress—the American Labor movement.

Your committee recommends that local labor groups everywhere join in celebrations of Child Health Day on May 1, as established by National Law. It recommends also that wherever there is no observance of this day that local labor groups initiate such observance. This is in line with Labor's spiritual purpose and social idealism and with its constant consistent concern with the welfare of the child.

Your committee is impelled to voice appreciation of the work of the large number of the members of our organization at this convention who brought the philosophy of trade unionism to the people of Boston in the pulpits of its churches last Sunday. To the churches and people of Boston who received these addresses with such cordiality and interest we wish also to express our appreciation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Samuel Gompers Memorial

On the portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 122, the committee reported as follows:

The memorial to our beloved and revered leader, Samuel Gompers, in which we are all proud to have a part, is making satisfactory progress.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Celebration of 200th Anniversary Birth of George Washington

On the portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 122, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor endorse the plan for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington as outlined by the National Commission created for this purpose and also recommends that the "Executive Council give such aid and assistance as may be possible to the Commission in this patriotic work."

Your committee welcomes the opportunity of this celebration for the emphasis of the principles and ideals of social, political and religious justice on which our nation was founded.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Parent-Teachers' Associations

By the Committee on Education

The organization of Parent-Teachers' Associations is going steadily forward, increasing membership and extending to every section of the country and into every community. The movement boasts a national organization, as well as numerous state organizations.

While its ostensible purpose is the bringing about of a better understanding between parents and teachers in our public schools and fuller co-operation between them in the training of our children, it is reaching out into many other activities, some of which should compel the serious attention of organized labor.

The children of the working people make the great majority of all pupils in the public schools. It is proper and a progressive development of democracy for the workers to take a more active interest in the curricula and methods used in their training. That interest should be manifested by their insistence upon the propagation and the maintenance of those ideals which we, as American workers, have come to regard as sacred and which we are pledged to sustain.

Organized labor, however, has taken no cognizance of this growing movement and has completely overlooked its importance. In the meantime, others with different ideals and often with selfish objectives have recognized its value as a medium for the dissemination of ideas and have used it for the promotion of principles antagonistic to those upon which we place our confidence for economic progress.

It is the opinion of your committee that the American Federation of Labor should take full cognizance of this movement, should inform its members regarding it and encourage their participation in its activities to the end that its influence upon the training of our children shall be in the furtherance of our ideals.

The committee recommends adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Illiteracy

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The amount of illiteracy in our adult population, first made known to us in the draft of 1917, is known to be extensive; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to eliminate, or to reduce, this national menace through federal and state agencies have not met the need, and have not fulfilled the requirement of the most prosperous nation in the world; and

WHEREAS, The tracing of a name, as suggested by certain agencies, is far too low a test of literacy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare for a national standard of what constitutes a minimum test of literacy, that shall not be lower than the standard accepted by any state; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare for a standard equivalent to that reached by fourth-grade children in the elementary schools and ask that this standard be adopted by the Federal Government, and used in census enumerating and in other situations where literacy tests are required.

The extent of illiteracy in our adult population was first made known to us in the draft of 1917. Various proposals have been made through federal and state agencies to eliminate, or to reduce, this national menace. But progress in this direction lags, and while we are the most prosperous nation in the world, we are sadly behind in literacy. Literacy is not wholly a problem of immigration or one concerned with our colored population, for large numbers of white natives even in our richest states are unable to trace their names.

Your Committee submits that the tracing of a name is far too low a test of literacy. Your Committee recommends that the national standard of what constitutes a minimum test of literacy should not be lower than the standard accepted in any state. Therefore, it

is recommended that a standard equivalent to that reached by fourth-grade children in the elementary schools be adopted by the federal government, and used in census enumerating, and in other situations where literacy tests are required.

It is the belief of your Committee that the solution of the problem of illiteracy should be recognized as the obligation of the several states and their municipalities, with such subventions as the federal government may grant without restrictions and obligations beyond the purpose for which funds may be given.

Your Committee therefore recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Teacher Tenure

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Permanency of tenure for teachers is an important factor in the building of a teaching profession and the establishing of a system of schools that will function for the better training of our children into more competent citizens of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Tenure for teachers has been guaranteed by law in but few of the states of the United States and in certain states where it has been guaranteed by law, teachers are regularly dismissed before the trial period of three years is finished in order that a staff of cheap teachers may always be employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue even more vigorously its efforts to secure permanency of tenure for teachers, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor adopt as its policy permanent tenure of office for teachers after two years of temporary service with proved efficiency and that it endeavor to secure the adoption of such policy as the general policy of the country.

Recognizing the fact that the stability and value of our public schools depend primarily on the quality, training, merit, ability and competent service of the teachers, your Committee on Education believes that permanent tenure of office after two years of temporary service, should be adopted as the policy of boards of education. Permanency of tenure for teachers, together with freedom in teaching and opportunity for advancement and for cultural improvement will constitute

an investment for communities that will yield bountiful returns in better training for the children in our schools, and more competent citizens for the nation.

Even in certain states where tenure has been guaranteed by law, teachers are regularly dismissed before the trial period of three years is finished in order that a staff of cheap teachers may always be employed. Your Committee believes that such practices are destined to drive away from the profession of teaching intelligent young men and women whose presence in the schools is indispensable if a nation of educated and intelligent citizens is to be maintained.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution with the following change in the Resolve: adding after "proved efficiency" the words "with removal only for definite stated justified cause after investigation and trial."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 90 by inserting the words "procedure is contrary to an educational" after the word "military," line 2, second Whereas. The amended resolution reads as follows:

Military Training in High Schools

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The proposal to establish military training under the Reserve Officers Training Corps in the public high schools throughout the country has been actively promoted in recent years though strongly opposed by educators generally since they are not in favor of placing in the schools in times of peace a burden which can be carried only by altering accepted ideals and procedures of education; and

WHEREAS, The compulsory character of military procedures is contrary to an educational environment, where flexibility of mind and initiative on the part of children are prime factors in progressive education, and

WHEREAS, Although military preparedness is proclaimed as the objective of military training in the high schools, that objective has little chance of being attained in the short time available to school children who should have more free time for healthful recreation and not less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor record its disapproval of military training in the public high schools of this country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its fullest support to the local

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

central bodies and state federations of labor in their efforts to oppose the introduction of military training into the schools.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and submit a report to the 1931 convention.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Hanson: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

A. O. WHARTON,
Chairman
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,
Secretary
L. P. LINDELOF
ALEXANDER KELSO
FRANK GLENN
THOMAS E. BURKE
WM. R. TROTTER
M. P. FINNAN
JOHN B. HAGERTY
E. H. FITZGERALD
LEO E. GEORGE
ROBERT MCCOY
WM. H. McHUGH
PAUL DULLZELL
P. T. FAGAN
HOLT E. J. ROSS

Committee on Education.

Secretary Hanson: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I want to ask the consent of the convention for the introduction of a resolution that I think was omitted more by an oversight than for any other reason, and with which I think the convention will be in accord.

Delegate Davis read the following resolution.

To Prevent Employment of Alien Workmen
Upon Construction of Ships Built by the
United States

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; James Wilson, Pattern Makers' League of North America; M. J. Keough, International Molders' Union; G. M. Bugnizet, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; Roy Horn, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

WHEREAS, The private ship building yards are now busy in the construction of ships authorized under the Jones-White Act; and

WHEREAS, The construction of these ships will require the employment of many thousands of skilled mechanics; and

WHEREAS, These private ship yards employ a large number of alien workmen who are in constantly increasing numbers displacing American workmen; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record as vigorously opposing any such displacement of American labor, and furthermore instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to have legislation introduced in Congress which will prevent the employment of alien workmen upon the construction of any ships the construction of which is paid for in whole or in part by any grants or financial assistance or funds of the United State Government.

President Green: Are there any objections to the introduction of this resolution?

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I am not rising to object, but I would like to ask the introducers of this resolution whether they are acquainted with the Supreme Court decision under which a man admitted to the United States in a regular way must be treated under the common law of the United States, according to treaties with foreign countries.

Delegate Davis: Then you do not object? That may be true, but we have information that this is the only country in the world that permits aliens to work on government work, on their ships, defensive armament, etc., and we feel it is time that this organization should take action. It may be impossible to do anything because of the decisions Delegate Furuseth mentions, but we feel we can at least make our thoughts known to the government and to the people of the country.

The resolution was introduced and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, asked that a correction be made on page 278 of Tuesday's proceedings, where the record shows that the report of the committee on Resolution No. 13 was unanimously adopted. He asked that the word "unanimously" be omitted from the record. The request was complied with.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Delegate Possehl, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Protesting Labor Policy of Union Pacific Railroad

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Harry J. Gill of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Union Pacific Railroad Co. is an open-shop railroad operating a company union in all its shops, depriving members of all A. F. of L. organizations from employment in these shops; and

WHEREAS, The firm of Peter Kiewitts & Son, an open-shop contractor, who makes no pretense of paying a living wage and works his employees 9 and 10 hours per day, has been given the contract to build the Union Station under open-shop conditions; and

WHEREAS, Sub-contractors are forced to abrogate their agreements with the local trade unions in order to get work on these buildings; and

WHEREAS, Another contract has been let to Kiewitts & Son to build the Union Pacific and Northwestern bus station; and

WHEREAS, The Interstate Bus Lines are operated and owned by the Union Pacific Railroad; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we in convention assembled place upon the "we don't patronize" list the Union Pacific Railroad, the Union Pacific and Northwestern Bus Lines and the Interstate Bus Lines.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council to bring about a conference and try to arrange a satisfactory adjustment. Failing to do so that every possible publicity be given to the attitude of this company.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Labor Policy of Grigsby-Grunow Company, Chicago, Ill.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Grigsby-Grunow Co. and Majestic Household Appliances, manufacturers of Majestic Radio and Electric Refrigerators, are unwilling to consider employing union machinists, steamfitters, and other metal tradesmen; and

WHEREAS, This company and its subsidiary have since they started in business enjoyed the patronage of the organized workers of Chicago and elsewhere, and at no time has there been any discrimination shown by the organized workers against their product; and

WHEREAS, It is now proven conclusively that this company does not desire to enter into harmonious relations with trade unions and their representatives; and

WHEREAS, Gunmen, thugs, special police and stool pigeon detectives patrol every entrance, fire escape, the roof, grounds, and mix with the employees to prevent any possibility of their organizing or protesting against cuts in wages and piece-work rates; and

WHEREAS, On Wednesday, September 10, 1930, two brothers were shot and one of them killed by one of these gunmen because they resented the foreman's right to discharge them; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Council of Chicago, in regular meeting assembled, placed this company and its products on the unfair list; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, asking that they likewise place the Grigsby-Grunow Co. and all its products on the unfair list, and to so notify all unions within their jurisdiction, so that trade unionists and their friends will cease to purchase the radios and electric ice machines of this company.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council with the request that they endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the existing differences between this company and the interested organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Unfair Attitude of Hotel Managers Association of Cleveland, Ohio

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes McInnis of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, On July 14, 1930, the members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union, of Cleveland, composed of waiters, waitresses and cooks, were locked out by the following hotels: The Cleveland Hotel, the Hollenden Hotel, the Statler Hotel, the Winton Hotel, the Olmsted Hotel and the Allerton Hotel, all members of the Hotel Managers Association of Cleveland; and

WHEREAS, Before July 14 the workers in these hotels had for 17 years been given the right of collective bargaining through their Trade Unions, and no intimation was advanced by the managers of these hotels that trouble was to be expected, even during negotiations by the leaders of the unions for a continuation of the relations, the wages and the conditions prevailing prior to July 14, 1930, and the union officials received a warning, just before the expiration of their verbal agreement with the hotels, from outside sources that the managers were preparing for trouble; and

WHEREAS, On July 14, the managers of these hotels called their help into the office

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

and demanded that they sign a "Yellow Dog" contract if they desired to continue as employees of these hotels, and the union men and women, upon their refusal to sign these individual contracts, which were intended for the sole purpose of preventing them from dealing with the hotels through their unions, were locked out and their places filled by non-union workers from other cities; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement always has held that these individual contracts are pernicious and against public policy, and the right of collective bargaining has been recognized by our National State Government, and the justness of Trade Unions has been upheld by the public generally; and

WHEREAS, The action of these hotel managers in locking out their union workers is an effort on the part of these managers, supported by the non-union employers of Cleveland, to disrupt and destroy if possible the Trade Union movement and bring about a condition of servitude and wage reductions that have long been held as un-American by all progressive people; and

WHEREAS, The injustice of the action of these hotels has met with the solidification of all union workers by the withdrawal of the Engineers, the Firemen and the Musicians from these hotels in sympathy with the Cooks, Waiters and Waitresses; and their action has been condemned by the press and all fair-minded citizens of Cleveland; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, place the Cleveland Hotel, the Hollenden Hotel, the Statler Hotel, the Winton Hotel, the Olmsted Hotel and Allerton Hotel, all of Cleveland, Ohio, on the unfair list, and that the delegates to this convention be instructed to keep the names of these unfair hotels ever before their membership and request them to do all in their power to inform the traveling public of the unfair attitude of the hotels and their attempt to force the "Yellow Dog" contract on their employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render such moral and financial service as may be necessary in aiding to bring about the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining by the hotels herein named and for a favorable adjustment of the controversy for the unions involved.

Your committee believes that this is an attempt upon the part of the hotel management of the City of Cleveland to put into effect the Yellow Dog Contract among their employees who have been recognized through their organizations for the past seventeen years and as there are several organizations interested we believe they are entitled to both the moral and financial support of the Labor movement.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council with the request that they should render every pos-

sible assistance to bring about a satisfactory adjustment to this affair.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise for the purpose of giving the approval of our delegation to the recommendation of the committee. However, I feel that it is quite befitting that we should at this time enlighten the delegates to this convention with regard to what has transpired in the city of Cleveland in connection with this hotel dispute. We feel that we must and we should have the support of the entire labor movement of our country in our endeavor to beat down this open shop fight that is being foisted upon our organizations in the city of Cleveland at the present time, and for that reason I am going to trespass upon your time for just a few minutes in order that you may be well versed in the situation that has existed and is existing in Cleveland.

Some seventeen years ago the Hotel Men's Association, or rather individual hotels named in this resolution that were in existence at that time, entered into an agreement with our organization for the employment of our members under stipulated wages and working conditions, and from that day until midnight July 14 we carried on contractual relations with the employers of the city of Cleveland mentioned in this resolution, and any differences in wages and working conditions were amicably adjusted between them and our local unions. There was no controversy of any magnitude during that time. As had been customary, thirty days prior to the expiration of the agreement a contract was presented to the hotel managers in the city of Cleveland similar to the one that was presented the year previous and the year previous to that. Feeling that there was no controversial point at issue, no disputes, or anything that would indicate a break between the hotels and our organization, no special effort was made to have that contract signed, or rather to have it verbally agreed to.

Upon the 10th of July word came to us in an indirect way that it was the intention of the hotel managers named in this resolution to no longer have any contracts with our organization or to deal with us collectively, and to insist upon their employees signing an individual contract if they wanted to remain in their employ. We tried to get in touch with the managers to verify that. We were unable to see them. We assumed from that attitude on the part of the managers that the information we had received was accurate and worthy the consideration of our membership.

On the 12th of July we called a meeting of our members and informed them of the facts that were in our possession. The membership voted to give the hotel men until Monday the 14th of July, the day on which the agreement expired, an opportunity to say whether they intended to open up negotiations with us for the continuation of the agreement, or whether we were privileged to act on our own initiative. That communication to the employers brought the first official communication from them that they would no longer have contractual relations with our union and would no longer deal with us and would operate under the open shop plan.

They informed their employes that they would have to sign individual contracts. This was accompanied by a communication saying they would have to sign the yellow dog contract presented to them if they expected to remain in their employ. In the Hollenden the waiters who had worked for many years, one as long as twenty-seven years, were told that the dining room was going to be closed and they were to get their checks up to date and leave the establishment. They did that. The following morning the dining room was opened with a non-union crew.

Some of our members, it is true, deserted the organization, signed individual contracts, and remained in their places of employment. They were few in number, however. The lockout affected something like 500 to 550 members of our union in addition to the engineers and firemen who are out in sympathy with this movement. I might add here that this fight is costing our local unions in Cleveland in the neighborhood of three to four thousand dollars a week. It is necessary for us to feed those who are out of employment, and that entails an expenditure of seven hundred dollars a week. We are meeting with fairly good assistance from the local labor movement and from the assessments on our membership who are employed and the money sent in by the International Union.

These hotels have been placed on the unfair list of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, and the support of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, both moral and financial, has been assured us. The Ohio State Federation of Labor has placed these hotels on their unfair list, and we are assured of the support of the State Federation.

We have had the very liberal support of the Cleveland Press and the Cleveland Plain Dealer. They have written several editorials and have given us any amount of news space that our organization desired to have. I may add in respect to the Press, the Scripps paper, that the employers endeavored to purchase a full page advertisement in the Sunday issue of that paper for the purpose of setting forth their views. The Cleveland Press refused to accept the advertisement, telling the employers that the union could not afford to insert a similar advertisement, and because of their attitude of being fair with the union they would not accept that as an advertisement, but would run it as a news item along with a similar item from the union in answer to it. We felt that was a splendid sentiment on the part of the Cleveland Press and we want to make public acknowledgment of it here.

We want also to pay our respects to the Railway Brotherhoods and publicly acknowledge their splendid cooperation and help.

The church, as it is represented by the Jewish, the Catholic and the Protestant faiths, has publicly endorsed our position in this matter in the public press. They have condemned the attitude of the employers in refusing to meet with the Federal mediators that are trying to adjust this matter, or with any other form of mediation.

The City Council, realizing the seriousness of the situation from the standpoint of conventions and other business enterprises, approved a resolution directing the City Manager to appoint a committee of three to adjust this

controversy. The committee was composed of the Vicar General of the Catholic diocese of Cleveland, Monsignor Smith, as chairman, the President of the Automobile Club and the Federal Referee in Bankruptcy in the City of Cleveland.

The efforts of that committee met with the same reception as the efforts of the mediators. They did, however, through the spokesmen of their Association, meet with the representatives of the city government, and immediately referred them to their attorney, who is the attorney for the Associated Industries of Cleveland, the open shop advocate, and they handed the committee a statement of facts. They refused to arbitrate or to argue the points at issue.

I want to say just briefly that this is not a fight of the hotel men of the city of Cleveland and the hotel employes as represented by the organized industry. I believe the representative of the labor movement of Cleveland will tell you that this is a fight between the Associated Industries as represented by their mouthpiece, Mr. Bradley, and the labor movement of Cleveland. They are trying to drive the city into an open shop fight for the purpose of reducing the wages and conditions of employment that now exist in the various trades and callings in that city. They are taking this opportunity because of the depression of business and because of the availability of so many unemployed at the present time in order to break down the conditions that have been built up in the labor movement of the city of Cleveland. We feel that if these hotel men, as they are represented through the banking interests and the interests that are striving to make Cleveland an open shop town, succeed in their efforts to beat down the waiters and waitresses in their fight their next move will be to attack some other organization with a similar result, because if they can defeat our organization that has had negotiations for seventeen years and that has had considerable strength and influence in the city of Cleveland, they can readily attack weaker organizations with the same object in view and succeed.

We feel that this fight with our International Union, outside of the city of Cleveland itself, is an attempt on the part of the hotel managers to drive home to their associated members the fact that they should have no dealings with the trade union movement. The hotels of this country are large institutions and they not only deal with cooks, waiters and waitresses, but they deal with other mechanics as well. If they can make a national fight through their national association upon our particular part of the industry they can make a national fight upon all the other trades that may be involved in their institutions, and I plead with you men and women to make this fight your fight, to make this attempt on the part of the hotel men of the city of Cleveland to destroy our organizations and to destroy the labor movement of that city your daily thought. Notify the membership of your organizations to do what they can, either in a collective or an individual way, to keep people, not only out of the city of Cleveland where this fight is on, but to ask their friends to keep away from those hotels if they find it necessary to visit that city. We are going

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

to win this fight if we have to walk the picket line all this winter and after. We have got to keep our people from want. Later on we may find it necessary to appeal to some of the national and international organizations in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor for some financial help. Just at this moment that appeal is not necessary, but if such an appeal is made it will be voluntary, and we will ask for no assessments. We are going to win this fight. We need the assistance of the labor movement. We are not strong enough individually or even collectively among our own group to master this situation in view of the influence that is back of it. So we come to this labor parliament to appeal to you in the name of our men, of our women, who are walking the streets in Cleveland today for the principle of collective bargaining, to do what you can to be helpful to them, and I am quite confident that with your helpful cooperation and assistance we will make short work of this fight and we will make it so strong and so sound, and the message you send from this convention will be so emphatic that we need not feel that the hotel managers of Cleveland or anywhere, or that the industrial association of Cleveland, will take issue with any of the other organizations in Cleveland.

I thank you for this opportunity to present our case to you, and I assure you that whatever you do in the interest of our fight in Cleveland we will be very grateful for, it will be appreciated not only by our international organization, but by the men and women involved in this dispute.

Delegate Possehl, Operating Engineers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Brother Flore has explained the situation in Cleveland as far as the cooks and waiters are concerned. In 1928 the engineers practically understood that there would be a controversy some day in the hotel situation in the city of Cleveland. It came to our attention first in our attempt to bring about a signed agreement for the year 1928, when we approached the management of the hotels for a signed agreement with an increase in wages. We were met with a rebuff from the manager of every hotel. At that time they were not all members of the Hotel Men's Association, but on the presentation of our agreement to the hotels it finally drove them all into the Hotel Men's Association. Then we presented our proposition to the Hotel Men's Association and we again met with a rebuff.

We became aware in 1929 that the Hotel Men's Association was going to take a stand against the trades union movement and collective bargaining in the hotels. The first information we had was the fact that the chief engineers of the hotels were requested by the managers to approach the organization on the possibility of receiving a withdrawal card, based upon the fact that they had been promoted from chief engineers to building superintendents. We refused that request and immediately started further negotiations.

The next information we had was that there was going to be a battle was the Union Terminal project. After the completion of that project we saw that they were flooding the Union Terminal Building with a lot of main-

nance men. On investigating the situation we found they were trying to get enough men together for the purpose of battling the engineers in case they went out on strike. The next information we had was when the Cleveland Hotel, which is under the Van Sweringen management, informed the members of our organization that they would deal with them as individuals and would not deal with a committee representing the union.

In order to cover that up a little bit we decided to pick a committee out of the hotels and let them meet with the management, and they informed them they had to be out of the union if they wanted to hold their jobs, that they could take either the union or their jobs.

When the cooks and waiters' organization came to the breaking point with the hotels there was nothing else for the engineers and all the other crafts to do but to support the cooks and waiters, because it was our fight just as well as theirs.

They made the statement that all those who were employed to replace the men and women who had struck the job were going to receive the same wages as those that were in the employ of the hotel, a number of them seventeen years or more. We have found out that it is nothing more than an opportunity to reduce wages, for every engineer employed in the hotels in place of our striking members has been reduced from 10 to 30 cents per hour. In other words, the wages today average \$26 to \$46 per month less than our engineers got before this struggle.

The public is in sympathy with our movement in Cleveland. They are willing to support it and they have made all kinds of overtures to the hotel managements for the purpose of bringing about a meeting between both forces, but without success, and simply because of the fact that some influence behind the Hotel Men's Association in Cleveland is trying to break up the union.

The Associated Industries is nothing more than a renamed American Plan Association. I have been in battles with the American Plan for seven years. Fortunately for me, I have licked them every time. The only reason they have changed the name to the Associated Industries is for the purpose of trying to get away from the name of the American Plan, under which name they have had no success in combating the trades union movement. Today they are out in front again supporting the Hotel Men's Association for the purpose of tearing down the union movement in the city of Cleveland.

As far as the engineers are concerned—and I am satisfied the same is true of the associated organizations—we can lick the hotel men. It is a period of time when the depression is on and lots of people are out of employment, and you can inveigle any man to take any kind of job to get something to eat. They are taking full advantage of this opportunity to destroy the union. They have hired all kinds of watchmen. They have anywhere from fifteen to twenty additional watchmen in the building at \$40 a week, just to keep you from getting a slight increase in wages.

The cooks and waiters, like every other organization interested in this struggle, need all the moral and financial assistance possi-

ble. The engineers are taking good care of their members, but we are not in position to support anybody else financially. We are able to go along and fight and we will fight until we get back the things we have been fighting for for years.

From the statements that have been placed in the newspapers and from the information we have given out in our public statements there is no doubt that the sympathy of the traveling public will forever be with us. There isn't any reason why the traveling public should have to go into a hotel under police protection, protected by men that nobody knows anything about. In the difficulties I have had with the American Plan Association, most of the men they hired as watchmen were nothing but imported gunmen. We have had lots of battles and many of our men have been hurt in these battles.

In 1929 in the struggle I had with the refrigerating industry over the American Plan, before the name was changed, after a five day strike, with all the police that were on the job, we licked them, and a statement was then made that the only reason the refrigerating industry signed up with the union was because of the fact that the public was not with them. I will say that the public is not with any institution like Associated Industries in Cleveland that is trying to tear down conditions for people who work for a living.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President, I just want to add a few words to what President Flore has said. In supporting the recommendation of your committee, which I presume will be adopted by this convention, it would be very gratifying to me to take back the message to our membership in Cleveland. I stopped off there a short time on my way here and expect to return as quick as the convention is over. We surely appreciate the solid support of the engineers, the firemen and the American Federation of Musicians in our battle.

As has been stated, we have between five and six hundred men and women on the picket line. They have been arrested in large numbers, as many as one hundred at a time, but that gave them more pep and they went right back on the line and are still there. We appreciate very much, too, the support of the railroad brotherhoods who are doing

all they can to aid us morally in the fight. Since this convention has been in session the Consumers' League of Ohio, which is quite a large organization, went on record in no uncertain terms in the following manner:

"We deplore the refusal of the hotels to concur in this situation and we regret that they have chosen this period of depression in which to refuse to renew long-standing agreements with the unions."

"Since the hotels are acting collectively it is particularly inconsistent for them to refuse the right of collective bargaining to their employees."

The report of your Executive Council is permeated with references to the yellow dog contract, and we are victims of it at this time. We recognize it is not a local fight in the city of Cleveland and we know that we must win this fight, and we will win. Otherwise it will spread to the other large cities of this country.

And so I shall be glad, along with our president, to go back to Cleveland and carry the news from here this morning. It is a real battle, we are standing right up to the gun, and we are going to stay in the trenches until we win.

Delegate Agnes McInnis: Mr. Chairman and delegates: Among the several hundred that are on the streets against the yellow dog contract in Cleveland, fighting for the principles of collective bargaining, are a large number of women workers. Women, as you know, in our particular industry have always had a desire to serve, and through the desire to serve you right they now urge you to help them in their fight against the yellow dog contract in Cleveland. Already in that city they have cut the wages of the waitresses, who are responding more and more to the call of action, along with the other members in the city. I earnestly urge your continued hearty cooperation and ask this convention to give its support to the cause of the waitresses in the city of Cleveland.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 12:30 o'clock P. M. the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock.

Seventh Day-Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Gillmore, Mullaney, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Cohen (S.), Richard, Schulte, Zuckerman, Meyer, Kaufman, Marshall (H. S.), Beardsey, Wolff, Burns (M. J.), Britton, Berry, McDonald (D. J.), Badaracco, Dart, Sutor, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Child, Stierle, Graham, Gill, Wilson (T. A.), Anderson (G.), Burna (J. T.), Bowden, Moser (C. J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G. C.), Laude, Mueller, Cargigan, Taylor (C. O.), Tucker, O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Souza, Sumner (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P. F.), Nealey, Dacey, Shave, Finan, Kelly, Beauregard, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S. J.), Jones, McGeary, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M. G.), Walsh, Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O. L.), Hampton, Taylor (S. M.), Stump, Hill, Mitchell (T.), Fearn, Miller, Cronin.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y.
October 14, 1932

Convention American Federation of Labor,
Boston, Mass.:

The National Labor Committee for the organized workers of Palestine send you their hearty greetings and congratulations for your achievements in the past half century. The undersigned, who have just returned from Palestine, were authorized to give you the blessings of the Federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine. They expressed deep gratitude to President Green for the kind sentiments he sent them through Brother Feinstone. In their name and in our name we wish you still greater success in the coming years.

Fraternally yours,

A. J. SHIPLACOFF, Chairman,
MAURICE FEINSTONE, Vice-Chairman,
MAX ZARISKY, Treasurer,
J. HAMLIN, Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Delegate Poschel, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Hatters Protest Attitude of Sarnoff Irving Hat Company

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates James Haugh, Samuel Moore and Edward Gordon of the United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The Sarnoff Irving Hat Company, manufacturers of hats and operating a chain of retail stores, in 1922, while operating a union factory in New York City, declared for the open shop and secured a non-union factory at Perth Amboy, New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, The Sarnoff Irving Hat Company had only one object in view in declaring for the open shop, and that was to get cheaper labor and thereby lower the standard of living of members of the United Hatters of North America; and

WHEREAS, The Sarnoff Irving Hat Company is doing a national business, having stores all over the United States, some of them known as Sarnoff Irving Stores, some as Sarnoff Stores and some as Irving Stores, but all of them owned by the Sarnoff Irving Hat Company; and

WHEREAS, This year the United Hatters of North America succeeded in organizing the Sarnoff Hat Company employees; as soon as this condition became known to the firm they notified their employees that any of them who attended the meetings of the organization of their craft would be discharged. A meeting was held and attended by most of the Sarnoff Company employees. Next morning ten of the leaders were discharged; and

WHEREAS, We believe that in this enlightened age the time has passed when employers of labor can any longer take the stand that joining the organization of their craft is sufficient reason for the discharge of their employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftyith Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the unfair and un-American attitude of the Sarnoff Irving Hat Company in discharging their employees because they joined a labor organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render every assistance possible to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this controversy, and if unable to do so that Sarnoff Irving hats be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor and the widest possible publicity be given to the matter contained in this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the membership of the American Federation of Labor that when buying a felt, wool, straw or Panama hat they look for the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America. In doing this they will be helping to stop firms like the Sarnoff Irving Hat Company from trying to lower the standards of living of

American men and women by depriving them of their right to belong to an organization if they so desire.

A similar resolution was before your committee at the last convention, at which time your committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, consistent with the policies of the American Federation of Labor. We further recommend at this time that the Executive Council render every possible assistance to the Hatters in this controversy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Contracts Should Provide for Prevailing Wage Scales

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate W. Thos. Polston of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The contract for redecorating the White House has been awarded to a non-union decorating concern; and

WHEREAS, In answer to various protests, Lieut. Col. U. S. Grant III, Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks, stated it was mandatory upon him to award the contract to the lowest bidder; and

WHEREAS, President Hoover has advocated a high wage policy as a remedy for business depression, and pledges of co-operation have been given to him by kings of industry; and

WHEREAS, The action of Lieut. Col. U. S. Grant III seems to be contrary to the advocated policy of President Hoover; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That action be taken to see that in all estimates for contracts to be let by the government, the bidder shall figure the wages of his men on the basis of the scale of wages prevailing in that locality; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Federation of Labor Convention, now convening at Boston, Massachusetts, for its adoption.

The subject matter contained in this resolution has been dealt with in the report of the Committee on Legislation on page 232, Friday afternoon session, fifth day's proceedings, and your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Polston, Chicago Federation of Labor: This resolution was adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor by unanimous vote a week ago last Sunday. We have heard a number of flowery speeches from the rostrum of this convention by some of the celebrities of this country, from the President of the United States down, and when they left us we understood the American Federation of Labor was their first cousin. In other words, they eulogized the efforts being put forth by this organization to the limit. I don't know whether we are going to take their word for

it, but I believe in action. It seems that the policies as outlined by President Hoover advocating a high wage, so that we can maintain an American standard of living, are not in accord with the views of Mr. Grant. Mr. Grant, Secretary of Public Works and Public Parks, says that it is mandatory upon him to award the contracts to the lowest bidders. That does not seem to be in keeping with President Hoover's policy.

We back in Chicago think that the President's policy should be put into effect, regardless of whether Mr. Grant likes it or not. We heard the Secretary of Labor talk from the platform, we heard the Secretary of War, and they were all in accord with the actions of this convention. We in Chicago, and I believe that is true all over the United States and Canada, insist that when any work is being done by the government the scale which prevails in the vicinity where the work is being done should obtain, and we are not going to be satisfied unless the people who stood on the platform of this convention and courted the friendship of this federation stand back of what they said. I hope the President and the Secretary of War will be big enough in the future to tell Mr. Grant that he must at least adhere to the prevalent scale of wages in the vicinity where these jobs are let. We do not believe in a reduction of wages and I do not think that the American Federation of Labor will stand for a policy of reduction in wages, and unless we gentlemen who are here representing the rank and file, the men who pay the freight, oppose such reductions we are not going to have a very successful convention. I hope that when this resolution and the recommendation of the committee are adopted the Executive Council will go farther and see to it that in the future all contracts awarded by the government contain a provision that at least the prevailing scale in the vicinity where the work is being done shall be paid.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was unanimously carried.

Tailors Request Assistance to Secure Adjustment of Dispute with Levy Bros., Louisville, Ky.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Cust Soderberg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The firm of Levy Bros. at Louisville have in their employ non-union tailors (bushelemon) and have refused to employ members of Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 49; and

WHEREAS, This firm, because of its antagonistic attitude, has been declared to be unfair to Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 49, and request made that the United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville take similar action; and

WHEREAS, Because of the employment of other crafts, this action has been delayed in accordance with a ruling of the A. F. of L. that pending the expiration of such agree-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ments such concern will not be declared unfair; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 49, desiring the co-operation of all organizations, and not desiring to injure our sister crafts now employed in the several departments, would renew our efforts to unionize this concern; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as requesting the American Federation of Labor to delegate a representative to Louisville with a view of adjusting this situation, and if possible to have such organizations as now have agreements to delay renewal of same until the Levy Company settle their differences with the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Unfair Attitude of the Richardson & Boynton Company, Dover, New Jersey

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Richardson & Boynton Co., located at Dover, N. J., locked out the following crafts, namely: Stove Mounters, Iron Molders, Sheet Metal Workers, Pattern Makers and Laborers, December, 1927; the above crafts are continuing their fight against this firm; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention go on record to give this unfair firm all the publicity possible and that the purchasing of their products be discouraged.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be requested to render every assistance to the Stove Mounters' Union in this controversy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Possehl: This concludes the work of the Committee on Industrial Relations, which is signed in full by the committee:

JOHN COFIELD, Chairman,
 JOHN POSSEHL, Secretary,
 CHARLES D. DUFFY,
 CHARLES J. CASE,
 EDWARD CANAVAN,
 JOHN C. MACDONALD,
 HARRY L. MORRISON,
 JAMES FEELEY,
 L. G. GOUDIE,
 TIMOTHY J. REGAN,
 IRA F. THOMAS,
 R. A. HENNING,
 LAWRENCE J. CALLAHAN,
 HARRY NACEY,
 EDWARD ACKERLEY,
 JOHN B. GALLAGHER,
 JOHN BADARACCO,
 W. E. BRYAN,
 Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Possehl moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: I wish to present for just a brief address a very interesting young lady coming to us from the industrial department of the Young Women's Christian Association. Miss Nord has been connected with the industrial department of the Young Women's Christian Association and in that capacity she has come in contact with our working men and women in different parts of the country. I know she will say something interesting. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Miss Elizabeth Nord, representing the industrial department of the Young Women's Christian Association.

MISS ELIZABETH NORD
 (Industrial Department, Young Women's Christian Association)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with the greatest pleasure that I bring to you the greetings and best wishes of the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association for the success of your convention. In over two hundred industrial communities of this country there are more than 25,000 active working women members in the industrial clubs. Some of them are organized. I am a textile worker and belong to Local Union No. 486 of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and I believe I am typical of the working women who are members of these clubs in the various parts of the country. As I said, some of them are organized. A great many, perhaps more, are not organized, but most of them have come to believe with strong conviction that the only way in which the worker's voice can be raised successfully is through collective bargaining. They have come to believe this through study and through discussion in industrial groups in the Y. W. C. A.

At their convention last spring they chose to discuss the subject of unemployment, wages and conditions in the textile industry. They came to the convention prepared after two years of study of these problems to discuss them. They chose to discuss them because as working women they know what it means to be unemployed, they know what it means to work for low wages, and they know the sweated conditions of the textile industry in the South.

Not only the industrial assembly of the Y. W. C. A. convention studied these subjects, but the entire convention, the 1,400 members, thought these subjects important enough to pass resolutions upon them. They passed the following resolution which I know will be of interest to you. They were to study conditions in the textile industry, North and South, to study and ask for labor legislation, and most important of all, they reaffirmed

firmed their belief in the right of the worker to organize.

Besides studying these subjects in Y. W. C. A. the workers from this organization chose to spend their summers at summer schools in various parts of the country. The affiliated summer schools of the country hold sessions at Barnard College, Bryn Mawr and Wisconsin University, and a college in the South drawing 50 per cent of its membership from the Industrial Department. A new workers' school has started at West Park, New York. Last year fourteen workers were in attendance. It is a residence school and gives a nine months' course. Here the students are trying to understand the development of modern industry and its many problems. Several of the fourteen students this first year came from the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A. I am trying to show you that the Industrial Department and your organization have something very much in common, and they have come to see the things that you stand for, the ideals of labor, through study.

The reason I am here at this convention is to tell you that they are familiar with the ideals of labor, they have come to know them, they want you to know they know them, they are ready to act with you and they want your cooperation. Many of you must know of the action taken by the Industrial Department in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in the recent industrial strife there in the textile industry. Then, too, you must know that many industrial girls have stood before legislatures and urged the passage of labor legislation. These are some of the things that have been done. But on the other hand many of these girls are in communities where there are no labor organizations. They receive no cooperation, perhaps, because some of your officers do not know that they are ready to act and are interested. But I am here to tell you that the number of working women in the Y. W. C. A. is growing, the number of interested women, more than ready to act and capable of acting is growing. They are ready to put their shoulders to the wheel and work for the things you are working for—the ideals of labor.

President Green: We very greatly appreciate this splendid message brought to us by Miss Nord. I am sure many of us understand the aims and purposes of that splendid group of women with whom Miss Nord is associated and their relationship toward organized labor. We are very glad to accord to her the privilege of speaking to us and we are pleased indeed to receive her message. I thank you, Miss Nord.

The officers and delegates who attend our convention are always expecting to receive an address from the Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau. He has delivered his addresses to us at each succeeding convention for many years. We always listen to those splendid addresses with absorbing interest, and then we are glad later on to

examine them more closely as they appear in the printed proceedings of the convention.

He almost missed coming to this convention. He was very much disappointed and was unable to arrive until today. Perhaps I might tell you the reason why—because he has had a most wonderful addition to his family. So he comes to us now, not as the old bachelor, Spencer Miller of old, but he comes as a father. I am sure that will be a strong recommendation to all of us.

I am glad to present to you Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau.

MR. SPENCER MILLER, JR.

(Secretary, Workers Education Bureau
of America)

President Green and Delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

I thank you, sir, for your gracious reference to the happiness that has come to my wife and me, and I appreciate the generous reception of this news by the delegates to the convention.

There are some advantages in making my annual report to the Convention in the middle of the second week. All of the important speeches have been made. You know now what is on the minds of all the distinguished speakers who have addressed the Convention, including our first citizen, the President of the United States, who spoke to you on the opening day. And you have had a chance to consider and inwardly digest these addresses.

At this stage in your Convention proceedings, I know that brevity is both the spice of wit and surest way of securing your gratitude. I shall therefore confine myself to two major tasks: The first will be a brief report of our work during the past year, and the second an observation about the present predicament in which we find ourselves today. First of all a word about our Education Bureau. A year ago at Toronto in my annual address I outlined at considerable length the variety of activities in which we are engaged from the deliberations of the World Conference on Adult Education to the program of adult education which we were carrying on through the services of our Field Representative among the mountain people of Tennessee. The year that has passed has witnessed a notable extension in certain of our activities. Candor, however, compels me to say that certain other of our activities have been somewhat curtailed due to the serious economic situation through which we have been passing in the last year. But this was to be expected. In our modern complex civilization it is literally impossible for any serious dislocation in our economic life not to profoundly affect our cultural and educational endeavors. The economic situation has materially affected, for example, the enrollment among boys and girls in our schools and colleges who have been forced to discontinue their schooling. In music and the arts, the story is much the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

same. In a word it is true to say that no group or section of a community in our modern world suffers alone; if one suffers, the other suffers as well. So it will not surprise you to know that these conditions have materially affected the activities of some of our study groups during the past year. It also holds true that the man who is out of work, but is willing to work and seeking employment does not have the same sense of repose for study and systematic education as the man that has the assurance of a job and the expectation of a regular weekly income.

Let me begin first with Mr. Fuller's work in the South. During the year there has been signal recognition of his work by the American Federation of Labor. The program of mass education and the training classes for union speakers which he initiated have been made an official part of the program for the extension of trade unionism in the South. Mr. Fuller has been made director of workers' education for the southern campaign by President Green. The Bureau was glad to comply with the request that Mr. Fuller be released from work as our field representative for this larger field of usefulness. We feel a measure of satisfaction in having trained him in part for so responsible an undertaking.

In addition may I mention the fact that I have spent considerable time in the South lecturing before college groups, before church and other groups of social workers, in explaining to them something of the nature of the industrial transformation that is taking place and the full significance of the industrialism that is spreading through the entire Southland. I do not want to magnify any efforts of mine, but I do believe that sustained educational effort must be included in any consideration of this question of the extension of trade unionism in the South.

In the second place, I mentioned a year ago the proposed plan for holding in the City of Worcester of a great Congress of New England Labor to consider together that perplexing problem which is on the mind and on the conscience of every industrialist and every leader of labor in this whole New England section. What is New England's future? What is to be the part in our industrial and economic life of this section that has played such a historic role in the development of our nation during the past three hundred years? This is a question that the delegates to the Worcester Congress set before themselves, in a three-day conference which was held at the Hotel Bancroft on October 25, 26, and 27th. From practically every state and practically every large industrial center in New England came some four hundred representatives of labor to consider together in the company of technicians, industrialists, economists, representatives of the United States Department of Labor and the various state governments, this profound question.

Thomas E. Burke, the able Secretary-Treasurer of the Plumbers' Union and President of our Bureau, presided over this Congress for the first day, and William Mahon, President of the Street Railwaymen's organization, presided for the last two days. Mr. Mahon has already made on a number of occasions public witness to his own estimate of the value of these deliberations. John Frey, who attended these sessions during the three

days, has also expressed his high regard for this meeting. I think they would subscribe to a statement which I am about to make, namely, that the Worcester Congress was one of the most notable gatherings of its kind that has ever been held in this section of our country. Indeed, the deliberations were of such value that by unanimous request the Proceedings were printed in pamphlet form and will be distributed to the delegates with the compliments of the Workers Education Bureau.

A Continuation Committee was appointed consisting of the executives of the six State Federations of Labor with the secretarial services of Mr. Harry A. Russell, the New England representative of this Bureau, to carry forward a series of smaller industrial conferences with representatives of employers in the various industries in the state.

During the last nine months in the transportation industry, in the shoe and textile industries and public utilities a series of extremely important conferences have been set up which have led in turn to some important new developments not only in subject matter, but in the strategy for labor in its negotiations of wage agreements.

In the third place, the Bureau has been giving consideration to some of the problems in occupational shifts which arise with the coming of technical changes in industry. We have attempted to devise some form of correspondence instruction which would guide young workers in the problems of their re-education through these changing methods of work. The delegates to this convention will be gratified to know that we have received a grant of money which will enable us to carry forward an experiment with several international unions in working out a method of procedure which may be adaptable to other unions in the Federation. A series of conferences have already been held with representatives of the building trades and the printing trades in New York and we feel reasonably assured that we have made headway in devising a technique which ultimately will be successful.

In the next place you will observe that in the Executive Council report a specific reference is made to the success which has been had during the past year in presenting to the representatives of our State Universities a plan of cooperation with our State Federations of Labor in the promotion of workers' education. This is in accordance with the resolution and action of the New Orleans Convention as reaffirmed in Toronto last year. A number of the State Universities in the Middle West and East have come to recognize anew the great importance of placing the facilities of a tax-supported university at the disposal of the wage earners in attempting to understand something of the challenge of the present machine age. The most recent and in some ways one of the most encouraging actions which has been taken was that of the State Federation of New Jersey and the State University at New Brunswick, N. J., entering into a cooperative plan for the holding of a Labor Institute on the campus of that university in June of next year. The State Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Atlantic City has unanimously

adopted the plan as prepared and as proposed by their own Executive Committee and the trustees of the university have ratified the cooperative arrangement. For a period of one week on the campus of Rutgers University (the New Jersey State College), representatives of labor will come to study some of the current labor and economic questions. The university has offered to provide from its Economics Department men who are competent to lead the discussions on these occasions. Housing, feeding, and library facilities will be made available. The entire week's tuition plus board and lodging and the use of all of the recreational facilities of the university will cost the trade unionists of the state the nominal sum of \$27.50.

I need not add that the officials of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor are particularly gratified by this arrangement. They feel sure that if such a program of education particularly for the young worker can be carried forward systematically over a period of years, that it will be possible to make effective replacements in the leadership in the movement as the older men come to the age of retirement from active service. I believe there is not a delegate in this hall that would hesitate to commend such a program or would fail to recognize the significance, so far as labor is concerned, of cordial and friendly cooperation of the tax-supported universities.

Let me refer to one other matter in this brief report of the work of our Bureau: Among the important pieces of work in which we have been engaged for the past nine years has been our program of publications. The volumes of the Workers Bookshelf are known to most of you. A year ago, for example, there appeared an important document entitled "Recent Economic Changes in the United States." It was a study of the economic changes through which our country had passed during the period from 1922 to 1929. A committee under the chairmanship of President Hoover, and with the extremely helpful collaboration of President Green and the services of a group of experts, prepared a report of some 1,000 pages. It seemed to be obvious that here we had economic material of the first order that should be in the hands of the wage earners of this country. We immediately enlisted the services of the secretary of this committee, Mr. Edward E. Hunt, in the preparation of a brief volume which would summarize these important economic studies. This volume, entitled "An Audit of America," by Edward Eyre Hunt has now been published. It is not only a distinguished addition to our list of publications, but will be found to be a source of valuable information for any trade unionist in this country.

In the next place, we have felt for a very considerable period of time that the plight of the American farmer was one which was not alien to a group of industrial workers, but was in the last analysis bound up with his condition and with his problems. The very suggestion of placing the farmer on a parity with the industrial worker implied an interdependence. The question again arose as to how we should illuminate this problem. We succeeded finally in securing the services of one of the ablest authorities on agriculture in America, Dr. Wilson Gee of the University

of Virginia. In cooperation with this Bureau a volume on "The Place of Agriculture in American Life" has been prepared and this book is scheduled to come from the press the week following the adjournment of this convention.

Thus briefly you may get some appreciation of the fact that our Bureau has been actively at work; that there are some notable accomplishments to bring before your attention at this convention.

What is the net result of all of this educational work? you will ask. It is, in a word, to bring a new power and a new capacity to labor to deal with its current problems. For workers' education is concerned with the very stuff of which the movement consists; its purpose is to bring knowledge into partnership with labor's everyday problems. It is the fulfilment of the prediction of the late Samuel Gompers when he said "Whatever progress the American labor movement makes in the future will rest on an educational basis."

Another result is to aid the leaders of labor in translating to the membership the principles upon which trade union policy is formulated and promulgated at these annual conventions. The report of the Committee on the Shorter Work Day, dealing with the 5-hour day is one of the most notable economic arguments which has been made in a labor convention since the Atlantic City declaration on wages. Yet, it remains the task of leadership to interpret the significance of this new proposal to the general membership and particularly the young worker who is just coming into the movement. How else can you give to the young worker a sense of the struggles and sacrifices of the older members of the movement which have achieved the present results, without some instruments of education?

Another result is to give even greater emphasis to the part of leisure in the life of the average worker. As the working hours are shortened and the leisure hours are lengthened labor may not avoid the responsibility of planning for the wise use of leisure of its members. Indeed it may well be that as the opportunity for the expression of old skills at work becomes more circumscribed that new skills at play will be developed. Indeed to make leisure itself an opportunity for the development of skills is to vitalize leisure and to unify it with work.

May I make one final observation. There is an old saying that in a democracy every man is his own economist. The result is that on every public question and on every economic issue there are a vast number of proposals for the solution of the particular problem. In our present predicament of widespread unemployment we have a host of remedies proposed from plans to stabilize the dollar to the provisions of unemployment insurance. I do not propose to discuss any of these proposed remedies this afternoon. But one thing I do want to leave with you. We are moving in this country, more and more, by almost an irresistible force, toward a planned economy which will effectively prevent the recurrence of these devastating periods of enforced idleness. Nothing less than a planned economy will substantially lessen these cycles of depression. Because

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

the problem is not local but world-wide such a planned economy will take account of world-wide economic conditions.

If we are moving, as I believe we are, toward a planned economy, it is of the utmost importance that organized labor should become educated labor to make its full contribution to the statesmanship which must inevitably be a part of such an economy.

President Green: The Chair wishes to say that we deeply appreciate the address of Secretary Miller. We are glad to have him with us today and we are pleased to hear his message. I thank you very much for your address, Mr. Miller.

GENERAL JACOB S. COXEY

President Green presented to the convention General Jacob S. Coxey, who led the army of the unemployed in a march from Massillon, Ohio in the year 1894 to the capitol at Washington.

General Coxey informed the convention that there were 3,000,000 workers unemployed at that time in comparison with a figure which he estimated at approximately 10,000,000 today. He stated it was his belief that if the American high standard of living was to be maintained, it would be necessary to change the present financial system by commencing to eliminate interest, which he characterized as the root of all evil. He outlined his plan for the elimination of interest and told the delegates some of the details of bills which he had caused to be introduced in Congress at various times for the purpose of carrying out his plans.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Swartz, Secretary of the committee: In the absence of the Chairman of the committee, Delegate Weber, I am presenting this report, which is very brief.

To Authorize Formation of Separate Unions of Municipal Supervisors and Inspectors

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Richard D. Carey of Federal Labor Union No. 17710, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, A large number of persons are engaged by municipalities as supervisors and inspectors, and

WHEREAS, A number of these persons are affiliated with Federal labor unions with no special distinction of craft or classification, and

WHEREAS, The position of inspector and supervisor in municipal work has become a distinct and recognized work subject to classification and easily distinguished, and

WHEREAS, It is for the best welfare and interest of the American Federation of Labor and Federal labor unions to classify, separate

and distinguish the employment of supervisors and inspectors; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That those members of the American Federation of Labor now affiliated with Federal labor unions who are engaged in the work of supervisors and inspectors of municipalities, are hereby permitted and directed to form and organize independent locals, the members of which shall be engaged in the work of supervising and inspecting for and on behalf of municipalities.

The committee recommended that the subject be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Swartz: This completes our report, which is signed:

JOSEPH N. WEBER, Chairman,
L. E. SWARTZ, Secretary,
J. O. MOLGREN,
JOS. N. MARSHALL,
R. R. MCINROY,
THOMAS REDDING,
ADAM ZUSI,
JAMES B. CONNORS,
SOI COHEN,
EDW. BIERETZ,
A. ADAMSKI,
E. W. A. O'DELL,
JAMES C. QUINN,
C. C. COULTER,
FRANCIS J. GORMAN,
R. E. WOODMANSEE,
JOHN D. WELCH,

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Resolutions has had the larger portion of the report of the Executive Council, and possibly a large portion of the resolutions introduced in this convention. The committee has given the delegates an opportunity to be heard on these subjects. It has given consideration to each and every resolution. The committee will report on the subjects as enumerated in the Executive Council's report, each subject being followed by the resolution pertaining to the subject treated. Our first report will be upon the unemployment question presented by the Executive Council. This will not include the resolutions on unemployment insurance. That subject will be treated immediately following the report of the committee on these other subjects. The Secretary will present the report.

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee, read the following:

Unemployment

The subject, "Unemployment," as dealt with in the report of the Executive Council, pages 47-64, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions for consideration, is presented in the Council's report under the following title and sub-titles:

Unemployment

Unemployment World Wide

Unemployment in the United States and Canada

Causes of Unemployment

Seasonal Unemployment

Comparing the Depressions of 1924 and 1930

Comparing the Depressions of 1921 and 1930

Increasing Efficiency

Part Time Work

Moral and Spiritual Consequences

Dependence on Charity

Loss in Purchasing Power

White House Conferences

Labor's Unemployment Program.

The Report of the Executive Council opens with the terse statement that "The outstanding economic fact of the past year is serious unemployment." It is an emergency that calls for action.

No subject is of greater and more pressing concern than that of unemployment. There is no more tragic event than that of constantly increasing numbers of anxious and willing wage earners looking for a job and receiving mere platitudes as a means of solving their immediate problems of life and work. The time is here for action. Our public institutions as well as quasi- and semi-quasi-public and private enterprises must arouse themselves to immediate undertakings—if we are to meet successfully the trying conditions confronting our people. Public works should be started at once and all procedures and practices making for delay should be removed. Private enterprise should not withhold necessary extensions, improvements and repairs but all should do their share for this emergency. Work should be more widely and equally distributed and an ever larger proportion of our working population should be afforded the opportunity of gainful employment.

Every effort should be made to arouse and enlighten public opinion so that it will be possible to bring about the adoption of remedial measures throughout industry and commerce

and by the various national, state and local governments, calculated to safeguard the future against a recurrence of the business depression, or "hard times," through which the country is now passing.

The problem of technological unemployment, or the displacement of men by machines, will remain with us even when we enter a period of substantial business revival. The machine must be made the servant of man. The methods by which it is introduced by the American Federation of Labor that instead of causing misery and want through unemployment, it will contribute to the happiness and progress of mankind. Only thus can science and invention, as relating to production and its allied processes, be given the fullest opportunity for development. It is not enough that a change should promise a better life for a future generation, while causing unemployment and poverty in the present generation. That which is good can and ought to be made of immediate benefit. These facts are ably presented in the report of the Executive Council on unemployment.

It is most encouraging to note that, as stated in the Report of the Executive Council, the disposition of employers to reduce wages has not been so marked during the present year as in the depressions of 1921 and 1924 and previous years. This is in accord with the principle so frequently stated by the American Federation of Labor that the maintenance of wage scales will contribute substantially to a revival of business. The White House conference, which urged the maintenance of prevailing wage standards during the period of depression, was a very practical recognition of the soundness of our position in this respect by the large employing interests represented at that conference.

The principle of high wages, that is to say, adequate and continuous incomes, as applied to the great masses of our people, is as essential to national prosperity as the very rains that fall from the heavens and the sun that warms the life in our fields and forests. This is a fact to which the Executive Council calls attention in various ways throughout its voluminous report on the subject of unemployment.

It is a source of deep gratification to your committee to note that the chief executive of the nation—the President of the United States—expressed his agreement with the position of the American Federation of Labor

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

on this subject in addressing this convention when he said, "Indeed, mass production must be accompanied by mass consumption through increased standards of living." Almost at the same moment he referred to poverty as a "cesspool." On the same day in his address at the annual convention of the American Legion, he expressed the opinion that "Within our own borders we shall create the conquest of poverty without exploiting other nations." This leads us to recall other utterances which he had made on previous occasions in which he suggested the "abolition of poverty" and, also, said, "We shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." These significant utterances of President Hoover, as the chief executive of our great nation, have been given too little emphasis by the people of our land.

Optimistic hopes for the future are based upon means which lie within the grasp of our people if they can be induced to make the best use of them. The very increase in the productivity of the workers, which now so often results in unemployment among them, can and must be made the occasion for a greater return to them. Either there must be a continued increase in the standards of living, with life for all constantly rising to a higher plane, or science will become a snare and invention a mockery.

In past years the American Federation of Labor has frequently reminded the people of America of the great potentialities which lie within the increasing productive capacity of the nation. The views of the President of the United States are added to those of the Executive Council and the labor movement as a whole. The common sense of a true patriotism ought to impel every citizen to respond by doing everything that lies within his power to not only aid the nation out of its present business difficulties, but to carry it onward and upward to the point when, in the language of President Hoover, "The abolition of intellectual and economic poverty" shall have been attained. It is an ambitious goal. Let us not forget that the only safe and sure road in this direction is that which never deviates from the basic principles of human freedom.

The Executive Council points out that, "Under our present business economy, there have been frequent breakdowns due to failure to adjust production to markets and the in-

ability of our credit system to meet such emergencies. The responsibility for such breakdowns rests squarely upon business management." The policy of business management, in many respects, has been such as to not only retard the development of market conditions, but also to destroy parts of our national credit system without offering any substitute therefor. The national business leaders who are charged with the responsibility of directing the policies of management need to be frequently reminded, as stated by the Executive Council, that the great mass of the customers of American business enterprises consists of wage earners and farmers. The prosperity of American business is dependent entirely upon the purchasing power of wage earners and farmers. Their purchasing power at a given moment is represented either by cash in hand or credit. There is not much to be said in favor of a business policy which results, first, in periodical depressions during which millions of workers are thrown out of employment; second, in a condition where there is a very substantial degree of so-called "technological unemployment" at all times; and, third, in a system of nation-wide retail chain stores as now operated on a basis which makes it impossible for the great masses of customers of such stores to obtain goods on credit.

If such careless, not to say ruthless, methods were applied between business enterprises in general, even for a day, the whole business structure would be on the point of collapse.

Under the sub-title, "Labor's Unemployment Program," the Executive Council submits ten specific proposals, the titles of which are as follows:

1. Reduction in Hours of Work ✓
2. Stabilization of Industry
3. Efficient Management in Production and in Sales Policies
4. Nation-wide System of Employment Exchanges
5. Adequate Records
6. Use of Public Works to Meet Cyclical Unemployment
7. Vocational Guidance and Retraining
8. Special Study of Technological Unemployment
9. Study Relief Proposals
10. Education for Life.

The shorter work-day and work-week are of primary importance. Your committee, however, refrains from undertaking any specific discussion of working time, other than its relation to the present unemployment problem,

for the reason that the subject of the shorter work-day is being dealt with by another committee of this convention which is charged with the specific duty of dealing with that particular question. Nevertheless, we feel justified in emphasizing the importance of pressing forward insistently in the campaign to limit the working week to five days for all classes of workers, which is one of the major proposals in labor's unemployment program as submitted by the Council.

It is well, too, that we should remind ourselves that among the unorganized workers there are great numbers who labor under the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week. Employers who persist in enforcing this anti-social practice are in a large measure responsible for the unfortunate condition of unemployment now so widespread.

The progress made by the trade unions of America in establishing the five-day work-week will, we hope, have the effect of stimulating among unorganized workers a desire for trade union organization and the beneficent consequences which flow from it.

In another item of its program the Council states that when a downward swing of business is observed, "The best way to inject new activity on large enough scale to have appreciable effect is to speed up construction of public works. To be most effective steps must be taken when indications of business depressions are evident. There should be an agency charged with this responsibility organized and alert to take action."

In connection with this item, your committee desires to direct attention of the convention to the paragraph entitled "Unemployment," on page 104 of the Report of the Executive Council, which is one of the propositions under the general title, "National Legislation," in which reference is made to the Wagner bills dealing with the subject of unemployment. One of these bills, S-3059, provided for the advance planning of public improvements and an appropriation of \$150,000,000 for use when unemployment becomes acute. After having passed the Senate, the bill was emasculated of its principal features in the House and is now in conference. There seems to be hope that its essential features may be restored. The Council can be relied upon to make every effort in this respect.

Another Wagner bill, S-3060, relating to national employment system, failed of passage in the House. We make reference to the subject at this juncture because item four of Labor's Unemployment Program, as submit-

ted by the Council, relates to the subject of employment exchanges.

We congratulate the President and the Executive Council upon the success attained in the passage of the third Wagner bill S-3061, which provides that the Bureau of Labor Statistics shall publish figures on changes in employment at least once each month.

A most important item in the unemployment program submitted by the Council is the recommendation that the Executive Council shall "Make a thorough investigation of all plans, legislative and otherwise, that have been discussed or suggested for the express purpose of finding a practical way by which relief may be accorded those who are suffering from forced unemployment."

Your committee urges that the officers of all affiliated organizations respond promptly to all requests which they may receive from the officers of the American Federation of Labor for information which may be needed in connection with the proposed investigation and study.

Every recommendation in the Report of the Executive Council relating to the subject of unemployment is, of course, to be interpreted in the light of the principles and policies which have been enunciated from time to time by the American Federation of Labor. We recommend that the report be approved.

In accord with the Report of the Executive Council, your committee indicated its conviction that we are confronted with a condition that calls for immediate action as well as for planning for the future. We now venture to submit for your consideration a proposal designed to bring into operation, without legislative action, and without further planning, all agencies, private as well as public, for the purpose of initiating measures for immediate relief. We believe that the attention of the nation must be focused upon the problem of unemployment without delay, and, to this end, we recommend:

1. That the Executive Council be instructed to request the President of the United States to immediately appoint a national committee to recommend measures for immediate relief, having in mind proposals that can be carried out of private and quasi-public agencies and enterprises, as well as by the departments of the federal government, the departments of the state governments and by municipalities, counties, school districts and other divisions of government.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

2. That the Executive Council be instructed to call upon all state federations of labor to request the governors of their respective states to appoint state committees to cooperate with the national committee proposed in paragraph one, and to initiate recommendations within their respective states.

3. That the Executive Council be instructed to call upon all affiliated central bodies in the United States to urge the mayors or similar officials of their respective cities to immediately appoint city committees to cooperate with the state and national committees provided for in paragraphs one and two and to initiate relief programs within their respective cities.

4. That the Executive Council be instructed to proceed in such manner as the Council may find practicable to bring about the establishment of similar committees in localities where there are no affiliated central labor organizations through which to act.

5. That the Executive Council determine the best procedure to follow in obtaining appointment of similar committees in the territories of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico.

6. That the affiliated central bodies in the Dominion of Canada be urged to cooperate with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in the promotion of unemployment relief measures in Canada.

It is the opinion of your committee that the national committee recommended herein, and all state and local committees referred to, should urge such relief measures as can be immediately put into effect to relieve the situation during the coming winter, by securing employment for as many workers as possible, and by relieving destitution and want in whatever way may be found necessary and practicable. It is not intended that these committees shall await action by either Congress or State Legislatures.

Committees similar to those we propose have already been organized in a few states and in some cities. The time is now opportune, we believe, for a call to the nation on this subject. In this, the American Federation of Labor should take the initiative. The response of the country will depend very largely upon the state federations of labor and the city central bodies who must be relied upon to interest the people of their respective states and cities.

It is our belief that all affiliated organizations will act promptly to bring about the appointment of the various committees recom-

mended herein as soon as they are called upon by the Executive Council to do so. The action on the part of the Executive Council should be taken immediately upon the adjournment of this convention.

Delegate Colleran, Plasterers: I want to arise at this time as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, and who agrees with every part of the recommendation brought in by that committee, and hope and trust that that recommendation going to your Executive Council and your Executive Council trying to carry out those recommendations will meet with success; but I do hope we do not have to wait nine years more for success; because the recommendations that are offered here today, with the exception of one or two, were offered by the man who is now President of the United States, as chairman of the committee nine years ago when Mr. Harding was President of the United States. Nine years have elapsed and now we are in the worst depression we have ever had.

The President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor now come before us and tell us of the wonderful immediate program. There are many men in this room that can point out conditions in the various cities wherein millions of dollars were appropriated years ago and the lot for a building is still there and no building is on it. I call your attention to one specific case, not a case of yesterday or the day before, but twenty-three million dollars were appropriated to the City of Chicago for a post office. A site was selected. Five million dollars were paid for the site and \$250,000 paid to firm of architects to draw up a prospective plan of what that post office would look like. The site is still there and now the commission is dickered with the railroads in the City of Chicago trying to lease air rights.

Now, Mr. President, if the government itself was on the level with the working people, would they stand for a condition of that kind? Would they take the very bill they spoke of here, the Wagner bill, offered over a year ago, one that provided for \$150,000,000 to be appropriated and for the planning committee to be put to work immediately? What happened to it? As the chairman said, the main principles were emasculated, but it might be reported back later, but one bill that did pass, the bill to provide for labor statistics to be given out once a month, and the very month that bill passed the Senate

twenty-one officials of the Labor Statistics Bureau were laid off for lack of appropriations.

Now, Mr. President, in representing the Building Trades I feel that the government is partly responsible for this, and we state to you and your Executive Board through a resolution that is in there that was adopted, [you are doing no more nor less than going before the President of the United States and giving him what he proposed nine years ago and placing it right on his doorstep.]

Delegate Morse, Bridge Tenders, Boston: Just a word or two about the unemployment situation in Boston and how it has been taken care of. Several months ago President Hoover urged state and municipal authorities to get busy on public work. The Massachusetts Legislature authorized the City of Boston to build an extension to the Boylston street subway. The work has been started and three hundred men are employed on two eight-hour shifts. We feel there will be a maximum of seven hundred men employed at five dollars a day and a forty-four hour week. In addition there are eighteen hoisting engineers, thirty-five carpenters and eighteen iron workers, all receiving a union wage. At a meeting of the General Contractors' Board, held in Rye, New York, last week, the Mayor of Boston and the Transit Commission were criticized for letting this work on a day labor basis rather than a contract system. The chairman of the committee on resolutions in that meeting at Rye was Bert Knowles, of Worcester, Massachusetts. The resolution in which the Mayor was criticized states that day labor is inefficient and wasteful in expending public funds. They say further to the highest authorities in federal, state and municipal branches that it is an uneconomic system and injects government into private business. That is our reason for bringing it here, because they criticized our Mayor for doing this on a day labor basis. If I am in order I wish to make a motion now, Mr. President.

President Green: It isn't in accordance with parliamentary law to make a motion after you make an address, but it would depend largely upon the nature of the motion.

Delegate Morse: I move that we commend the Mayor of Boston and the commission for letting this work be done on a day labor basis.

President Green: We are considering unemployment now and your motion would not be an amendment to the committee's report.

Delegate McSorley, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: While I am in favor of the report as being a step in the right direction, [I do not believe the committee has gone deep enough into the subject] They have not shown the convention any remedy for the cause of the present unemployment. They are simply dealing with the effect. What we should endeavor to do in this convention is to protest against those activities by the elements that are chiefly responsible for the present conditions of unemployment in this country.

I noticed in the report of one of the committees yesterday it was stated that they did not believe the stock market crash was in any way responsible for the present unemployment situation. I differ from that trend of thought. I believe that the crash in the stock market, precipitated by what preceded it, was directly responsible for the conditions we are enjoying in this country at the present time. I believe further that the blame for our present conditions should be placed where it properly belongs, and, in my opinion, that is upon the Federal Reserve Board. They permitted the discount rates to rise to such a point that call money in this country went up to 8 per cent and 20 per cent. The result of that high rate of interest was responsible for the money from all channels of industry going to New York to get that high rate of interest. The legitimate fields of investment were drained of their resources. We had banks, corporations, individuals, societies of every kind taking their surplus out of local fields of investment and sending it to New York, gambling in the stock markets in order to get the high rate of interest. The flow of money to that source was so great that the lenders had to borrow money on securities to send there. In that respect the borrowers were accepting securities that today are not worth one half of what they lent on them. Just as soon as the interest rises to a certain point they unload and down goes the stock market.

I believe our protest should be directed to the government so that we may be able to bring about remedial legislation that will prohibit the Federal Reserve Board from allowing these discount rates to rise because when they do they act as a sort of magnetic influence that

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

induces people to send their funds to get this high rate of interest.

The banks are in control and management of industry, which is another cause for the condition we are in, when it should be the reverse. The industries should control the banks and not the banks control the industries. It is easy for a bunch of bankers to go on a vacation and permit the workers to starve. I hope that when this will be given consideration by the Executive Council they will take these points into consideration. We should at least make a protest against such action by the Federal Reserve Board and by the bankers of this country in general, for they foreclose in many instances and steal the industries from their legitimate owners.

President Green: The Chair desires to just make a brief statement. The Executive Council well stated, and the committee has referred to that statement in the beginning of its report on unemployment, that unemployment is the outstanding economic fact at the present time. To me it is a tragedy. The suffering and distress which follow unemployment are in a way indescribable. It seems strange indeed that in a land such as ours, with an unsatisfied market calling for more and more and industry perfected to the highest point of perfection, ready to produce, with all the facilities of production at the command of the management of industry, that we should have idle plants on the one hand and thousands, yes, millions of suffering workers on the other. Such a condition is economically unsound. It calls for the consideration of every thinking person and for the application of a sound remedy.

I agree with many of the speakers that, after all, for the moment we can consider only some temporary relief, because we are, in my judgment, confronted with a very serious situation which will exist during the coming winter, but we must meet it, this convention must make its declaration, distress must be relieved. So far as I am concerned I feel we should protest against the existence of a condition wherein there will be hungry men, women and children in this great, rich country. We must, through the development of proper machinery, meet this situation, and for that reason we should call upon the national government, the state and municipal authorities, the trades unions, the civic organizations to begin now to prepare to meet this distressing situation which is coming upon us during the coming winter.

But we should go farther than that. We must attempt to find the cause of unemployment and demand the application of a remedy. I am one of those who believe that this uneconomic condition is uncalled for, that it is due to our failure to deal with the problem in the days when we should have considered it. I believe there is a remedy for unemployment and I believe we can seek and apply that remedy if the people of the country will become sufficiently aroused so that they will demand that industry itself shall put its house in order and it shall discontinue these periodical conditions in the cycle of employment.

Surely we can regularize the situation such as exists in industry, we can stabilize it so that men can be employed. The records show that we have an inexhaustible market at home; an unsatisfied market. Ninety per cent of all we produce can be consumed easily here at home, and the masses of the people, those who need more of everything that industry produces, both the necessities of life and the luxuries of life, will buy and use these things if industry will place in their hands the power to buy and use.

[The distressing condition that now prevails must be laid at the door of industry itself. Those who manage and control industry—and I would include with them the financiers of the country, the banks, those who deal with the currency of our nation—these are the people who are responsible for this condition that prevails. The American Federation of Labor will point the way. I do not agree with all who say that the committee has not embodied in its report some very practical and constructive recommendations and suggestions. I listened very earnestly to these recommendations and I believe that they are the most practical, workable suggestions that have yet been offered by any responsible body meeting in this great country, and I believe that if we can place behind these recommendations the great economic and moral support of the American Federation of Labor and its friends that we can force those who are responsible for this condition to apply themselves to the application of a remedy.]

Industry must choose between two things. We cannot have these periods of unemployment and maintain peace and prosperity in our country. If we are to live, if our institutions are to be secure, if industry itself is to function, if we are to maintain a social order that squares fairly with our developing civilization,

then the managements of industry must awake. If they are to live and be protected they must help us to find a remedy for unemployment.

So, my friends, I regard this a tremendously serious question, so serious in its aspects that I feel that every one who can make a contribution to help reduce it must make a contribution toward the solution of this problem. I maintain that it is a reflection upon our civilization to have here in America three million people unemployed seeking work and wanting work. It is indefensible, it is economically wrong, it is morally wrong, socially it is a disgrace, and the American Federation of Labor must press forward until we find a solution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Olander continued the report as follows:

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

The subject of 'Unemployment Insurance' is presented in Resolutions Nos. 16, 17, 51, 76 and 92, as follows:

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Thomas A. Slavens, of the Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The machine age under which we are living produces wealth in abundance to supply the needs of men; and

WHEREAS, Due to improper distribution of such created wealth a few have more than they can use while millions are walking the streets in hunger and unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment insurance will give food and shelter to these millions during periods of depression; and

WHEREAS, Our State Federation of Labor, Central Labor Union and many local unions have endorsed unemployment insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Fiftieth Annual Convention endorse unemployment insurance and use the full power of our organization to have such insurance enacted into federal and state laws.

Unemployment and Social Insurance

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Henry E. Richard of the International Wood Carvers' Association of North America:

WHEREAS, Eight millions of workers are jobless in the U. S. A., the richest country in the world, and approximately one million are jobless in the State of New York, receiving no relief whatever. The economic

crisis is accompanied by a further substitution of machine for human labor and a feverish speeding up of production. In addition to these there are almost two millions permanently discarded from industry because of old age, and this number is growing as a result of the speed-up practice of employers, which throws workers on the scrap-heap at the age of 45 years, and

WHEREAS, The employers, in order to secure more profits from the workers and as a means to overcome the severe crisis, are introducing new ways and means to shift the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers. This expresses itself particularly in the wage-cutting, speed-up campaign, and in unemployment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That members of the International Wood Carvers' Association of North America in convention assembled on September 15, 1930, recommend that a law be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States establishing a Workers' Social Insurance. We further recommend that the money for the measure be provided by a graduated Income Tax on incomes in excess of \$25,000; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the American Federation of Labor Convention which will be held next month in Boston.

Proposing Endorsement of Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate T. A. Slavens of the Newport, Rhode Island, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Under our present economic order standards of production are constantly improving; and

WHEREAS, The working class has not yet perfected its labor organization to insure a proper distribution of this increased production; and

WHEREAS, This increased production is most generally reflected in three channels of our business structure: first, increased dividends or earnings in business; second, increased values of stocks and bonds above par or original selling value; third, increased bank deposits and reserves; and

WHEREAS, This increased production invariably leads to unemployment, bringing hunger and misery on the worker, depression and lower values upon business; and

WHEREAS, This condition could be partially remedied by the adoption in each state of an unemployment insurance act, revenue for the operation of such an act to be derived from a tax on the above named three sources, and to be administered by a commission of three, one of whom shall be selected from the recognized trade unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the fiftieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring the adoption of such legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge State Federations of Labor to use all possible efforts to cooperate with all other agencies or fraternal organizations to secure the enactment of such legislation.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, William Smith, James Starr, Francis J. Gorman, United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation has increased to such serious proportion that it has become a most important problem confronting this country; and

WHEREAS, This condition has become a permanent one because of the overdevelopment of industry, introduction of new inventions, and automatic machinery, which in turn have thrown tens of thousands of men out of work each year; and

WHEREAS, These conditions do exist and over which the workers have no control; and

WHEREAS, Private charity and welfare organizations can no longer cope with the widespread distress which unemployment has caused; and

WHEREAS, The diminished purchasing power caused through unemployment is a serious menace to economic prosperity; and

WHEREAS, A vast majority of the most capable social scientists and social workers are convinced that a universal system of compulsory and publicly administered unemployment insurance, either contributory or non-contributory, is the only solution of this problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention take immediate steps to demand the adoption of a compulsory system of unemployment insurance in this country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending this convention pledge themselves to work unceasingly in every possible way for this great and urgently needed reform.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled at Memphis, Tenn., in July, 1930, placed itself on record in favor of government unemployment insurance and urged that this matter be taken up by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, We are in the midst of a serious economic depression which is causing untold suffering to American workers, and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are walking the streets in a vain search for the opportunity to work and millions of others who may not be altogether jobless are nevertheless out of work or on short time, and

WHEREAS, All economists of any standing now recognize that even in the best of times, no matter what measures for the stabilization of employment may be taken, there will be for years to come many hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of these workers, many of them displaced by new machinery designed to benefit society, is rightfully a charge upon industry and society, and such workers if protected from unnecessary suffering can be expected to co-operate in social and industrial progress, and

WHEREAS, The conditions creating unemployment can be dealt with only if society as a whole through governmental action concerns itself with the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as favoring a system of unemployment insurance inaugurated and controlled by the states and supported by the Federal government, said system of unemployment insurance to embody the following features:

1. The insurance to be a charge on industry in the same way as workmen's compensation for accidents. If it is legitimate that a business should accumulate reserves in good times so as to be able to pay dividends in periods of depression, it is equally legitimate that industry should accumulate reserves to tide over unemployed workers during slack times.

2. Contributions to be graduated, industries and establishments having more unemployment to pay a larger percentage of their payrolls into the fund.

3. Unemployed workers to receive not less than 40 per cent of their prevailing weekly wage, with 10 per cent additional for a wife and 5 per cent for each child up to two. Insurance to be paid for not more than 26 weeks in each year.

4. Anyone who has worked and for whom contribution has been paid in the state for a period of 52 weeks (not necessarily consecutive) shall be entitled to insurance, and workers receiving insurance to be free to refuse to take jobs where a strike is in progress.

5. Administration of the funds to be in the hands of a Bureau of the State Department of Labor, assisted by an advisory board consisting of two employers, two representatives of organized labor and one of the public, said board to be in each instance appointed by the governor.

Resolution No. 38, which calls for "a study of the question of remedial legislation," in relation to unemployment, is as follows:

Proposing Study of Remedial Legislation to Relieve Unemployment

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The present period of unemployment existing in the United States is causing untold privation among the wage earners and their dependents; and

WHEREAS, The modern trend of American Industry is towards mergers and consolidations, with a corresponding increase of mechanization and elimination of the use of man power; and

WHEREAS, Modern methods of business accounting provide for setting up funds to take care of depreciation, interest, and cash reserves, but make no provision for the human element in times of depression; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., in the year 1930, to request the Executive Council to appoint a Committee to make a study of the question of remedial legislation, having for its purpose the establishment of the unemployment situation upon Industry, to the end that the rights of wage-earners to regularity of employment and wages be co-equal with all other fixed charges accepted by Industry.

The introducers of the resolutions above noted either appeared personally or were represented at hearings before the Committee on Resolutions.

The committee has given most earnest consideration to the subject of unemployment insurance as proposed in the various resolutions. The issue presented is one of vital importance. It involves the question of whether the American Federation of Labor shall continue to hew to the line in demanding a greater freedom for the working people of America, or whether liberty shall be sacrificed in a degree sufficient to enable the workers to obtain a small measure of unemployment relief under government supervision and control.

In his recent declaration against compulsory unemployment insurance, or the so-called "dole," President Green accurately reflected the general policy of the American Federation of Labor as it now is. Shall that policy now be changed? An answer to that question is of the highest importance.

The American Federation of Labor has stood adamant against every proposal for the registration of aliens because such registration would seriously interfere with freedom within our borders by placing a part of our people under undue supervision and control by governing officials of various grades, opinions and susceptibilities.

Every system of unemployment insurance advanced here contemplates supervision and control by both federal and state governments and will require registration, not only of the aliens among the workers, but of all workers.

Can a process, which we have denounced as being extremely bad when its application to

alien workers in our midst is proposed, be made good when applied to all workers, by adding to it a payment of some sort when they are unemployed?

Our problem of unemployment does not arise from lack of room, from lack of space, from overcrowding, or from lack of natural resources, as is the case in some other nations.

Are we prepared now to admit defeat in our efforts to so increase the consuming power of the people that it will meet their great productive capacity?

Shall we say to our people that they have produced too much and therefore must accept too little?

Are we to enter upon the policy of accepting momentary relief without regard to the future consequences?

Shall we discard the system under which we move freely from one end of our great country to the other, crossing state lines, stopping where we please, leaving when we choose, living where we will, without ever undergoing the scrutiny of a government official or reporting to government officers?

Have we lost courage to the point where we regard freedom no longer as the greatest essential of life and the most necessary element in human progress?

Shall we be content to carry industrial passports because they have a government label?

In order to prevent the people of Europe from overwhelming us by flocking to our shores, we have found it necessary to enact increasingly rigid immigration regulations. In the face of this fact, and the proof that it offers of unfavorable conditions in European countries, shall we now say to our people that Europe, through unemployment insurance and similar legislative schemes has found a way of making life for the working people better over there than it is here, notwithstanding the fact that it is the working people of Europe that desire to come to America?

Are we to join in the fallacious argument now being offered in some quarters that the laws proposed for unemployment insurance are on a par with workmen's compensation acts?

Will the character of unemployment insurance be changed in the slightest by glossing it over with the name "unemployment compensation?"

Shall we tell our membership that work-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

men's compensation laws which are based upon the age-long principle of liability for direct damage, which require no registration of individual workers, no government cards, no reports on individual workers by employers until those workers are actually injured, or claim they are injured, are no different than the European government schemes under which the worker becomes a ward of the state and subject to discipline by employers under state authority?

Shall we place restrictions upon the mobility of our people by rendering it increasingly difficult for them to leave employments and localities which they find unsatisfactory? Should we not rather urge them to seek a greater freedom than they now have in this respect?

Is it not true that unemployment schemes of the sort advocated in the resolutions before this convention will tend to prevent the workers from joining in movements to increase wages and improve working conditions because of fears that they might thus sacrifice their eligibility to unemployment insurance?

These are some of the questions which the workers of America have a right to expect shall be fully and honestly answered before they follow Europe in this matter. There are other questions of equal importance involved in this subject.

It is not our intention that the questions we have raised should be taken as a criticism against workers of European or other countries who have accepted the "dole," by whatever name it is called. They know better than we the conditions under which they live and the objectives for which they strive and we are willing that they should determine their own destiny. It is America that we have in mind and the American workers who have entrusted us to meet in convention and to advise them, not only as to the road which they ought to follow, but as to the goal which they should seek and the dangers that lie along the way.

The questions submitted by this committee clearly indicate that its members are not in accord with the resolutions submitted on the subject of unemployment insurance. The Executive Council, however, has recommended, as part of labor's program, that the Executive Council make a thorough investigation of all plans, legislative and otherwise, that have been discussed or suggested for the

express purpose of finding a practical way by which relief may be accorded those who are suffering from forced unemployment."

In another section of our report, we gave approval to that section of the Executive Council's Report, and our recommendations received the endorsement of the convention. The Executive Council is now therefore charged with the duty of making a thorough investigation of all plans, legislative and otherwise, that have been discussed or suggested in relation to the problem under discussion. Our recommendation in relation to the proposed investigation was made in the light of the pending resolutions which we are discussing in this report. It was not then, and it is not now, our intention that any limit should be placed upon the scope of the investigation which is to be made by the Executive Council. For this reason we recommend that Resolutions Nos. 16, 17, 51, 76 and 92, relating to unemployment insurance, and Resolution No. 38, proposing the appointment of a committee to make a study of remedial legislation in relation to unemployment, be referred to the Executive Council for consideration in connection with the study which the Council has been instructed to make.

President Green: You have heard the reading of these resolutions and the recommendation of the committee. It is moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: I do not oppose the committee's report referring these resolutions and the subject matter to the Executive Council. I do not, however, agree with all that has been said on the question of unemployment compensation by the committee. I did not expect that this convention at this time would endorse unemployment compensation. Our experience has been in the old age pension question and other special legislation that it took some time for the American Federation of Labor before they concurred in the proposals made by various state federations. I say that a fund to compensate the unemployed because of their unemployment is not in all cases a dole, any more than the payment of a stipulated sum to those who become old in industry is a dole.

Some of our federations have proposed bills that do not constitute a dole. They do not ask the state to contribute, they do not ask

the employee to contribute, they place the burden upon the industry.

I think the case has been best stated by our President when he said that this unemployment situation should be placed at the door of those who are responsible, and that industry is responsible. In the early days when the compensation act was first discussed we did not expect that anyone could be adequately compensated for the loss of an arm, for the loss of an eye or for some other industrial injury; the idea was that we were seeking some means to place some responsibility upon those who were most responsible for industrial accidents, and who could perfect their industry and put it in such a shape that accidents would be minimized.

I am fully aware that some employers have accepted the suggestions of the so-called Hoover Committee and have fallen in line and not reduced wages, and some of them have reduced hours, of course, at the behest of the organized labor movement. But you can moralize with a certain element of the employers all you want, and unless you place some responsibility upon them that will give them the incentive to do what they can to stabilize their industry so that most of the people can work most of the time you will not find a remedy.

Delegate Slavens, Newport (R. I.), Central Body: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I cannot seem to agree with the recommendation of the committee. In fact, I am greatly disappointed in it. This recommendation will undoubtedly be interpreted as placing the American Federation of Labor against unemployment insurance. It will greatly retard the work of the state federations that have already gone on record for the adoption of unemployment insurance. In my own state we have already taken such action. Our Executive Board of the State Branch was instructed to prepare and submit an unemployment insurance bill to our coming state legislature. We talked the subject over very thoroughly in our state. We discussed it for two or three years and we cannot look upon unemployment insurance in any way as a dole. I cannot see how any working man can consider part of the wealth he has produced and which he is entitled to as a dole. It proposes to compel the big industries, the big business interests of the state to set aside a portion of the wealth they are producing due to improved methods, scientific research

and mass production which far outstrips the wages they are paying their working forces. It proposes to compel them to set a portion of that aside to pay working men when they are unemployed.

In presenting these resolutions on unemployment insurance Rhode Island labor had two objects in mind: first, a desire to see this convention add the principle of unemployment insurance to the measures for the relief of unemployment advanced by the Executive Council, and, second, the hope that out of the minds of all the delegates assembled here would come suggestions and ideas which will make our future unemployment insurance act a sounder economic law for the betterment of humanity.

If I am in business, it is easy to have that business insured. (I may insure my health, my home, my radio, my automobile, and my life, but how about a job?) That thing which makes it possible for all the other things to exist, that which makes it possible for me to have a home, to educate my children, to be a self-respecting citizen of my community. At present it cannot be insured. "Oh!" but the optimistic prosperous citizens say, "Jobs—why a good man can always get a job. We must not destroy the incentive to work by guaranteeing to every person an income whether employed or not. Why some men can only be driven to work by the fear of hunger." I do not agree with that doctrine. Every person I know, and my circle of acquaintances reaches pretty well over this American continent, whose life has not been destroyed by drugs, or shattered by the loss of faith, desires to have more of the material things of life, things which can only be gained by labor, more mental and spiritual advancement, which can only come through education.

Our great employers do not have to employ experts to induce men to seek employment at their factory gates. More often do they have to employ policemen to protect their property from the crush of humans who are seeking employment on the circulation of a rumor that additional forces will be given work.

We have evolved into a new social structure, evolved so quickly that we are all more or less bewildered. We try to apply the laws of yesterday, of the individualistic age, to our problems of today, and can arrive at no solution of our ills. Those of us who can get employment work long hours, faithfully giving all of our physical and mental strength to our employers, and in the end find filled warehouses, no markets for our bosses, discharges

*desire
world*

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

and unemployment for ourselves. We educate our children, who enter into the field of scientific research. They bring into industries methods, tools and metals which have ten, yes, a hundred times the durability and capacity of those formerly used. Only recently I was engaged in machining an exceptionally tough casting, made of a new alloy which was supposed to have a far longer life as a bearing metal than the old bronze type. I was just trying to make a mental calculation of the effect the new metal would have on industry and employment, when the Boss handed me a piece of steel, with the statement that it was the latest product of our steel engineers, so hard that it would cut glass as easily as cast iron, that probably one grinding would suffice for the machining of several hundred pieces, having from twenty to one hundred times the capacity and durability of tools formerly in use. All of which I found to be true.

Now, what was I to do? Stop and refuse to work as an individual until my employer made a satisfactory reduction in my hours of labor, and an increase in my pay which would partly compensate for my increased production, due to these improved tools? You know that can't be done, for these improvements are taking place daily and it is not an individual problem, it is a collective problem, one for my union and my community to settle. Shorter hours and increased wages will help. We must continue our efforts along those lines but those methods are slow, they do not keep in stride with the increased production of industry, due to better methods, improved machinery, and scientific research. We must make our captains of industry set aside a portion of this increased wealth to be used for the payment of wages to the unemployed. We must make them realize, if they expect to retain ownership of the means of production and distribution of this nation, that they have a social service to perform, one which must take precedence over the making of profits; that not one cent shall be taken from industry in the form of extra dividends to give luxuries to the few while any who have worked to create that wealth are suffering in privation and hunger.

The Newport Central Labor Union sent a resolution to this convention calling for the endorsement of the principle of unemployment insurance. We later received a communication from President Green requesting our opinion on how such a plan should be financed and administered. We sent in a second resolution stating that in our opinion unemployment in-

surance should be financed by a tax on dividends, on increased values of securities and upon bank deposits and reserves. It is through these three mediums that increased production is most generally reflected. We are opposed to an assessment of the worker's wages for unemployment insurance. Wages already represent too small a portion of the annual amount of wealth produced within this nation. The Department of Labor estimates that automatic machines alone, not mentioning mass production and scientific research methods, have increased the individual American worker's production 51 per cent. If the figures compiled by the United States Department of Labor are true, the prosperity of the American workman was very much over-estimated. According to that authority, our average weekly wage did not go above \$25. To ask American workers to finance unemployment insurance out of that meagre wage is foolish. Especially so when we are seeking a remedy for our economic ills, when we are seeking for greater purchasing power to consume the products of industry.

I come from Newport R. I., a place of unusual natural beauty, a place which the owners of the wealth of our nation have turned into one of the beauty spots of the world. I am not envious of their wealth, I realize that ranting and raving against them as individuals will not solve our economic troubles. But when I go into Providence and see the unemployment which exists there, and when I go into the mill villages, only a stone's throw from Newport, and see the misery which is driving our mill workers to desperation, I know that if those people in Newport who live in luxury on Bellevue Avenue, and are in most instances the great leaders of industry, desire to protect their possessions, they will have to recognize that we are living in a new age, and join hands with our American workers to abolish poverty and unemployment from our nation.

PRESIDENT GREEN

The tragedy of unemployment appeals in a most wonderful way to the hearts and minds of all of us. There isn't any worker connected with our movement, in my judgment, that would not subscribe to some plan which would provide relief to unemployed workers, but before the American worker endorses a plan he must know that it is a practicable, workable, successful plan. The committee has wisely recommended that the Executive

Council make a study of all plans and endeavor to find out whether, in its judgment, some plan which would supply relief to idle workmen can be developed that would be practicable and applicable to American requirements and American workers' needs.

Now, we hear a great deal about unemployment insurance, but very seldom do those who discuss unemployment insurance define the definite plan which they have in mind and which, in their judgment, would apply here in America. However, we have the benefit of the experience of our good English brothers and English workmen who have pioneered in this chosen field. I am one of those who believe that the unemployment plan in effect in Great Britain represents the wisdom and the best judgment of the working people of Great Britain and their friends. In all probability it is suited to the needs of England and Great Britain.

Our German brothers have been experimenting also in this social justice field, and out of their wisdom they have developed a plan of unemployment insurance applicable to the workers of Germany. But let us for just a moment consider the plan in effect in Great Britain and then see whether or not, in your judgment, it would be applicable to the United States of America. The present plan of unemployment relief in Great Britain represents the development of the best that has been worked out so far. It has been secured through the cooperation of the British Trades Union Congress, the British Labor Party and their friends. I do not mean to leave the impression that British workmen would not attempt to secure a better unemployment measure than the one now in existence if they could meet with success. Their efforts will probably be always directed toward improvement in this character of legislation.

Here in America we have followed a very definite policy in connection with social justice legislation. I have long favored the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation, of old age pension legislation, of widows' pension legislation. All of this plan of social justice legislation is fundamentally sound and all of it is applicable to the requirements of American workmen.

Now, let me quote just briefly from the policy pursued in Great Britain. Of course I realize that there are many young men in a hurry in America, those who wish to make

a short cut. They believe we should develop a better plan all at once in America than our English brothers have been able to develop in a half century of activity. They have found it impracticable to develop a plan that would compel industry alone, I mean the employer of industry alone, to contribute all that is to be used in the payment of unemployment insurance. I understand enough about economics to know that, after all, all the contributions come from industry, but in Great Britain the workers find that after a half century of agitation and effort they are compelled to contribute out of their earnings an amount that is almost equal to the amount contributed by the employers to the fund, and that is deducted from their earnings.

Our good friend from Newport, Rhode Island, however, has a more ambitious program than that. He wishes to obtain for the American workman a plan that would provide that the worker contributes nothing and that industry contribute all. Well, do you not think that Great Britain would require that if they could? They have not been able to do it in half a century, and do you think that we by a wave of our hands or action here could bring that about which Great Britain has been unable to bring about in half a century of effort?

In 1920 Great Britain launched the first nationwide attempt at compulsory unemployment insurance. Unfortunately for this undertaking it paralleled the greatest unemployment problem a nation ever had, a problem for which the nation had a special responsibility. It had to help the unemployed, the Poor Law was bankrupt, the Exchequer was hopelessly in debt. The insurance machinery offered a way out.

Although the contributed funds constituted a trust, the government expanded benefits to fit the needs of the time. The insurance plan depends on the principle of limited liability—fixed ratio between contributions and benefits. Contributions were raised in an effort to produce more funds for the more favored claimants. Next, benefits were expended past prescribed limits. There was no work. The workless had to be supported. The government could not put ex-soldiers on charity—but, on the other hand, the insurance which was intended as a security for contributing wage earners had no protection against political expediency.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

In March, 1921, benefits expanded past insured right, disregarding principles of limited liability. This was an attempt to grasp relief on the insurance method and abandon the principle of fixed ratio between contributions and benefits for about 50 per cent of claimants.

Unemployment benefit is obtainable in one of two ways, either, as in a great majority of the cases, direct from an employment exchange, or through a trade union which administers unemployment insurance by arrangement with the Ministry of Labor. In the latter case the trade union is repaid for what it pays out in insurance benefit, but it must also pay additional unemployment benefit from its own funds as a condition of being allowed to administer unemployment insurance.

In order to claim unemployment benefit the claimant must get his unemployment book from his last employer, lodge it at an unemployment exchange and there make his claim on a prescribed form. If the benefit is granted the claimant is required to sign an unemployed register daily, or at such intervals as directed, as proof that he is unemployed.

I am not going to burden you with a lot of discussion on that phase of it, but let me read this to you. I am not speaking of this plan in a critical manner. I think that all countries may decide this question for themselves, and the workers of Great Britain have decided this question. They believe it is good for them and it is working out well there and we say success to them in their efforts, but we can always agree that plan that is suitable for one country is not always suitable for another.

Administration of employment exchanges and unemployment insurance is under the Minister of Labor, who appoints a chief insurance officer with fifty-seven subordinate insurance officers. There are 1690 insurance officers at various divisional branches and employment exchanges throughout the country. The function of employment exchanges is to place unemployed workers and to pay unemployment insurance benefits. The employer, upon hiring a worker, registers his name with the employment exchange. The employer buys and puts in employment book of worker stamps which he purchases from the post office. He deducts from wages the sum which the worker is to contribute. When the worker is laid off he is given his employment book.

He immediately goes to the employment exchange and deposits this book. He then registers for other work and gives a record of his industrial experience. The applicant must prove his continuous unemployment and ability to work by reporting daily at the exchange during his normal work hours if he lives within two miles; otherwise attendance may be less frequent. Dock workers must report twice a day. The records and payment of applicants are checked over. The employment service makes every effort to find them jobs.

If no work is available, benefits are allowed to the end of the waiting period. All drawing benefits are kept under review and must continue to sign the unemployed register at the local exchange at fixed intervals. Unemployment books can be taken from the exchange only when the workers secure insurable employment. Trade unions and approved employees' societies may act as agents for the government in the payment of state funds. The same is true of employers who provide autonomous funds. There is the plan.

Contributions are at a flat rate for each class of contributor, and are paid promptly by the worker, the employer and the state. That is, the worker must pay his share into the employment insurance fund, the employer pays his share, and then the state pays its share. I will try to give you some figures to illustrate that point. But what I want you to understand is that the worker in Great Britain has no choice: skilled or unskilled, through the enactment of the strong arm of the law he is compelled to pay his share into the fund. Furthermore, there is a most comprehensive system of charging. Every worker is registered, he must be registered in order to secure his unemployment insurance. And furthermore, the unemployment insurance agencies are clothed with a particular duty, and that is to find work for the unemployed, and if the unemployment agencies find the work then the idle worker must accept the work or lose his unemployment insurance.

For the financial year 1928-29 the total contributions of the workers were £14,800,000. That came out of the workers' wages first of all. That in itself was a great sum. The employers contributed £16,460,000. The workers contributed within £2,000,000 of that contributed by the employing interests of Great Britain into a fund, so that the state could pay back the fund they contributed as

unemployment insurance. The state paid £3,000,000 less than the workers, for the contribution of the state was £11,750,000. Would that be suitable here? Are we ready to approve a plan of that kind?

Furthermore, take into account that in Great Britain the law of Parliament applies to the people of Great Britain. Great Britain in itself is smaller than many of our states. They have over 2,000,000 employers in that small area. Our two and one-half, three, four, five millions are scattered over the American continent. [The law of Parliament is supreme, and an act of Parliament applies to Great Britain, but here in America we have forty-eight parliaments.] You cannot pass a Federal statute here that would apply to private industry as the statute applies in Great Britain, but we would have to go from state to state, forty-eight parliaments, forty-eight sovereign governments, forty-eight unemployment insurance acts, every one of them to be secured through legislation in forty-eight sovereign states.

Here is the most perfect act that has yet been developed. The economic power of the workers of Great Britain has been put behind the government insurance plan for half a century. They have gotten this. They want more and will probably get more, but we have never begun. Do you think we can get a better law tomorrow? If the workers of Great Britain have been unable to lay upon the backs of the employers of Great Britain the full and complete burden of caring for the unemployed, do you think we in America could do it, as this brother has suggested, tomorrow? [And then do we want our workers to be registered? Do we want them to be told, "Here is your job, take it or lose your benefits?"]

And in connection with that may I refer to the fact that in Great Britain trades unionism occupies a far different position in the economic, social and industrial life than it does in America. I am proud of the fact that the workers of Great Britain secured the passage of the Trades Union Act, an act that gives them a legal standing, an act that makes it possible for the workers' organization of Great Britain to function completely. Here in America we still have our company unions and our injunctions. We don't know what we can do. We find when we do the things we think we can do that the courts say we cannot.

We have the great mass production industries of this country unorganized. What do

you think of the situation that would make it possible for the employment exchange in America to say to the union workmen, "Go work in this non-union mass production industry where I found you a job or lose your insurance"? [The American workman, proud of his freedom and his liberty, is not yet willing to make himself a ward of the state and a ward of the government.]

If I believed that we could require industry to care for the idle worker, perhaps I would be for it. I am not sure that I would not be for it if I thought such a thing was possible; but I am talking to hard headed men, I am hard headed myself and I am not going to appeal to their passions, I am going to talk to them in practical terms.

We cannot deal with such a tragedy in a visionary way. There are many outside our movement, groups who have said the American Federation of Labor is just about dead and ready to be buried, they are telling us what we should do and they constantly hammer the American Federation of Labor because we do not accept their visionary philosophy.

I am willing to study this earnestly and sincerely and find out if there is a way, because I want to find a way. No man is touched by human suffering more than I am. This tragedy of unemployment stalking throughout the land must touch the heart of every worker, but if we are to find a remedy, if we are to provide help, let us do it in a way so that the one we help may maintain his manhood and his self-respect.

Delegate Zaritsky, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers: I have listened very attentively to the recommendation of the committee, and particularly to the wise words from our President, Brother Green. While I was in perfect accord with the recommendation on the general subject of unemployment, I do wish to make some observations on the report of the committee dealing with the subject of unemployment insurance. I am too old in the movement to become enthusiastic over some nice spoken phrase. I am not ready to issue a proclamation or have the American Federation of Labor issue a proclamation for the social millennium tomorrow. I am conscious, however, of the fact that at the present moment while we are sitting in session grappling with the problems confronting us there are millions of hungry, starving men

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

women and children looking to us for a solution of their problems.

I am not ready to propose that we sell the independence, the boast of our working men and women, to some government agency, but I am ready to ask myself the question: Are we appeasing our conscience by criticizing our fellow workers in Great Britain and other civilized countries, pointing out the faults of their system and their lack of results in whatever they undertake to do? I am willing to agree that the unemployment system or the dole, if you wish to call it so, in Great Britain is not the best that we wish for ourselves; but if the worker in Great Britain who has to register for unemployment insurance is not an outstanding and self-respecting worker, what about the worker in America who is today the subject of a most miserable system of charity? What is a worker in America when he is starving and seeing his wife and children starving every minute of the day? Can he retain his manhood as an independent worker? Can he satisfy himself with the proverbial phrase of "Rugged individualism"? What happened to his rugged individualism? Depend upon the President of the United States to give him hope that tomorrow he will see the light of day and tomorrow he will have a full dinner pail?

We are proposing through our recommendation something for immediate relief, some more conferences, headed, I presume, by the President of the United States, with the co-operation of the industrialist and perhaps a few bankers who want to be the owners of industry, in the word of Brother McSorley. They will have state conferences and municipal conferences and they will have resolutions praising the mayor of this city or town for employing a half dozen or perhaps a dozen workers for the construction of half a mile of road.

If we attack the problem of unemployment we must attack it at its source. Very wisely did the Executive Council say in its report the purpose of industry is profit, and that is the source of all our troubles, because industry is not based on the purpose of service but the purpose of it is profit; and when it comes to a division of the profits we are not there, we do not share in the profits. If it is true the bankers are the owners of industries we must remember that bankers have no souls. The tens of thousands of shareholders of the United States Steel Corporation and other

corporations do not know and do not care to know of the plight of the workers in this country so long as they receive their dividends in good time—10 per cent or 8 per cent or 6 per cent or whatever the percentage may be.

Are we to permit our workers to be objects of charity? Are we to permit society ladies and society gentlemen to handle for us the problem of unemployment? While it is true they have the handing out of doles in the form of charity to our millions of working men and working women, we are not ready to present to the Congress of the United States and the forty-eight congresses, if you please, of the forty-eight states of our country a bill for unemployment insurance and have it passed tomorrow, but because we cannot get it tomorrow is no reason why we should not demand the same thing today.

We have been grappling with the question of injunctions for years. We have not accomplished what we sought, but we are fighting with our backs to the wall, and no one finds fault with us for not securing what we stand for. We have been fighting for years and years against the curse of child labor in this country. Are we going to give up the fight because we cannot get it tomorrow? No, we are continuing our fight and we are continuing it until we can achieve what we are seeking.

We adopted the recommendation of the committee yesterday to instruct the Executive Council of the Federation to take up for consideration the question of the five-hour day. Are we going to have a five-hour day tomorrow or next year? No, we are not, but we have made a declaration that American labor finds five hours a day sufficient to fill all the wants of the nation. We may see it five years or twenty-five years from today, but the American labor movement has made it known to the world what the American workman wants. He has made it known what he will fight for. And, likewise, if he cannot get the unemployment insurance tomorrow we must make our declaration and let the world know we want it. We want industry to assume its responsibilities. It has been said we should lay it at the door of industry. Well, we may do that and there it will lie for days and years and decades, and perhaps the butler will come out and sweep it off. We must make our pronouncement that industry must assume its responsibility for the curse of un-

employment. It is industry that drove millions of men and women and children out of work, and the independent American worker is dependent upon charity, upon the doles presented to him and handed to him by the wives of the gentlemen who are the captains and managers of industry.

I don't know which is preferable to the American worker—charity in America today or the dole system, in Great Britain today. I am not so enthusiastic about the dole system of Great Britain, but it is the best they can offer. Surely the worker who is receiving something, whether from the state or the employer or his own organization, is better off and has an opportunity to retain his manhood more than when he is dependent upon charity, and when there is a job offered to him today in any of the plants or factories where there is a strike he will accept the job just the same, for a hungry man cannot reason and a hungry man cannot permit himself and his family to starve when there is an opportunity for him to obtain a job. I don't know whether or not the American starving worker is better off than the dole worker in England or anywhere else.

I will just give you an example of what one union has done to solve temporarily the unemployment problem. That is the organization I have the honor to represent, the Cap Makers' Union. We adopted a principle and proclaimed it to the industry that industry must assume the responsibility for the unemployment of the workers, and six years ago we made the employers contribute a certain percentage of the payroll out of their own pockets toward an unemployment fund. Today, when a cap maker is out of work, he receives unemployment insurance, not a dole, to the amount of \$13 a week from his own organization, but the contributions come from the employers direct.

I am sure if this small Cap Makers' Union has accomplished that, there is no reason in the world why more powerful unions in this labor movement—and thank God, we have plenty of them—cannot adopt the same principle and not lay it at the door of industry,

but make industry take it inside the house, make industry pay for the unemployment situation.

And so, my friends, while I am in perfect accord with what our President has said, I realize the apprehension of having workers the subjects and the slaves of the state. I am one hundred per cent with him on that proposition, but there is no reason to assume that we must follow our European brothers in everything they do, in every detail of what they do. If we don't like their plan or their method we have the opportunity of applying our own methods, but we must strike at the basis of the thing, at the root of the trouble, and so long as industry is conducted for profit and not for service we shall continue to have the curse of unemployment with us.

This is not a temporary proposition. This is not the first time American industry has been hit hard by unemployment. In my young life I have gone through many periods of unemployment, and we shall have them seven years from now, fourteen years from now, and twenty years from now. If I live that long I shall experience at least three more of these crises, and every time it is worse. Until we strike at the root of it we shall never find a solution.

I propose that we do not lay it at the door of industry, but make industry accept it. Industry alone is responsible for the curse of unemployment, and if in England the unemployed worker has to contribute one-third toward this fund, the American worker contributes one hundred per cent toward it. Today the burden of unemployment in America is entirely upon the shoulders of the unemployed workers, and in England only one-third of the burden is on them. I prefer that system to the system of irresponsible starvation of the unemployed workers in this country.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

At 6:10 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 16.

Eighth Day - Thursday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts,
October 16, 1930.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees

Gillmore, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFeridge, Richard, Cohen (S.), Schulte, Zuckerman, Meyer, Kaufman, Marshall (H. S.), Beardsley, Britton, Berry, McDonald (D. J.), Badaracco, Suitor, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Stierle, Taylor (T. N.), Graham, Gill, Wilson (T. A.), Campbell (J. C.), Anderson (G.), Bowden, Moser (C. J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G. C.), Laude, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Fritz, Souza, Sumner (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P. F.), Dacey, Shave, Kelly (W.), Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S. J.), Jones, McGeary, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M. G.), Walsh, Shaw, Keeley, Bradley, Carozzo, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O. L.), Hampton, Taylor (S. M.), Stump, Hill, Campbell (E.), Mitchell (T.), Fearn, Miller, Cronin.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Marion, Ohio,
October 15, 1930.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Convention Headquarters, Boston, Mass.

Fraternal greetings convention assembled. Constructive progress marks your convention. On behalf of our neighbors may we respectfully invite your 1931 convention to Columbus, Ohio. Make next year a home coming for our beloved President. Select a great city in a great state.

RALPH K. RUPPART,
Secretary Marion Central Labor Union.

Columbus, Ohio,
October 15, 1930.

Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., in Convention, Bradford Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Columbus Federation of Labor again repeats its invitation originally extended three years ago. Originally planning to invite you for 1930 we waived in courtesy to Boston's Sons. The entire Ohio Labor movement has issued this invitation. Yearly we've planned

for you; we want you; we are prepared to care for you while thousands in the middle West will join in celebrating the return to the birthplace of the A. F. of L.

KENNETH AGEE,
Recording Secretary,
Columbus Federation of Labor.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,
October 15, 1930.

Wm. Green, American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Boston, Mass.

The Union Label Trades of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in meeting assembled, urgently requests you to hold your convention of 1931 in the City of Pittsburgh.

JOHN OHEHN,
Secretary.

Salt Lake City, Utah,
October 15, 1930.

American Federation of Labor, Boston, Mass.

The Officers and Members of International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators, Local 250, extend greetings and our invitation to you to hold the 1931 convention in Salt Lake City.

MOVING PICTURE MACHINE
OPERATORS, Local 250.

Salt Lake City, Utah,
October 16, 1930.

American Federation of Labor, Boston, Mass.

Fraternal greetings to American Federation of Labor. Trust I may have the pleasure of hearing Salt Lake City, the land of opportunity for organized labor and the center of scenic America, has been named as the 1931 convention city.

GEO. A. YAGER,
Third Vice-President,
Utah State Federation.

The invitation to hold the 1931 convention in the City of Columbus was supplemented by a letter from James J. Thomas, Mayor of the City of Columbus, and a telegram from Myers Y. Cooper, Governor of the State of Ohio.

The Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce sent a telegram urging that the next convention be held in that city.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: My attention has been called to an erroneous report in the press on the discussion of Resolution No. 3, with relation to prisoners working in quarries manufacturing stone in Wisconsin. At least one of the papers made such an erroneous report. This is taken from the Boston Traveler of Tuesday, October 14:

"An initial skirmish occurred late in the forenoon's activities when Delegate Ohl of Wisconsin protested a proposed resolution asking that the convention register itself against the use of contract labor on granite in the construction of a state office building in Wisconsin."

If you remember, I stated specifically that the work of the prisoners was to be confined to the quarrying, the manufacture of stone. Also, I said nothing about contract prison labor. I hope the correction may be made so that the impression does not go out that the state body, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, was not in accord with the constant efforts of the American labor movement to do away with contract prison labor. I am not speaking of the convention record, I am speaking of the report that the press made.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Unemployment Statistics

Under the sub-caption, "Unemployment Statistics," the Executive Council, on page 93 of its report, announces the encouraging fact that the number of local unions responding to the request of the American Federation of Labor for employment statistics has grown from 930 in August, 1929, to more than 2,400 in August, 1930, and that the membership covered by these local unions reports has increased from 271,000 reported upon in August, 1929, to 700,000 reported upon in August, 1930.

The value of these statistics is unquestionable. Their accuracy depends entirely upon local trade union officials. We heartily commend the local trade union officials who are co-operating with the President and the Executive Council in this matter and we urge all other local union officers to give similar service to the movement.

While it is to be expected that some time must elapse before there will be a general response from local union officials to the request of the American Federation of Labor for unemployment statistics, nevertheless the

reports from even a comparatively small number of unions are of great value in that they furnish fairly correct indications as to trends, even when lacking in complete accuracy as to actual numbers.

Every observing trade unionist has noted that in recent months the public press has given considerable attention to the unemployment statistics as compiled by the American Federation of Labor from the reports of the local union officials. That alone should be sufficient to indicate to the local officers that their response to the request of the American Federation of Labor for information on unemployment among the members of their respective local unions is of very substantial importance.

The reports on part time work to which the Council refers is a new development which, we believe, will prove exceedingly valuable.

Your committee recommends endorsement of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Request the President of the United States to Create a Long Range Planning Committee of Public Works to Avert Unemployment

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates M. J. Colleran, W. A. O'Keefe, J. E. Rooney, T. A. Scully, Duncan Payne of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, and Arthur M. Huddell of the International Union of Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment and how to cope with it is one of the major problems of this Convention; and

WHEREAS, President Hoover in his address to the convention stated that the government was doing all in its power to relieve the present depression; and

WHEREAS, Consistently for the past twenty-eight years we have been visited by a depression every seven years; and

WHEREAS, In 1921 President Hoover acting as Chairman of a Committee to study future unemployment appointed by the late President Harding, brought back twelve principles of a probable solution; and

WHEREAS, The sixth principle of the twelve proposed long range planning Committee of Public Works; and

WHEREAS, Nothing has been done to create such a board, who in the opinion of

many would be the means of averting future depressions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor with the Presidents of the other departments call on the President of the United States and request that a long range planning committee of Public Works be created so as to avert future unemployment.

Your committee recommends that the last paragraph of Resolution No. 54 be amended by striking out the words "Presidents of the other departments," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Presidents of the departments," and that the resolution, as thus amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Adjustment of Patent Laws to Offset Destructive Effects of Automatic Machinery and Scientific Processes

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Automatic machinery and scientific processes are destroying the artistry and craftsmanship that have been created through the ages; are demanding speed for worth; are increasing the unemployed, and would doom to habitual idleness men who are over 40 years of age, and who have developed an initiative and capacity that have made our country great; and

WHEREAS, This new industrial revolution has been largely made possible by the people, through our patent laws, which give monopoly to individual and corporate owners of the automatic machine that, if not unchecked, seems destined to continue displacing workers and destroying skill; and

WHEREAS, The operation of our patent laws places the people in the paradoxical position of legalizing any anti-social conduct the machine owner may elect by arbitrarily enlarging the army of unemployed who must either die or be supported by the state; and

WHEREAS, Patent laws of a past individualistic age are not applicable in an age of corporations who fail to accept new social outlooks, duties and responsibilities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorizes the Executive Council to study the feasibility of asking Congress to adjust our patent laws so that workers and society may be benefited by the machine which now causes unemployment and enlarges the charity budget of voluntary associations and of every unit of government in the land.

Your committee is not certain as to the exact construction which should properly be

placed upon the language of Resolution No. 46. The American Federation of Labor has never opposed the introduction of labor saving machinery and the development of scientific processes. It has, however, vigorously protested against the failure on the part of industry to recognize the needs of the workers directly affected by the new methods of production. We do not believe that the resolution was intended as advocating any departure from any policy of the American Federation of Labor and we are of the opinion that its purpose is indicated in its final paragraph. As a substitute for the resolution, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to study the patent laws in relation to machinery and processes used in production and transportation, with a view of recommending any change in such laws which the Council may consider necessary to protect the workers and the public generally.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I have not thought long enough, I have not investigated deeply enough to be able to give anything like a remedy for unemployment or any indication of what might be done to stop or slow up the process which, at the present time, throws out of work a very large number of the most valuable part of the population, even in good times. Of course I have no illusion about how the thing I am about to say here on this question is to be received, but it appears to me that if the American Federation of Labor should find it necessary, because of the developing conditions, to change some of its policies in order to do that which is necessary for the working people, the people and the country might well be excused.

I want you to take it home with you in the odd minutes when you are doing something that you can set aside, I want you to think over the questions that are raised in the preamble. Is it true that skill is departing from modern civilization? Is it true that skill is a dead thing in our present day civilization? Is it true that as we move on the road that we are traveling we are heaping up more and more and more of the unemployed, not only in the hard times, but in other times? If this is true there must be something in society, there must be some trend that is working silently and rather unobserved that brings about that trend. Is there any reason for it, is there any cause? If so, those who are playing on the watch tower, those whose duty it is to sound the time of the night would do well in thinking seriously about how to find the real cause and how to find the real remedy.

I am not one of those who go to Europe for remedies. A long time ago I came to the conclusion that the United States began in 1776 what Europe is moving toward at this time. We in the United States speak of the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

to a most interesting subject. He has done it in a most convincing way. The tragedy of machine displacement is the destruction of skill. I may differ with my friend Furuseth regarding the meaning of the word "skill," but what I have in mind is the skill of the glass blower, the skill of the printer, the skill of the craftsman gained through years of service as an apprentice and through the training which comes through practical experience.

I can recall the names of young men who as boys entered the glass-blowing trade, blowing bottles. They worked earnestly for many years and acquired the skill and training necessary to equip them to serve as journeymen glass bottle blowers. I recall how they were enthused and inspired by the hope and ambition that filled their hearts and minds as they looked forward to the time when they would become journeymen glass bottle blowers. Then came the bottle blowing machine, displacing all these young men and older journeymen. Imagine what must have been the feeling in the hearts and minds of these older men and young men as they stood by and saw the acquired skill and training of years and years of service destroyed, faced with the fact that they must begin life over, some of them too old to attempt to acquire a new trade, forced out into competition with labor that is classified as unskilled. It all involves the lowering of standards of living built up during these years of skill and training, and that tragedy is going on in other trades—the window glass blowers, the telegraphers, even the artists, all of them threatened and menaced and displaced.

This to me is tragedy. I am deeply interested in the subject and I think it is a very fertile field for study, this field of patent regulation to which our friend Furuseth has called our attention. It has aroused my deep interest sufficiently to cause me to say that I shall be pleased beyond measure to go into this study and develop all the facts I can in connection with it, acquire all the information available for the purpose of enabling this great congress of labor at some future session to pass judgment upon the very problem to which Andrew Furuseth has called our attention.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

"Yellow Dog" Contracts

The third paragraph immediately following the caption, "National Legislation," on page 100 of the Report of the Executive Council is as follows:

"The outstanding victory of labor was the defeat of the confirmation of the appointment of Judge John J. Parker to be a member of the United States Supreme Court, mainly because of his decision upholding the 'yellow dog' contract."

The president and the members of the Executive Council are entitled to the hearty congratulations of the entire labor movement for the effective and intelligent manner in which they successfully opposed the appointment of Judge Parker because of his anti-labor prejudices. Of even greater significance, however, was their achievement in the use of the occasion to focus the attention of the country upon the iniquity of the "yellow dog" contract.

It is significant that during the debates in the Senate, not a single senator attempted any defense of the so-called "contract." None made any effort to justify its use in industry. The senators who supported Judge Parker went no further in their arguments than to offer an excuse in the form of a claim that he had followed the decisions of other judges.

It is within reason to expect that the United States Senate, having had an opportunity for the fullest discussion of the "yellow dog" contract, and finding not a single one of its members to defend the use which is made of that sort of contract, will now proceed to the enactment of legislation designed to prevent the courts from continuing the practice of using "yellow dog" contracts as a basis for the issuance of injunctions to prevent workers from organizing.

It would seem that the Senate, after acting as it did in the Parker case, ought to proceed in this matter without further pressure of public opinion. We note with satisfaction, however, that the president and the members of the Executive Council have, figuratively speaking, left no stone unturned in their efforts to enlighten the public on the subject of yellow dog contracts. Immediately after the Senate had acted, they made a compilation of the Senate debate which is being given wide circulation by the American Federation of Labor. We recommend that the action of the Executive Council in relation to the Parker case and the "yellow dog" contract be given the hearty approval of this convention.

The "yellow dog" contract, as used in industry, is a legalistic fraud—it is duress of a most

vicious character—and should have no standing in our courts. It is not enforced at law, in that none of the parties to it can be successfully proceeded against for failure to carry out its provisions. It is used only as a subterfuge for the issuance of injunctions against organizations and persons who were not party to the alleged contract in order to prevent them from assisting the workers to organize. The alleged contract is simply a promise on the part of the worker, forced from him as a condition of employment, that he will not remain or become a member of a trade union. If the worker disregards it, the employer has no recourse at law, for he has suffered no damage. If, however, the worker is advised of his rights in the matter and acts thereon, the persons so advising him may be enjoined and later imprisoned for contempt of court.

Notwithstanding the widespread discussion which has lately taken place on the subject of yellow dog contracts, it seems that there are still many who do not understand the full scope of these so-called "contracts." It should be remembered that they are not restricted to written agreements. The alleged contract is frequently in written form, but, more often, it is simply oral and, in a great number of cases, is merely implied. In each of its phases, however, whether written, oral or implied, it is used as a basis for the issuance of injunctions to prevent organization activities on the part of trade unions, even though, in instances, it is not referred to in the injunction when issued.

If a worker accepts employment in a non-union plant, it is assumed, under the "yellow dog" arrangement, that he has agreed to work under prevailing conditions. Or, in other words, there is an implied contract. It is for this reason that the "yellow dog" contract is described in the Anti-Injunction Bill as, "Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, constituting or contained in any contract or agreement of hiring or employment," in which the party surrenders his right to remain or become a member of a labor organization. We direct attention to this for the purpose of reminding the convention that the "yellow dog" contract is much more widely used than many suppose.

The committee recommends approval of the section of the Council's report which has been referred to herein.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Congscription

Under the sub-title "Conscription," on page 101, the Executive Council reports upon the resolution adopted by Congress for the appointment of a commission to consider the advisability of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that private property may be utilized by Congress for public purposes without profit in case of war, it being provided in the resolution that the commission shall not consider nor report upon the conscription of labor. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue to watch carefully all developments in connection with the study now being made by the commission and to take such action in relation thereto, from time to time, as may, in the judgment of the Council, be necessary to safeguard the best interests of the workers and the people in general.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

Under the sub-title, "Immigration," on page 102 of its report, the Executive Council presents a review of proceedings in the United States Congress relating to the subject of immigration legislation. The appearance in the 71st Congress of a large number of bills designed to weaken the immigration laws indicates the necessity of continual vigilance to prevent the breaking down of our immigration regulations. The Council has been alert to protect the interests of the American people in this respect.

The failure of Congress to pass the bill to place Mexico under the quota law, as reported by the Executive Council, is to be regretted. On the other hand, the reduction of Mexican immigration, through the enforcement of existing laws, from an average of 56,000 a year to approximately 12,000, as reported by the Executive Council, is a degree of progress which we note with much satisfaction. We concur heartily in the statement of the Council urging "the State Department to continue its policy of rigorous enforcement of the immigration law so that this class of immigration may be reduced to the minimum requirements under existing statutes."

The Executive Council will, of course, continue to insist upon the passage of legislation to place Mexico under the provisions of the quota law.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

It is difficult to understand why Congress refuses to extend the provisions of the alien contract labor law to protect professional singers and artists, including musicians, in the face of the growing use of mechanical contrivances for the duplication of sound as a substitute for musicians, singers and other artists. The impoverishment of artists through lack of employment must inevitably lead to the impoverishment of art itself. It is hoped that Congress will soon recognize the need of giving to American artists such measure of protection as is provided in the proposal to extend the alien contract labor law in such manner as to make that law applicable to foreign artists, including musicians. The Executive Council can be relied upon to give full measure of support to affiliated organizations in their efforts to secure an extension of the exclusion feature of the alien contract labor law.

The Council reports that "selective immigration will be an outstanding issue during the next session of Congress" and states that all bills on this subject must be given most careful scrutiny and study. The Council expresses the opinion that "when an employer desires to establish a new industry in the United States which would not compete with any other industry, he should be permitted to secure employees under the preference clause in the quota law. All actions connected with this matter should be in accordance with the strict requirements of the Immigration Act." Your committee concurs in this view as relating to new industries, not previously established in the United States, and for which there is no labor available within our borders.

The problem of unemployment is in many respects closely allied to that of immigration. Employment conditions as they are now and as they are likely to continue for some time are such as to call for not only the utmost restriction of immigration possible under existing law, but also the enactment of additional legislation to provide for further restrictions. In times like the present there should be almost complete exclusion.

Your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council on the subject of immigration be approved and that the Council be authorized and instructed to urge Congress to enact legislation designed to reduce immigration into the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Passage of King Bill Providing for Appropriation for Border Patrol to Enforce Restrictions Against Mexican Immigration

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, Percy J. Pryor of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, It is known that a very large number of immigrants are smuggled into this country over the Mexican border because of an insufficient border patrol; and

WHEREAS, Some fifty thousand immigrants yearly come into this country as seamen for the purpose of mingling with our population in violation of law; and

WHEREAS, These immigrants are such as can obtain no visas, being for sufficient reasons excluded from this country; and

WHEREAS, We have repeatedly petitioned for relief and have submitted efficient remedies without obtaining action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, demand that the King Bill be passed and sufficient money appropriated to provide an efficient border patrol; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Resolution be sent to our Senators and Members of Congress.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 45.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Since arriving at this convention I have received the following telegram:

"States Steamship Company of Portland, Oregon, operators of subsidized vessels from Pacific Coast ports to Orient, have recently imported twenty-one Chinese seamen on said subsidized ships to be transferred on Pacific Coast for service in stewards' department on other American ships operated by said company in Pacific Coast-Europe trade. Please enter vigorous protest and call attention to fact that thousands of American seamen are now unemployed and available for this work."

The reason for introducing this resolution is something that most of you from the east at least will understand when I call your attention to it. The resolution calls attention to some 50,000 or more men coming into the United States every year, scattering through the population, and they are found working in almost every calling along the Atlantic

Coast. Every place there is an open shop or where they want to make a shop still more open they are found. They come here in violation of law. The employer on board the ship or in the factory knows they are here in violation of the law. The moment he opens his mouth or does anything the employer does not like he is reported to the immigration officials and he is arrested and deported.

Now the King Bill, for which we seamen have been fighting for nine years, was designed to stop that kind of a proceeding. Vessel owners over in Europe are getting from two to four hundred dollars for every man they land. That is to say, somebody gets it. Whether it be the vessel owner or not I don't know, because I can't prove it, but that it is paid I do know. And it will not be 50,000, it will be 250,000 a year the moment that there is any change in the condition of peace existing between the British ship owners and the British seamen.

The men were caught in the port of Hamburg. There was a ring of eleven men bringing men from the Slavish countries, from Italy, from anywhere. They were furnishing them with false documents and they were shipped, they came to the United States, they went ashore and they vanished in the population. These are men who cannot get their visas. They would not be permitted to come to the United States if it was known who they are, but there is a side door through the shipping which stands wide open and gives somebody the opportunity to make lots of money smuggling human beings.

It is an easy matter to stop that kind of thing. First of all, the King bill provides that the people coming in shall be examined as to their being bona fide seamen. If they are not bona fide seamen they are to be sent to the detention station or the immigration department at the expense of the ship that brings them in. Then they are to be deported in some other ships as passengers. It won't cost the government anything except a few more inspectors that will know how to find out whether a man is a seaman or not, and anybody who understands it or knows can find it out in a very short time. If they haven't got these kind of men they are very easy to obtain.

The bill passed the Senate once and came to the House too late. I went to President Coolidge and he evidently was favorable to it, because the House Committee had a hearing, but objections were raised and the time was too late to make it possible to get it through. In the next Congress it passed the Senate Committee on Immigration unanimously, and was recommended to the Senate for passage, when lo and behold, a distinguished Senator from Connecticut got up and objected and he kept objecting. In this last Congress it again passed the House Committee. It was recommended to the Senate and the Senate passed it, and that same distinguished Senator from Connecticut got up and moved to reconsider, and it is hanging in the air that way now.

While this situation is of some interest to the seamen it is of still more interest to you. You complain continually to the Labor Department of finding men who are illegally in the country, and then somebody is sent out

to find out who they are and how they came, and the report is given and that ends it, except that some few men out of the 50,000 are deported.

I want to call your attention to it distinctly, I want to ask you to communicate with your Congressmen and Senators urging definitely and clearly a sufficient amount of appropriation to shut the Rio Grande frontier and to pass the King Bill, and to examine the vessels coming in. The whole cost of that question is small—a few additional inspectors.

At the present time you can do nothing with it except complaining about the results. This bill attacks the source, and for that reason the ship owners of the United States and Europe are a unit against it. I want to find out if we can succeed in making you a unit for it.

Delegate Henning, Machinists: Brother Furuseth has touched on the bringing of aliens in, through the medium of the shipping industry. I think we also have ample indication of the extent to which that is carried on in the railroad industry, and I just briefly want to illustrate a little so that some of you may realize the extent to which that is developing.

For the last fifteen years I have been traveling throughout the northwest, and during that period of time we have found through the State of Montana Mexicans used almost exclusively in the sugar beet fields. The work is done on the basis of tonnage. The wages paid are so low that practically the entire family enters into the cultivation and harvesting of the beets. Frequently the wives, and children eight and nine years old, are found out in the fields, with the result that the active energy of the entire family is required to make at least reasonable wages. By reason of the fact that the entire family is brought into the beet fields native born Americans are not able to enter into that employment.

Just this spring I saw another little illustration of the extent to which this thing is developing. I happened to be down in the southern part of Iowa and was returning to Minneapolis. On the train on which I came north there were four extra coaches loaded with Mexicans and their families. They were being imported into the State of Minnesota and were taken into the district immediately surrounding the little city of Albert Lea, Minnesota, where there has recently developed one of the richest gardening sections in the State of Minnesota. I found upon inquiry that that same condition had been prevailing for the previous two weeks, every train coming north bringing one or more coaches of Mexicans and their families, and in one instance a solid train load of fourteen coaches was brought into the State of Minnesota.

I call attention to the fact that here we are 2,000 miles from the Pacific Coast, one of the most northern of our states and we find the introduction of Mexican labor into that territory.

I also call attention to the fact that in Minnesota we have the Twin Cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, which are generally recognized as the points at which transient labor want to enter into the sowing and reaping and neces-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

sary labor that goes with the farming industry throughout the entire northwest. They ship from there to all the states—Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, and sometimes even as far west as Washington where help is needed. So you can readily realize the condition that is developing in that section as a result of the importation of Mexicans as far north as Minnesota. If there is such a question as the returning of people who enter the country through the medium of shipbuilding, I see no reason why that same method should not be applied to those who are brought in by means of the railroads.

Delegate Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers: Recently I have made two trips to the Pacific Coast. On one of those trips I made over fifty stops. I would like to supplement the previous speaker's remarks to this extent, that I saw many hundreds of section gangs from Louisiana to Oregon and as far north perhaps as Great Falls, employed on the various railroads, and all of them were Mexicans. I think it is wise to call the attention of the Executive Council to that fact. It seemed to me as if an American in a railroad section gang was a unique person. I saw none.

Delegate Beauregard, Providence Central Federated Union: We are troubled in our locality with the Canadian aliens. We have had an instance recently where a plastering contractor imported forty plasterers from Canada. The Plasterers' organization got in touch with the Labor Department and they sent their official in there, and after a study of the situation he said he had never seen a clearer case. But by means of the obstacle that was put in his path it was almost impossible for any conviction, as before he was allowed in on the job they would stop him and ask who he was, then bring him down to the office and then take these men out and send them somewhere else. They did that at various times and finally it came to labor trouble on the job, and if it had not been for a break in our ranks it would have turned out successfully. Unfortunately, we did not go down the line 100 per cent and it was a losing battle. But they are still in the country. Two weeks ago I saw about six of them with their families at a shore resort.

Delegate Frey (Molders): The subject is obviously of such importance that it should be given a moment more consideration. The Metal Trades Department is deeply interested in the situation and particularly as it affects the shipbuilding industry. The shipbuilding industry of the United States, with the exception of one or two yards, is actively anti-union in its labor policies. They are organized in a national association. That association is affiliated with other associations of manufacturers in the metal trades. As was said the other day, through their national association the American Shipbuilders' Association appeared before the representatives of the Navy the last time the wage schedule was under consideration for the purpose of lodging official protest against any advance in wages to navy yard employees, on the ground that in advancing the navy yard employees it would

make it more difficult for them to pay the present rate of wages in those yards. Their argument was that the United States had no right to enter into competition with them and pay higher wages than they were paying, although the fact is that in the private shipyards the scale for mechanics is lower than the scale for mechanics of the same grade of skill in the other private industries in the vicinity.

Now to get to the point—there is a very large number of alien workers illegally in this country, employed in these private shipyards. They come over in the ships from Europe in the guise of seamen, oilers and other workmen. They all have a berth in some shipyard, and the moment the ship docks in New York or Philadelphia or some other American port they immediately find their way to positions in these private shipyards. In addition to displacing citizens they are also used to break down any effort to bring about trades union organization. It is impossible for us to have any reliable data as to the number of these men, but on high Federal authority we are informed that they run into many hundreds. It is also impossible to prove cases against them because they are coached the moment they get into the plant and they know that if they are discovered they will be deported.

It is not only labor in general but those mechanics who are engaged in the shipbuilding industry have the very life of their opportunity to organize in jeopardy because of these many hundreds of aliens in the private ship yards now in this country illegally and because of the number now coming in, owing to the fact that these private shipyards are busy because the taxpayers of the country, through bonuses, have increased the number of ships being built.

So the Metal Trades Department is very deeply interested in having something done, more inspectors at the ports of entry, so that alien workers may not come over here and displace Americans and at the same time make it doubly or trebly difficult to bring about organization.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I think the discussion on this thing brings home to us the price we are paying for one of our boasted liberties in this country. There has been before the United States Congress on several occasions a bill providing for universal registration. The failure of passage of that bill is the thing that makes it possible for bootleg immigrants to continue to rap Americans out of their jobs in this country. If we had a registration of the aliens in this country we would not need so many immigration inspectors on the docks to enforce the law, and I hope the time will come in the near future when the United States Congress will pass a law to provide for the registration of every alien in the country. If we have that we will have an opportunity of getting at them.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Will the speaker kindly answer a question before he sits down?

Delegate Martel: Yes, sir.

Delegate Furuseth: Are you aware, sir, that there is a registration of that description for Chinese?

Delegate Martel: No, I don't know, Mr. Furuseth, that that is so.

Delegate Furuseth: Well, then, I can inform you that for years we have had such registration as you advocate here, for Chinese, and that notwithstanding the Chinese Exclusion Law and notwithstanding the registration, there are just about as many Chinamen in the country now as there were in 1891, and they are about of the same age now that they were then.

Delegate Martel: As soon as Delegate Furuseth gets through asking his question I will answer.

Delegate Furuseth: I have asked the question.

President Green: He says he has asked the question and that he has concluded, Brother Martel.

Delegate Martel: I might answer his question by saying that the Chinese are segregated, and, with the exception of those who are employed in the restaurant business, they are engaged in occupations that do not come in competition with our people; that is, those of our people who are organized. It is easier because of that for them to hide out.

On the other hand, the aliens that we have reference to are engaged in the occupations in which many thousands of trades unionists are employed, and if they were compelled to carry a registration card they would not be able to get away as easily as they do now. The reason the Chinese are able to get away is because they always claim they were born in San Francisco at the time of the earthquake. The earthquake, however, happened about twenty-five years ago, and the Chinese alibi is going to be eliminated by old age very shortly. If there are any of them getting away at the present time on the theory that they were born in San Francisco, it is not because it is a good alibi, but because of the lack of interest in their work on the part of those charged with enforcement of the immigration laws.

Delegate Furuseth: This convention, Mr. Chairman, seemed to become rather interested on the question of the Chinese registration. I said that there were just about as many, not quite as many, Chinese in the country now as there were in 1891. You will find by looking at the census of 1900, 1910 and 1920, that there is a slight decrease, but the immigration officials and the Department of Labor will tell you that it is almost impossible to tally the Chinese.

How does this wonderful thing happen, that there are about as many now as there were in 1891, which is thirty-nine years ago, and they are as young on an average as they were in 1891? There are extremely few Chinese women in the country, very few indeed, and those who are here do not very often become mothers, so it cannot be explained that way. The question is: Where is that fountain of

youth that they are drinking from all the time? I will tell you it is not only registration, if you please, it is a photograph attached to their certificate, and it is put on in such a way that it is almost impossible to take it off or to transfer it. All right, notwithstanding all that, they are here. Registration has not stopped them. They come as members of crews of ships, as stewards, and before the passage of the last Merchant Marine Act, as sailors and firemen. The young men and the old men go. It is "changee for changee, a black dog for a white monkey." That is the way we put it at sea, and I remember sometimes what we used to say at sea, so you will forgive me.

Then there is a constant stream of these people being smuggled into the country. They got 88 out of one single ship in Seattle, and a government-owned ship at that. One day I got information through an unsigned letter which came to me that such and such a vessel was going to deliver twenty-eight Chinese on such and such a dock, that they were going to be taken in wagons or automobiles to Chinatown and that would end it. Could I do anything about it? I went to the Deputy Collector and showed him the letter. He said, "Have you showed this letter to anybody else?" I said, "No, it would not be any use coming to you if I did." He said, "I am very much obliged to you." "All right, what are you going to do?" said I. He said, "I am going to put my best searchers on that ship. I am going to meet her and put them on at once." Well, he did, and he found eighteen; but the other ten had been stowed away in such a manner that they could not be found. I haven't the slightest doubt that there were ten more.

How will registration help when John Doe, the Englishman; Ole Olson, the Norwegian; Schneider, the German, etc., come over in violation of the law? Where is he going to be registered? Who is going to register him? He is not coming here legally. Nobody knows he is coming here. He comes here as a seaman. When the vessel is alongside the dock he walks ashore. He has that right—thank God for that much—under the Seamen's Act. All right, he scatters in the population. Who is going to register him? If it is necessary to register him is there any serious difficulty in fooling with such a registration? Haven't we got enough black list makers now, haven't we got enough men under the absolute thumb of the people who are employing men now? Is it necessary to import from Germany or some other nation that infernal thing called registration and put it to work in a country like this, where the majority of the so-called unskilled laborers are migratory, going from place to place and reporting to the police? For God's sake, I wish some of you would take a week off.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I want to answer his last three questions. Our friend Andy asks who is going to register the fellow that comes into the country illegally. I think his question answers itself. The very fact that the man is not registered is prima facie evidence that he is in the country illegally, and that is the reason we ought to have registration. The very fact that a man has not

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

a registration card would prove that he has been bootlegged into the country, and that he would be subject to deportation proceedings.

Delegate Furuseth: Don't you know that when a man is born in Wisconsin or in Minnesota and breaks on the Scandinavian, he is perfectly at liberty and he does claim that he was born there instead of in a Scandinavian country? Don't you know that any man who speaks German and breaks on the German may have been born in Pennsylvania, that any man who breaks on the Irish and has somewhat of a brogue may have been born in Boston? Don't you know that when a man breaks on the Italian he may have been born in New York? And who has the right to ask him to furnish testimony to the truth? The immigration officials? Yes—and they are the only people in the country that have that right. Again I want to repeat, please take a couple of days off.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was unanimously carried.

President Green: The Chair desires to interrupt the Committee on Resolutions while we proceed to follow out a custom that has been carried out in the American Federation of Labor conventions for many years. We always present to the fraternal delegates and their wives accompanying them a beautiful present which is, in fact, an expression of good will and friendship. Just now we will proceed to carry out this ceremony. You know it is characteristic of human nature that men desire to express in some way their feelings and friendship and fraternal affection and good will toward those whom they respect and admire. We want to do it in a more substantial way than through an expression of words. So the delegates in attendance at this convention, following our time-honored custom, decided to express to our good friends from Great Britain and Canada our deep affection for them, our appreciation of their visit of friendship and good will, through the purchase of some beautiful presents.

These friends who came so far to visit with us for just a short time can carry these presents back home and they will always serve as a beautiful reminder of their delightful visit to our great convention. We are glad to have these delegates with us. They bring to us the greetings, fraternal fellowship and good will of our brothers across the sea and in Canada. The hand of friendship is extended in this way 3,000 miles across the sea and to our brothers across the Canadian border. I know I voice your sentiments when I say you are glad to have them here. We wish that their hearts may be made happy and that their visit will be a most pleasant one. And so on behalf of the

officers and delegates in attendance at this convention I present first to our good friend Brother A. A. H. Findlay, Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain, this beautiful watch and chain, appropriately engraved, the gift of the officers and delegates in this convention, and with it goes their best wishes and their sincere desire that your visit here, Brother Findlay, may be a most pleasant one and that you may have a safe return to your home. Please accept this watch as a gift of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Fraternal Delegate Findlay: Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters—I am a very poor hand at accepting gifts of any kind. I have not had so many, but I assure you this one I have looked forward to with pleasure. Before I came to America I was informed of the usual custom over here of presenting gifts to the fraternal delegates. We looked forward with pride, and with gratitude to those who sent us, and I must say that on your behalf I have no quarrel with you on any policy or otherwise. We on our side take our course and carry out our policy in the best way we see it. We agree with you that you must take your course and we find your course satisfies your members, and with that we agree. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

President Green: You know we do not forget the good wives of our fraternal delegates. We have a couple of them here this morning who are going to entertain you later on with eloquent speeches, but, unfortunately, the wife of Mr. Findlay must postpone the delivery of her address until some future date. She is ill, Brother Findlay advises me, under the doctor's care and not able to be present, so I will have to present to Mrs. Findlay this beautiful wrist watch, appropriately engraved, through Mr. Findlay. I know we can trust Mr. Findlay to hand it over. I am very happy to present to Mrs. Findlay this beautiful wrist watch that is the gift of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Fraternal Delegate Findlay: I am sure Mrs. Findlay would want me to express to the delegates present here her very great regret that she is unable to attend the convention this morning. She told me this morning that she had prepared a wonderful speech for your delegation, but I am afraid that will have to go by.

President Green: And in like manner we have a watch and chain for the colleague of

Brother Findlay, and I wish that all I have said in presenting the gift to Brother Findlay might also apply to Brother Shaw. This watch and chain has a knife attached. We haven't overlooked anything. I hope Brother Shaw will always remember his pleasant visit to Boston when he carries this watch back to England and takes it out to see what is the time of day. Please accept it from the officers and delegates with their gratitude and good will, Brother Shaw. .

Fraternal Delegate Shaw: May I take this opportunity to first of all, sir, thank you for the very courteous manner in which you welcomed us, and thank the delegates for their friendliness from the very first time we were introduced to the convention. During the whole of the convention they have done everything possible to make us feel at home and comfortable.

May I be pardoned for making a special reference to the textile workers who, from the time we arrived in New York, have been looking after Mrs. Shaw and myself and have given us many great treats.

Yesterday, it seemed to me as I listened, that I was back in the old country hearing debates on unemployment that have been going on continuously during the last seven or eight years. I realize that your problems are very similar to the problems we have had to face, and while I would not take advantage of the situation in which I find myself this morning, I am certain, Mr. President, you will pardon me if I make one suggestion on behalf of our great labor movement, the British Trades Union Congress. May I suggest, following your debate yesterday and the fact that you have referred it back to the Executive Council, that during the time they are making their investigation you get in touch with the British Trades Union Congress officially and get from them direct the ideas and the ideals in which we have been imbued in putting forward our own propositions. It is almost impossible to get from the public documents the real position as affecting our own country. Our new chairman, Mr. Arthur Hayday, for the next twelve months Chairman of the British Trades Union Congress, has been the chairman of our Social Insurance Committee, and his wide knowledge and the debates he has commenced in Parliament on this subject would be of the greatest value to you in your deliberations.

I realize that what we might get for our country would not be suitable for yours. We are all anxious to assist in this problem with which you are faced at the present time. We have our difficulties and we have got to try to overcome them.

Mrs. Shaw and I will return to the old country charmed with the hospitality showered upon us. Although we had been told that the hospitality would be great we never could imagine it would be so great as it has been.

There is one thing I do appreciate during the discussions and during my visit with your people, the great tolerance under the most trying circumstances you have. It appears to me that under almost all circumstances your people can be tolerant. We will carry back happy memories, and when we look at the memento it will remind us of the happy time we spent with you.

President Green: And now I am going to present a beautiful gift to the life-long companion of Brother Shaw. You know she has been watched in Great Britain for many years by a Britisher; now when she goes back she can be watched by an American. I know she will appreciate this very highly, not altogether because of its intrinsic value, but because of the value of association connected with it. Now she is ready to make this eloquent speech which I referred to. She told me she would be well prepared for this occasion. The only thing she said to me was, "You know I'm a bit shy," but I am sure now she is well acquainted with her friends here. I am very happy to present to Mrs. Shaw this gift.

Mrs. Shaw: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—I hope you have never been disappointed before, but I am afraid you will be this morning if you want a speech from me, because it has never been my job in life to make speeches. I suppose you men know the women are left a great deal at home. We just get a trip now and again, and I know I shall take back with me pleasant recollections of the great hospitality that has been extended to us during our stay in this country.

President Green: That was an eloquent address. In like manner, we have a watch and chain just like the ones presented to Brother Findlay and Brother Shaw, and we are presenting this to our Canadian brother, our next door neighbor. It carries with it all the good will and friendship associated with the gifts of

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Brother Findlay and Brother Shaw. Brother Stephenson, we ask you to accept this as a token of our friendship and good will.

Fraternal Delegate Stephenson: Mr. President, brothers and sisters—I want to express to you my very sincere thanks for this beautiful gift. Just across the imaginary boundary line between the United States and Canada the organized workers are grappling with the same problems you men have been grappling with in this convention and for the fifty years that you have just passed over. I know that we are suffering in the Dominion of Canada from the same economic depression as you are suffering in America, and which other countries are suffering from. We as a people in Canada are trying as best we can to solve some of these problems and to find work for the unemployed in that country.

Just recently we had a Federal election in the Dominion of Canada. A complete change of government took place, and we were able to bring enough pressure to bear through public opinion to have that new government immediately call a special session to deal with the unemployment situation. Arising out of that special session the Federal Government that has just been inaugurated in Canada saw fit to set aside twenty million dollars of the public funds so that some policy could be adopted to alleviate the unemployment situation, and together with that we have the provincial government, the railroad companies and other big interests throwing in their lot. Altogether we have eighty million dollars that have been put aside in the last few weeks to create some employment for the unemployed of Canada.

I have been very deeply impressed since I have been in this convention with the very earnest and thorough and business-like way you have conducted your proceedings. I have been very deeply impressed with the good will and fraternalism you have displayed for the delegates from across the line and from the old country, and in fact for organized labor throughout the world.

I hope we will all return to our respective homes and try to put into effect in a practical way some of the things that have been brought to the front in this convention, and that you men have given such a great amount of study.

In conclusion, Mr. President and delegates, I want to thank you for this beautiful gift. I am sure that this occasion will be cherished as long as I live.

President Green: Now I have saved the best orator for the last, the most perfect speaker. I am sure that any one who would receive such a beautiful present as this wrist watch would be thoroughly equipped and qualified after receiving it to make a most eloquent speech. This is a beautiful watch and I am sure that Mrs. Stephenson will appreciate it very greatly. It carries with it a wonderful sentiment and I am glad she can take back to her Canadian home something from America that will constantly remind her of her visit here. Mrs. Stephenson, I desire to present to you on behalf of the delegates and officers this gift.

Mrs. Stephenson: Mr. President and Delegates—This is the first time I have ever tried to make a speech. I am afraid I cannot make one. I do most of my speech making to my husband. I assure you that I am very much pleased with the beautiful gift and thank you for the delightful time we have had since we have been here. We have been nicely entertained and have enjoyed every minute.

President Green: That concludes the ceremony and concludes the discharge of our very pleasant duty. I am sure we have enjoyed it greatly.

Veterans of Foreign Wars

We have with us this morning a representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Department Commander from Massachusetts. We have always been interested in the Veterans and we are always glad to hear from their representative. Without further imposing upon your patience and time I desire to present Dr. Lucas, a representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Department Commander of Massachusetts.

Dr. Lucas: President Green, National Officers, Fraternal Delegates from England and Delegates: It is an honor and a privilege to appear here before you today to bring the greetings of the Department of Massachusetts as well as the National Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, as you know, is composed of men who have seen foreign service; they are men who have had to go away from their families and their homes and fight on foreign soil. Our membership, necessarily, is limited because many of the men who were in the last World War, unfortunately, are not eligible. Notwithstanding that, we are all members of other military organizations. It certainly is a pleasure to be here today because in the rank and file of this state 50 per cent of our membership

hold membership cards in various organizations that are allied with the American Federation of Labor. We state commanders, other state officers, and in fact all the members appreciate this. As Department Commander I have appointed to one of the hardest positions in our organization a member of your organization. The men of your organization stand well and we respect them.

I was very much interested in the controversy on the alien and Chinese question. In spite of the fact that, whether you have a registration card or not, you should see that the man who is responsible for it in Washington gets busy?

There are two questions which, to my mind, should interest you, not only from a veteran's standpoint, but from the standpoint of a man who is practicing medicine many hours of every day, a man who has personally visited every city in this state to find out the situation with regard to unemployment. We are passing out thousands of dollars for relief and support of our comrades who are not employed but who have a right to be working. Here in Boston they have been working a year to find where a little hole is to go under a street. When the conference comes up about employment I sincerely hope that you will bring out a constructive resolution about how to deal with this situation.

We can get statistics from Washington about what is going on, but they cannot bluff the people of Massachusetts. I go into the homes as a doctor and find the father out of work, the mother and children sick and without proper food and clothing. What is the backbone of the country? You people who are sitting right here. I hope you will do something to tell us how to get these men back to work.

I will now touch upon the prohibition question. The Veterans of Foreign Wars took a stand three or four weeks ago in Boston. We are fighting men and we believe the Act should be repealed. We also believe that somebody should come forward with a constructive resolution advocating something that will suit everyone. We took our stand as fighting men. We have done it as men who fought overseas and went up against the bullets and shells. I sincerely hope that as men vitally concerned you will bring out some constructive resolution to show us how in Massachusetts we can get our men back to work.

I want to compliment President Green on the way your convention is functioning. As a state man I attend conventions all over the country and I notice the attention that is paid to what is going on. I like your plan of having tables in front of the delegates. They cannot go back home and say to their members that they had no pencil or paper and no place to write on. We don't care about registration, we want the question settled out there, but we have got to put our hands on the man who is responsible. If he is not doing a good job he ought to be removed whether he is a Republican, a Democrat or a Prohibitionist.

President Green: I want to thank Dr. Lucas for his visit and for his message.

Secretary Olander continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

Urging Enactment of Legislation Restricting Filipinos and Mexican Immigrants

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Percy J. Pryor of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Millions of workers of this country are unemployed and are being gradually driven to abject poverty and increasingly, by lack of physical necessities, to serious crimes; and

WHEREAS, While this is progressing an increasing number of immigrants arrive from the Philippines and from south of the Rio Grande; and

WHEREAS, The failure to pass effective immigration restriction laws and the lax enforcement of existing immigration restriction laws are largely responsible for the growing need and desperation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Annual Convention assembled, that we demand from Congress the immediate exclusion of Filipinos and of the Amerinds from south of the Rio Grande, and from the government the strict enforcement of immigration restriction laws.

The word "emigrants," which appeared in the last paragraph of Resolution No. 49, as published in the proceedings of the second day, is a misprint. The correct word is "Amerinds," which, as used in the resolution, has reference to the Indian races south of the Rio Grande. The committee has made the necessary correction and recommends that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I think there was some criticism offered to the convention this morning on the use of words we did not understand. I would like to have the proposer of the resolution explain the meaning of the word given us by the secretary of the committee. I think Brother Furuseth made that criticism, and he has used a word in this resolution that we are not familiar with.

Secretary Olander: The committee has given the information asked for in the report and I think the situation is all cleared up.

President Green: You will find the meaning of the word in the committee's report, Brother Howard.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Abolition of Commuting Privileges from Canada for Purposes of Employment

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present industrial depression in the United States has resulted in the creating of a large army of unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The best thought of the country has been directed towards eliminating this condition; and

WHEREAS, The Government of Canada has effectively imposed regulations for the protection of Canadian workers living in that country, and has on thousands of occasions denied to workers living in America the privilege of entering Canada for the purposes of employment; and

WHEREAS, We believe that it is the duty of the United States to give privileges at this time to citizens of the United States and others legally domiciled in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention ask President Hoover to instruct the Department of Labor, the Bureau of Immigration, to immediately cause a cessation of all commuting from Canada by aliens for purposes of employment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to use its best efforts to the end that workers in the United States living near the border shall be freed from the competition of those not living in the United States.

Your committee recommends that the following resolution be adopted as a substitute for Resolution No. 84:

WHEREAS, The present industrial depression has resulted in the creating of a large army of unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The best thought of the country has been directed towards eliminating this condition; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is the duty of each country to protect its citizens and others residing within its borders from competition for employment on the part of persons who reside in other countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled demands that immediate steps be taken to stop border crossing privileges for the purpose of employment and that the practice be discontinued whereby residents of adjoining countries now cross the international border at the beginning of each workday for the purpose of employment and again cross the border into their own country at the end of the workday; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be au-

thorized and directed to use its best efforts to the end that workers in the United States living near the border shall be freed from competition of those not living in the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Post Office Laborers

The committee recommends that the Report of the Executive Council following the subtitle, "Post Office Laborers," page 105, be approved and that the Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure an increase of wages for the post office workers referred to in the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Border Patrol

Your committee recommends that the Report of the Executive Council following the subtitle, "Border Patrol," on page 105 of the report, be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We have on the platform this morning two young ladies who come to us from the strike field of Danville, Virginia. You recall that reference was made to the struggle that is now going on in Danville in discussion that took place on the floor of this convention a few days ago. Thousands of members of the United Textile Workers' organization are on strike in that great old southern city. Our hearts go out to those fighting industrial workers, members of our trades union movement. Our sympathies are with them. I know we will listen with that very keen sympathetic interest which we all possess to the message which these two young ladies will bring to us. It affords me very great pleasure to first present to you Mrs. Lucile Humble, representing the striking textile workers of Danville, Virginia.

MRS. LUCILE HUMBLE

Mr. President and Friends—I am glad of having the opportunity to come before you all this morning. I am glad to see there are so many people interested in this labor movement. I represent the textile workers of Danville, Virginia. The Danville mills are the largest mills in the South and the fourth

argest mills in the United States. Two years ago they brought about the stretch-out system. Some of you may know what that means and some of you may not. Before the stretch-out system in the weave rooms we ran sixteen looms. After the stretch-out system they put us to thirty-two looms and afterwards to sixty-four. If the daily production is not made the boss would shake his finger in our faces.

We all agreed that if we would organize we would not have to take the punishment we were taking. Men were sent to Richmond, Virginia, to get the American Federation of Labor to organize the Danville workers. The first union meeting was held on February 9th this year. There were about two hundred people fired out of these mills because they joined the union. People who had given long years of faithful service were turned out, their children were on the streets hungry and could not attend school because they were not properly clothed. After a while they closed down one mill completely, putting about 2,000 people out of work.

Of course we were all struggling for something to eat. People were put out of their houses and there were people working in the mills fifty-five hours week for from six to eight dollars. It did not seem that Mr. Fitzgerald, the manager, had any feeling for the workers' children. It takes money to send children to school down there, because we have to pay for their textbooks. Mr. Fitzgerald did not seem to think our children should be educated or have the proper food. We must win this fight, because if we go back unorganized it will be like going back to the penitentiary, with a man over us with a whip to see that we do what he believes is a day's work. We hope that you will donate to our relief fund and to help us carry this thing on. All the Danville people are asking is something to eat and something to keep us and our children warm during the cold weather.

President Green: I am happy to present to you the associate of Mrs. Humble, Mrs. Della Gilreath, the other representative from the striking textile workers in Danville, Virginia. I am sure you enjoyed the address of Mrs. Humble, and that you will appreciate the message Mrs. Gilreath will bring to us.

MRS. DELLA GILREATH

I am very glad to appear here to tell a few things about the Danville situation. We are representing a local of the United Textile Workers of Danville, Virginia. The management has done everything possible to keep us from organizing. We have been discriminated against, we have been fired out of our jobs. People who worked for thirty-one to thirty-eight years in those mills were fired because they joined the union. They were thrown out of their houses. We worked fifty-five hours a week and did not make enough to live on.

The management put in this stretch-out system and we felt that we could not stand it any longer, and the only way we could

see to get our rights was through the organization. The people who are working on the stretch-out system do more work for less money than formerly. Our hours have been lengthened and our wages reduced. This strike has been forced upon the people in Danville. We have been out for two months, and of course the organization has been taking care of the people. The stretch-out system is such a strain upon the people that when they work sixty-five hours a week it is killing to them. When you work for ten hours on your feet you do not feel even like eating your supper when you go home and you are too tired to go to bed.

We were forced to strike to get our organization. We are 100 per cent strong. The strike took place on Monday morning, the 29th of September. The people are on the picket line and everybody is sticking to the organization. We hope the members of the international unions will sympathize with the conditions down there. We have approximately 4,000 strikers. The families are looking to the organization to feed them and clothe them until we win the fight. I hope the people up here will realize our conditions there. I cannot begin to tell how bad conditions are and how we are discriminated against.

President Green: I am sure we are all interested in the members of organized labor who are struggling for a higher wage and a better life wherever they are found. I was reminded, as these two ladies talked to you, of the very wonderful contrast between the situation existing in Danville, Virginia, and the situation which prevails at Salem in the Naumkeag Mills. You recall that the owner, the agent of the company and the secretary of the local union stood before us the other day and told us about the industrial peace that prevails at Salem, and the cooperative relationships that have been established. The value of trades unionism, of collective action, of cooperation is shown in Salem. Here we listen this morning to a story of tragedy and distress and woe and industrial strife, merely because a great corporation employing men, women and children in the greatest textile mills of the South insists upon imposing upon these workers an autocratic control. The value of trades unionism can be understood more clearly when we make comparison of the situation at Danville and the situation at Salem.

The American Federation of Labor is not attempting to impose industrial war upon industry. What we are trying to do is to establish industrial peace. The situation at Salem reflects the aims and purposes of labor; the situation at Danville reflects a situation of autocracy and strife. Which will employers

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

prefer to have, the cooperation of labor as it is given at Salem or the strife and war that exist at Danville, Virginia?

I am told that in Danville the first experiment in company unions took place in the South. The company established what they called a form of industrial democracy. It was paternalism, it was imposed from above, it did not come from below. It was conferred upon the workers and they were told, "This is your representation plan." For a long time it was tried, but the workers found it was the shadow without the substance. It was, as the committee said this morning regarding company unions, a fraud, a deception, as all company unions are. But the workers said nay to the industrial autocracy at Danville and that it can never be erected again.

I am very deeply touched by the situation as I know you must be. Four thousand struggling workers held in autocratic control by a corporation that attempted to deceive them by giving them, as I said, the shadow without the substance. Fighting for what? Not to destroy the industry but for the right to speak collectively and to serve collectively and to give the industry the best service of which they are capable.

We went into the South in accordance with the dictates of a congress of labor. We were directed to go there by the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor. This supreme body, speaking for labor, the voice of labor, directed us to go there. It was impossible—and you were conscious of it—to go into the South without incurring obligations, as the United States incurred a great obligation when Dewey sailed into Manila Harbor and with his splendid battleships took over that great city. The United States was there and it could not leave. It assumed an obligation to help those people. We did the same thing when we went into Porto Rico, and while our Government would like to withdraw and give these people their independence, and to the Filipinos as well, it feels it has a responsibility to discharge.

And so we are in a similar position. We went into the South at the direction of labor, ordered by labor, directed by labor, instructed by labor, and now we are called upon to meet our obligations, to discharge them fully. I am of the opinion that we will rise to the necessities of the occasion. I am going to issue the strongest appeal that my mind can conceive or that my vocabulary will permit, appealing to the heart and conscience of the men and women

of labor to give to these men and women all the help possible in their fight. I hope the response will be generous.

Every one of us is mindful of the difficulties that every national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is contending with—unemployment, idleness, suffering, distress. It is unfortunate that this industrial struggle in the South came upon us at a time when all of us are suffering more or less. But let us remember our obligation in Danville. We must respond, we are expected to respond, we must give and give and give generously out of what we have to help these people to win their struggle. This will be supplemented by an official appeal ordered by this convention as soon as it can be sent to our membership.

I hope that these modest, simple addresses delivered this morning most eloquently, because of their sincerity, will reach the hearts and minds of our people everywhere, for if there is one place in America where there is a great number of under-fed, under-privileged and poorly nourished little children it is in the textile mills of the South, and surely the plight of the children will touch our hearts even though the men and women go unnoticed.

Delegate Birthright, Barbers: As a member of the committee in charge of the organization campaign in the South, I want to call your attention to a statement made by the lady who spoke last. She said the success of the organization in Danville depends upon the campaign being carried on in the South. I want to make a motion that these young ladies from Danville be permitted to pass among the delegates, at their pleasure, and that the delegates may contribute to them from their personal funds as much as they are able.

Delegate Ross, Mississippi State Federation of Labor: In seconding the motion of Brother Birthright I want to call to the attention of the delegates the words of Jesus Christ, the Carpenter of Nazareth, who said that we that are strong should bear the infirmities of the weak. I think it would be fitting on this occasion, not only on behalf of the delegates who are fighting for the principles upon which trades unionism is founded, but as a tribute to that great leader of the American Federation of Labor who has done so wonderfully well leading the banner of trades unionism into the South. And, due to the fact that his name is Green, I suggest that at this time we make a green contribution. I have in my hand some

greenbacks and I want to start that collection on behalf of the American labor movement.

President Green: The Chair will rule that there is no necessity of the adoption of the motion just offered, but the young ladies will have the privilege and the opportunity of going among the delegates as they can to solicit help for their cause. That privilege is very readily granted them.

I have just been presented with a check for \$200.00 for these young ladies. An old pattern maker that years ago was a member of the organization of which Vice President Wilson is president, sends the check. Since that time he has launched out into busi-

ness and has accumulated some money. We are glad he has been prosperous. He has been attending the conventions of this organization and listening to us. He is like an old fire horse that hears the alarm and cannot resist going to the fire. In response to what has been said he sent this check to these girls. His name is Edward D. Baldwin, and he is a member of the Pattern Makers' organization. I always knew that something good would come out of the Pattern Makers' organization some time.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p.m.

Eighth Day - Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green:

Absentees

Gillmore, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Wills, Nelson, McFetridge, Richard, Cohen (S.), Schulte, Coulter, Zuckerman, Meyer, Rosemund, Kaufman, Marshall (H.S.), Wolf, Sullivan (H.W.), Sutor, Mitchell (M.W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Taylor (T.N.), Graham, Gill, Wilson (T.), Anderson (G.), Bowden, Ohl, Moser (C.J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Laude, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Tucker, O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Dacey, Shave, Draper, Kelly, Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Mack, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Walsh, Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Haffier, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Hill, Mitchell (T.), Fearn, Miller, Cronin.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

A communication received from General President Samuel E. Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers Union advises that business of his organization requires him to leave the city, and states that Henry J. Moynihan, will serve as delegate in his place. We recommend the seating of Brother Henry

J. Moynihan to represent the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: Mrs. Mary Gordon Thompson is engaged in the sale of union-made neckwear in the corridor of the hotel. She is a thorough-going trades unionist and she wishes to make just a brief announcement.

MRS. MARY GORDON THOMPSON (Boston Women's Trades Union League)

Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention—I come to you for just a moment to extend greetings and good wishes from the Boston Women's Trades Union League. I think you men especially will agree with me that any one woman, either in or out of industry, is quite problem enough without attempting to consider the problem of the whole thing so far as women are concerned. And yet, after all, men and women, we who are in the industrial field are a very serious problem when it comes to the serious consideration of wages and conditions. And might I state just very briefly to you that if you men would take trades unionism back into your homes and talk it to your women folks, if you young men when you go courting would say a little about the trades union movement, we might make better progress. That is something that I feel is entirely up to you men to correct, in a way.

As President Green has said, I am selling neckwear out in the lobby. The Women's Trades Union League helped to organize the neckwear workers here in Boston, and they are as spry and lively a bunch of young girls as you will find anywhere. I shall be very

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

pleased and gratified if you will assist us in the sale of these neckties, because by so doing you will be helping to further the good will between the employers and the neckwear workers here in Boston in these union neckwear shops.

I wish you well and thank you for this opportunity of appearing before this august body. It is the first time in my experience that I have had the opportunity of sitting in at an American Federation of Labor convention, and I cannot begin to tell you how much I appreciate the opportunity and how thrilled I have been by at last getting to a convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Olander continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Secretary Olander: The committee has had its attention called to a matter that was not specifically referred to it for consideration, but which we concluded was of sufficient importance and interest to warrant the committee in making a report. We have this recommendation to present:

President of American Federation of Labor Honored

During the past year the Roosevelt Memorial Association selected the President of the American Federation of Labor as one of the three citizens of the United States who contributed distinguished service to social progress. The outstanding service of President Green to industrial peace in the past year was cited by the Association as the basis for the award.

This distinguished honor to the President of the American Federation of Labor is a recognition of the economic statesmanship which President Green has contributed to the whole field of industrial relations. This high token of appreciation of the spokesman of the American labor movement is in effect an endorsement of the constructive policies and principles of the American trade union movement and our conception of the mutuality of national progress.

The American Federation of Labor is a great economic institution whose purpose is orderly progress for wage earners that they may keep abreast social and economic progress of all other groups. Because President Green has been most effective and convincing in maintaining Labor's principle of constructive progress, he has been selected for a great personal honor which at the same time brings honor to the organization of which he is President.

We propose therefore that the convention of the American Federation of Labor express its gratification at the honor conferred upon President Green and our appreciation of an award that in such a notable way focuses attention upon the principles for which our organization stands—the methods and policies of constructive progress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Old Age Pensions

Under the title "Old Age Pensions" on page 115 of its report the Executive Council points out that the agitation for the enactment of old age pension legislation has spread throughout the nation. Progress is being made.

Your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railroad Consolidation

Your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Railroad Consolidation," pages 116-119, be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Representation of Joint Councils of Women's Auxiliaries in A. F. of L. Convention

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Archie M. Lawrence of the St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis is a delegate organization of the women relatives of members of the trades union movement of St. Louis who belong to the Auxiliary of the craft of their male relatives, and

WHEREAS, This same Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries has been working for the benefit of the Labor Movement in St. Louis and other cities for the past several years; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a great deal of good can in the future be accomplished by the proper organization of the women relatives of members of the Trades Union Movement because of the concrete good that has already been accomplished in St. Louis, through the education of the women relatives of members of the Movement through a clearer understanding of the aims, ideals and objects of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated Unions in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The proper organization of the purchasing power of the workers under the American Federation of Labor is so important to the success of the Labor Movement; and

WHEREAS, Because the women of the country spend fully 85 per cent of the money which is being earned by the workers, and therefore the proper education of the importance of spending such money, so earned, only to the benefit of the Movement will be a great

step forward in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the American Federation of Labor is organized; and

WHEREAS, Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the greatest educational factors in the American Labor Movement, and to give these women the benefit of the educational facilities afforded by the American Federation of Labor; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the work of the Women's Auxiliary Movement as exemplified by the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere by inviting the Joint Council of Women Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere to send to Conventions of the American Federation of Labor fraternal delegates so that they may participate in the sessions of the American Federation of Labor, with all the benefits and prerogatives accruing to fraternal delegates from any other organizations, such as the Women's Trades Union League, etc.

Endorsed at a regular meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, September 14, 1930.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 10 be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as the Council may deem proper.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pan-American Institute of Reciprocal Trade Relations

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Free Federation of Working men of Porto Rico.

WHEREAS, There has recently been organized by the representatives of eighteen American Republics an Institute which has for its prime objective the furtherance and improvement in reciprocal trade relations by the countries of the Western Hemisphere; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of labor, on invitation, attended the meeting of this organization; and

WHEREAS, A successful and satisfactory functioning of trade relations would be reflected in increased employment and general prosperity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor investigate the program of the Pan-American Institute of Reciprocal Trade Relations and lend such support to that program as its benefits indicate to be warranted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 12 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Establishing of Luggage Factory in the Missouri Penitentiary

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate W. E. Bryan of the United Leather Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, There having been recently established a Luggage Factory within the walls of the Missouri Penitentiary, at Jefferson City, Missouri, to produce a varied line of traveler's goods by the prisoners confined in said institution; and

WHEREAS, The legislative body of said State enacted a law which in the intent and letter of the law was to abolish the Contract Convict Labor system which for many years had existed within the penal institutions of said state, and to institute a system of employment, within its penal institutions, which is known as the "State Use System." This law was enacted in the year 1917, yet no governor since that time, for reasons best known to themselves, has seen fit to put this law into effect; and

WHEREAS, It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a line of goods to manufacture in any penal institution which would be obviously more impractical and ill-advised for successful operation under the State Use System, therefore, a greater disregard for the Statute Laws of the State; and

WHEREAS, By the very nature of the goods to be produced they must be marketed very largely in other states, thus becoming a menace to free labor to an unknown and unlimited extent, and at a time when thousands of mechanics throughout the United States have suffered severely for months past by reason of forced unemployment in the Luggage Trades; and

WHEREAS, The Senior Senator from the State of Missouri sponsored the "Hawes-Cooper" bill in the United States Senate, the purpose of which is to make the interstate marketing of prison made goods as difficult as possible, in fact permit any and all states to prohibit the sale of prison made goods within their borders; it thus appears the Missouri State Prison Board is openly opposed to the "Hawes-Cooper Act," and will defeat, if possible, the enactment by the State of Missouri of any legislation which may be proposed to carry out the spirit and intent of the above Federal Enabling Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby reaffirms its unalterable opposition to the manufacture and sale of goods of any character within the boundaries of the United States and its possessions, which are produced by the inmates of any penal institution, and which come in competition with the product of free labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, The Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to cause to be sent to the Governor of the State of Missouri, the Secretary of

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

State, and the members of the Missouri State Prison Board a copy of this resolution, protesting the continuation of the Luggage Factory within the walls of the Missouri State Penitentiary.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 18 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We have now reached the hour set aside for the special order of business by authority of this convention. Immediately following the completion of the special order the Committee on Resolutions will resume its report. I am informed by the chairman and secretary that the first matter to be reported upon will be the committee's recommendation on resolutions dealing with the Volstead Act and with injunction matters. This will be taken up immediately following the completion of the special order. May the Chair request President Howard of the International Typographical Union, to please come forward and preside.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. Charles P. Howard, President International Typographical Union, in the Chair.

Chairman Howard: The special order of business arranged for this hour is the election of officers. We will now accept nominations for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Lewis, President United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Convention—I rise merely to complete a statement made to the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor some five years ago. At that time it was my privilege to present to the convention for an effective successor to the great Samuel Gompers the name of a member of the United Mine Workers of America whom I believed to be possessed of the character and the essential qualifications necessary to assume the proud position of leadership in the American Federation of Labor and to lead that great combination of men and women down that trail which had been blazed by the revered Samuel Gompers. I presented to the convention at that time the name of William Green and I said to the convention that from the wealth of my personal experience within the

councils of the United Mine Workers of America, from my knowledge of his character as a man, from my contact with him as a trades unionist in that field of industry, out of all the wealth of my experience and knowledge of the man and his ability, I was convinced that he would be a creditable successor to that distinguished pioneer who had passed by. I asked in the name of the United Mine Workers of America, that they honor him by selecting him as the President of that great organization.

Today, Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the convention, I am proud to rise to my feet in this convention, five years later, and to say that our faith and confidence in William Green has been well placed and well founded, and our predictions of his accomplishments and his record as the chief presiding officer of our Federation have more than come true. Whether it has been in the councils of organized labor, whether it has been upon the platform of organization in the embattled South, whether it has been from the pulpits of America, whether it has been before committees of Congress, or whether it has been in the cabinet of the President of the United States, William Green during all of these years has never failed of an opportunity to plead the cause of the men and women of labor and to promote the ideals of the American Federation of Labor. In season and out of season his voice, his strength, his talents have never wasted a moment in this great organized onward fight of labor, and today he stands recognized, not alone in this country of ours but throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world, as a great champion and defender of humanity and a defender of those principles of liberty upon which our Republic and our trades union movement are founded.

And, Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention, I esteem it to be an honor today, not alone to me personally but to the United Mine Workers of America, which gave William Green to the organized workers of our country, to present his name again to this convention to receive the honor, if possible, and if it meets with your approval, of being again elected as the spokesman of organized labor in America, the President of the American Federation of Labor.

(The nomination of President Green was vigorously applauded for some little time.)

The Chairman asked for further nominations. No further nominations being made, Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employes, moved that the Secretary be authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for President. The instruction was complied with, and William Green was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: Chairman Howard, Fellow Delegates and Friends: I find it very difficult indeed to rise on this occasion for the purpose of making adequate response to this wonderful tribute which you have just paid me. I am very deeply touched by this overwhelming expression of your good will, your confidence and your support. My colleague, associated with me and representing the United Mine Workers of America, paid me a very high compliment when he just named me as a candidate for re-election as President of the American Federation of Labor. And you have manifested through this wonderful demonstration this afternoon your approval of the sentiments which he expressed and of the humble service which I have tried to render the organized labor movement.

I am overwhelmed with the responsibility which all this means, the high standards set, the great work we are called upon to do, the service which humanity requires, and it makes me wonder whether, during the period of my term of office, I can measure up to the standards set.

I was thinking the other day, my friends, when the President of the United States came before us and delivered an address, the one man out of 150,000,000 people selected in this great Republic to serve as its Chief Executive, what a wonderful honor had been conferred upon him. There is no one who can properly and adequately appraise and place the proper value upon such a great honor. But as I looked into the faces of my colleagues sitting here before me and I saw behind them, back beyond them, that great army of millions of working men and women and children whom you had the honor to represent, men and women whose hearts and minds were attuned to the actions and the call and the development of this convention, I thought, as you must think, that I would rather be the President of the American Federation of Labor than the President of the

United States. That statement may sound strange indeed, but when you consider the field for service, the opportunities which unfold through which you can give of your heart, your hand, your soul, your body, and your mind, then by comparison you can realize this great field of opportunity to serve humanity.

And so I feel that I can conceive of no greater honor in this Republic that can be conferred upon a working man or working woman than to be selected to speak for working men in the councils of the nation and upon the open forums of public opinion.

I come to you as a trained trades unionist. My whole record is an open book. For more than twenty years I worked in the coal mines and it was in the silence and the dampness and the darkness of the coal mines that I was permitted to think, and think profoundly. As a miner, usually associated with danger, seen and unseen, apparent and yet unreal, you develop a courage that is second to none. It was in that environment that I gave twenty years of service with my hands and body. Could any one be subjected to a more perfect training for service in the trades union movement?

And so I am inspired by one single desire, and that is, to sink self out of sight, to forget personalities, to forget physical or mental needs. My sole desire is to serve this great movement in my time and age with all the vigor and the power and ability I possess.

As I have stated before, men and women of labor, I appreciate more than language can express this great demonstration of confidence and good will and support. You have commissioned me again to go out and lead and speak and work for labor for another year. I accept the commission. I shall carry on the work as best I can and it will indeed be a very great pleasure to serve the cause of labor with all of the power, sincerity and honesty that I possess.

I thank you.

President Green in the Chair.

Nominations for the office of First Vice-President were called for.

Delegate Kelso, Brotherhood of Carpenters: I rise at this time to place in nomination a candidate for the position of First Vice-President. When I mention his name the delegates in this convention will know of the splendid

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

record he has made in the labor movement. This candidate has devoted his life to the uplift of the organization in which he is a member. It would be needless for me to attempt to eulogize him in this convention, but in passing I may say that some thirty years ago he was elected General Secretary in the organization in which he holds membership. He has filled that position with honor to himself and with credit to the organization he represents. I now take pleasure in nominating the president incumbent, Brother Frank Duffy.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Birthright, Barbers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instruction was complied with, and Vice President Duffy was declared elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice President.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: At this time I rise to place in nomination for a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor the name of a man that I have been privileged to name on eleven previous occasions. When I first proposed him as Vice President of this organization nearly twelve years ago I then suggested and promised that his service would be invaluable, and that as time advanced he would be more keenly recognized by our delegates than upon his first presentation. I think time has borne out that prediction. At that time he was Seventh Vice President of this great organization. Since then time has made changes and we find today he is Second Vice President. It affords me very great pleasure to present for your favorable consideration the name of T. A. Rickert, General President of the United Garment Workers of America, for Second Vice President.

Delegate Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers: On behalf of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, which is quite mindful of the services of Brother Rickert in 1918 and 1919 at the time we had our last trouble, I wish to second his nomination.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The Secretary complied with the instructions, and T. A.

Rickert was declared duly elected Vice President for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for the nomination of candidates for Third Vice President.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: Mr. President, a great organization like the American Federation of Labor requires for its leadership men of action. They must necessarily be men of strong personality, yet while serving in positions of generalship they must also be loyal soldiers of the cause who understand that it is their first duty to carry out the instructions of the organization they represent and to defend it against every attack. With an ability and a willingness to work they must combine a willingness and an ability to speak for us. In carrying out their duties they necessarily encounter situations in which they are confronted with criticism. Their real capabilities are then shown. Above everything, we require men who can stand firmly in storms as well as during fair weather. By deed and by word they must be prepared always to act for us and to defend and support that for which we stand.

I offer in nomination a man who, through his years of service, has measured up to these high standards fully. I present for the office of Third Vice President the name of Matthew Woll, of the Photo-Engravers' Union.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instruction was complied with, and Vice President Woll was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice President.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: Mr. President, I find it a great privilege to bring to the attention of this great body the name of the officer who has served you for many years as your Fourth Vice President. I have always felt that bodies of this character, men and women engaged in the fight for liberty, have always been guided by the Divine hand. Every man here knows when he first opens his eyes on God's sunlight from the shelter of his mother's arms that life has been a struggle. Some one has said that

action is to life what motion is to water—it cleanses and purifies them both. And so, Mr. Chairman, it has been a credit to this movement to know that all of its officers have been men of character. I know that it is rather a platitude to say that the best government and the best institution is ~~the~~ one that raises the best men and women. That means in the last analysis courage and character. Nations may lose everything, every dollar of their material wealth, but if they have those virtues of courage and character they will arise from the ashes.

This man I am about to name has these fine qualities of mind and of heart, and with it all he is a modest, kindly fellow. And so, Mr. President, I esteem it a great honor to be privileged to place before this great body the President of the Pattern Makers' Union of North America, Mr. James Wilson.

Delegate Woods, Railway Clerks: On behalf of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks I desire to second the nomination of James Wilson for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Tighe, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson. The instruction was complied with, and James Wilson was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for Fifth Vice President.

Delegate Rau, Plumbers: Mr. President, I am glad to have the privilege of placing in nomination John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, for the office of Fifth Vice President.

No other candidate was nominated, and motion of Delegate Beauregard, Providence Central Federated Union, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield for Fifth Vice President. The instruction was complied with, and Vice President Coefield was declared duly elected.

President Green: The Chair calls for nominations for Sixth Vice President.

Delegate O'Connell, Metal Trades Department: I rise to place in nomination to succeed himself as Sixth Vice President ~~one~~ of the

outstanding trades unionists of our country, a young man capable in every way. He has served the American Federation of Labor well, and because I am an ex-member of the Executive Council for many years I have some knowledge of the requirements and the ability necessary to fill the office of Vice President. That is probably the reason that I am not now on the Council.

The President of the International Association of Machinists is a man who has had a tremendous experience in our labor movement as a young man, not only directly in the movement himself, but occupying positions of great character and trust in our Government affairs and in the interests of men engaged in the railway service. I am pleased to present for the consideration of the convention the name of Mr. Arthur O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists, for Sixth Vice President.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Henning, Machinists, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Arthur O. Wharton. The instruction was complied with, and Vice President Wharton was declared unanimously elected.

President Green: Nominations will now be received for the office of Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. President and Delegates to the convention—It is an exemption of all forms of American government, regardless of its multitudinous ramifications, whether political, industrial or social, that one good term deserves another. When one year ago we had the honor, in behalf of the American Federation of Musicians, to present for nomination a candidate for the office of Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor we invited you to no doubtful experiment. We knew our man. The year has now closed. The chapter written is a part of an open book to which the careful scrutiny of the entire trades union movement is respectfully commended. There are no blank pages. On each leaf is inscribed the stainless record of unwavering fidelity to the trust which you committed to his hands. In the calm light of such credentials we again appeal to you for support in behalf of our candidate for the office of Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, whom we are proud to name—Joseph N. Weber, of New York.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph N. Weber for Seventh Vice President. The instruction was complied with, and Vice President Weber was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Broach, Electrical Workers: G. M. Bugnizet, too, has long struggled and dreamed for this cause and has grown up with the Electrical Workers' organization since boyhood. We know that he has proved himself fit and worthy. Our people love, trust and admire Bugnizet, and we want him to fill the shoes on the Executive Council of our beloved friend, Jim Noonan. Bugnizet is a hard working, intelligent, courageous executive of good sense and character, and on behalf of our people I am happy to present his name for your consideration.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Joyce, Electrical Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for G. M. Bugnizet. The instruction was complied with, and G. M. Bugnizet was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations will now be received for the office of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Beaudry, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I rise at this time to place in nomination a man who I consider has fulfilled sincerely and honestly and in a most reliable way the duties of his office. I place before you for your approval the nomination of Martin Francis Ryan.

Delegate Jewell, Railway Employees' Department: I rise at this time, in behalf of the Railway Employees' Department, to second the nomination of Martin Francis Ryan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instruction was complied with, and Treasurer Ryan was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for the office of Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Howard, President, International Typographical Union: Mr. President, the American Federation of Labor has a record of fifty years of service to American workers at this period of our civilization. That the record of its accomplishments is a noble one has been attested many times during this convention. During thirty-three years of that period there has been a service rendered to the American Federation of Labor and the workers of this country, one that is incomparable, and it is my pleasure, speaking for the organization that has given to the American Federation of Labor the official who has rendered this service, to nominate for the office of Secretary Frank Morrison, a delegate of the International Typographical Union.

Delegate McDonald, Printing Pressmen: On behalf of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, whose president for a number of years has had the extreme pleasure of nominating the old and the young war horse of the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison, I desire in behalf of Major George L. Berry, our President, to second the nomination of Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men, the President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison.

President Green complied with the instruction, and cast the ballot, later declaring Secretary Morrison duly elected for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and Delegates to this Convention—I would be more than human if the expressions of good will by the delegates present in electing me for the ensuing term to act as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor did not impress me profoundly. Perhaps you will pardon me if I say that when I was first elected in 1896 the membership of the American Federation of Labor was 265,000 members. I said to myself, if I am Secretary when we have a million members I will truly be pleased and satisfied. But it has been my great honor to see the American Federation of Labor pass the one million mark, the

two million mark, the three million mark and the four million mark. Thus we had in 1920 over 4,000,000 organized workers in place of 265,000 members in 1897.

It is a wonderful experience to watch the growth of this great labor movement. It is a wonderful experience to watch the growth of the national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I see in the future a marvelous organization, officered by men trained and experienced in the labor movement. We are gradually increasing in membership, and I feel that this convention above all other conventions, in the legislation so far enacted, has laid the foundation for splendid results for organized labor in the future. I am optimistic in regard to the future. I feel that this great body of representative men from the North American continent will be able to master every proposition that is submitted to it. We have two propositions that are of intense interest to the trades union movement. One is our anti-injunction bill that will prevent interference with the efforts of the labor movement to secure conditions. The other is the proposition which can be solved and which will be solved by the American Federation of Labor and the people of this continent. I refer to unemployment.

I feel that the time will come when there will be no man or woman who desires to work that will be deprived of the opportunity to work, and that they will receive in their old age a pension that will give them food and shelter. So I can see the great labor movement moving steadily forward to secure the conditions we need. I will not take the time to recite the things that you know, but I can go back thirty years when the men were working ten hours. We have now reached forty-four hours and forty hours a week, and with the legislation that has been enacted I see the day coming when we will have five days for the workers in all industries, when the reduction in hours and the reduction in the working week will keep pace with the men that are thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery and new processes of production.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

President Green: It is the custom and practice of the American Federation of Labor to elect at each convention two fraternal delegates to represent this great organized labor body at the British Trades Union Con-

gress, and to elect one to represent the American Federation of Labor at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. In order that the fraternal delegates may receive a majority of the votes cast by the delegates in attendance at the convention it is necessary for us to hold two elections for fraternal delegates. However, I am sure that all of us understand that it does not mean that either delegate thus selected occupies a more important position than the other. It is merely a matter of convenience. There is no first and second delegate to the British Trades Union Congress from the American Federation of Labor. There are two fraternal delegates to be elected, each of them occupying the same standing and the same position in importance and in authority.

The Chair will now call for the nomination of a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The Chair recognizes Brother Sullivan.

Delegate John Sullivan, New York State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to present the name of a man to this convention for that important mission as the ambassador of the American labor movement to the British Trades Union Congress. The man I have in mind I have been associated with for a number of years. His record is one of accomplishment. He is the president of an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He is a Vice-President of the New York State Federation of Labor and the President of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity—one of the largest central bodies in the United States of America, if not in the world. During his years as president of that great organization he has discharged wonderfully his duties and has accomplished great results for the members of the international unions who are employed by the City of New York. Here a few years ago, under his guidance and with his assistance, these men employed by the City of New York received about \$4,000,000 in back pay. That is a record and that is an accomplishment that any man should well feel proud of.

I have known this man, as I say, since he came into the movement. He is a man who is possessed of sterling qualifications, a man of character and a man of ability, a man who is recognized, loved and respected by the people of the great Empire State of New

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

York, not alone by the organized labor movement but by all citizens of that great community. I know that if he is chosen by you he will reflect credit upon himself and this great labor movement, which he has the honor to represent. It affords me great pleasure at this time to present to you the name of Joseph P. Ryan, the International President of the Longshoremen's Union.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to second the nomination that Brother Sullivan has so ably presented to this convention. Brother Ryan represents the younger men in our movement, and those of us who know him know of his activity and of his sincerity and of the good work he is doing. I do not desire to go into any further eulogy, but to say that those of us who have unions in New York City and have our contentions to meet within that city know of the splendid work Joseph Ryan does in behalf of every international union. On behalf of my organization and in appreciation of what he has done for us and for our movement I second the nomination of Joseph P. Ryan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The Secretary complied with the instruction, and Joseph P. Ryan was declared duly elected Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Nominations for a second Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress were called for.

Delegate Rivers, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union: Mr. President, the man I am about to place in nomination needs no introduction in this convention. He has been a delegate here for a great many years. He has been a member of the organization that I have the honor to represent since it was organized, and under his leadership they have grown from a small organization to one of the large organizations affiliated with this great movement. Therefore it is an honor and pleasure for me to present the name of Joseph V. Moreschi, General President of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I am not trying to get my name in the records, but I feel that I have a duty to perform on this occasion. I rise to second the nomination just made. This Brother was a candidate last year for this office and honor, and on the solicitation of his friends and in order to continue a harmonious condition within the Federation he withdrew his candidacy. It is only justice that that act of last year be recognized by this convention.

I hold that the sending of a man from any particular organization to the British Trades Union Congress is not only a recognition of the services of the individual, but a distinct honor to the organization that he represents. The two men that are to be selected, as I understand there is not to be any opposition, are rather unique in their compositions and will inject into the British Trades Union Congress something of an idea of the makeup of our great Federation.

I know the history of the laborers' union. I worked in this city of Boston as business agent with the former president of the organization. We come closely in contact with them in our work. The President of the Building Laborers and Hod Carriers' Union is about as square a fellow to deal with on trades union matters as it has been my privilege to find in our great labor movement. His word is his bond. For a good many years I have been carefully watching the per capita tax paid by this organization to the Federation, as the presiding officer knows. I have noticed its per capita tax during the past year. It is one of three organizations in this Federation that has increased its membership during the past year. The service rendered to this particular organization is a distinct credit to the individual who is at its head and who has just been nominated for a place in the delegation to the British Trades Union Congress. Mr. President, I rise to second that nomination because I believe it is a service to the organization that he represents and will be of substantial benefit to the Federation.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Agnes McInnis, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph V. Moreschi as Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The Secretary complied with the instruction, and Joseph V. Moreschi was declared unanimously elected.

Charles J. Case, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, was placed in nomination for Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate McSorley of the same organization, who said:

I rise to place in nomination as the Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress a man who has been engaged in the work of the organization for many years, a man I believe will be a credit to the American Federation of Labor in carrying a message of fraternal greetings to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Charles J. Case.

Delegate Canavan, Theatrical Stage Employees: I rise to briefly second the nomination of our friend from Ohio, Charles James Case.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Moore, Lathers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Charles J. Case. The instruction was complied with, and Charles J. Case was declared by the President duly elected Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

President Green: The Chair has a very sad announcement to make. I very sorrowfully announce the death of an old friend, one with whom a number of the delegates in attendance at this convention were acquainted. Clint Houston died unexpectedly in his hotel at 2:30 this afternoon. He was sick but a day with a heavy cold. He was an old-time member of the Typographical Union and represented "Labor," a publication owned by the standard railroad organizations. He was well known to the trades union movement and to the delegates to our conventions, which he had attended for many years.

I know we all feel very sad over the death of our old friend and brother, Clint Houston. The delegates of the Railway Employes' Department here and of the organizations affiliated with the Railway Employes' Department were well acquainted with Brother Clint Houston. The newspaper men knew him, too. I know I express the feelings of the delegates when I say that we are all saddened by his death.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that the Chair appoint a committee to draw up suitable resolutions to be sent to the family of Clint Houston, expressing the sym-

pathy and sorrow of the delegates and officers upon his sudden death.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair will appoint on that committee Brother O'Connor, Brother Jewell and Brother Franklin.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

Columbus, Ohio, was nominated as the city in which to hold the 1931 convention by Delegate Donnelly, Secretary of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, who pointed out that the American Federation of Labor was formed in that city in 1886. He called attention to the fact that in 1927, and in all the conventions that have been held since that date, the Ohio delegation has invited the American Federation of Labor to hold the 1931 convention in Columbus, and that accompanying the invitations have been letters from the Mayor of Columbus, the Governor of Ohio, the Labor movement, the Chamber of Commerce of Columbus and various civic organizations. He recalled that the first President of the American Federation of Labor was elected in Columbus, and that the only other man to fill that position up to the time that President Green was elected was John McBride, one of the organizers of the United Mine Workers of America, a Columbus man, whose remains now repose in a cemetery in that city.

Delegate Case, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, seconded the nomination of Columbus.

Vancouver, British Columbia, was placed in nomination by Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employes. He pointed out the great work that could be done for the labor movement of the northwest, both in the United States and Canada, by holding the convention of the American Federation of Labor in that section. He called attention to the fact that cities in that portion of the northwest are growing rapidly and the movement there is in need of the assistance that could be given it by holding the convention in Vancouver and giving an opportunity to officials of the various organizations to visit branches of their organization.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, called attention to the fact that

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

in the early days of the convention he had made a statement with regard to union hotels and restaurants, and had been advised by the Chairman at that time to bring the matter up when nominations were made for a convention city. He stated that three years ago, when Columbus was nominated at the convention, the statement was made that the hotels and restaurants of Columbus were not organized, and added that they are not now organized. He stated that he would second the nomination of Vancouver.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, seconded the nomination of Columbus. In referring to the nomination of Vancouver he stated that he objected to representatives of all the international unions, local and state organizations, being sent to such a distant point. He pointed out that three of the last twenty-two conventions of the American Federation of Labor had been held in Canada, in which country only 4½ per cent of the membership reside, and he felt that the interests of the 95½ per cent of the members should not be overlooked and the convention should be held in a place more centrally located.

Salt Lake City, Utah, was nominated by Delegate Thompson, representing the Utah State Federation of Labor. He extended the invitation to hold the 1931 convention in that city on behalf of the organized labor movement of the city and state, as well as on behalf of the surrounding states, the northwest and the southwest, which all joined in the invitation.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, seconded the nomination of Columbus, and spoke at some length on the advisability of holding the convention in a city that is easily accessible from all sections of the country.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, seconded the nomination of Columbus, Ohio, and spoke at some length in favor of accepting the invitation extended by that city and state.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, seconded the nomination of Vancouver, and spoke at some length in favor of holding the convention there.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, seconded the nomination of Vancouver, and called attention to the fact that all the hotels and restaurants in that city employ union cooks, waiters and waitresses, and that all the other trades are well organized, a condition which does not exist in Columbus, Ohio.

President Green: Three cities have been nominated, Columbus, Ohio; Vancouver, British Columbia, and Salt Lake City, Utah. If there are no further nominations, the Chair will declare nominations closed. It is so ordered. The Secretary will call the roll of the delegates, and as the roll is called the vote of each delegate will be cast. The city receiving a majority of the votes of this convention will be the city in which the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held.

ROLL CALL VOTE ON CONVENTION CITY

Columbus, Ohio—Mullaney, Shanessy (T.C.), Birthright, Crane, Reagan, Worthall, Haggerty (J.B.), Belair, Meehan, Morrin, Pope, Bauers, Ryan (Edward), George, Flaherty, Cohen, O'Connor (J.F.), Kelley (J.A.), Bannister, Feeney, Baer (Fred W.), Looney, Cohen (Max), Katovsky, Moser, Desti, Clarke (W.P.), Bliz, Tighe, Case (C.J.), Morrison (H.L.), O'Leary (M.J.), Bryan (W.E.), Wolff, Anderson (A.M.), Duffy (J.M.), Turner, Berry (G.L.), McDonald, Badaracco, Dart, De Andrade, Burke (J.P.), Sullivan (H.W.), Gavlik, Gausman, Furuseth, Olander, Pryor, Keegan (W.T.), Sumner (C.A.), Cashen (T.C.), Connors (J.B.), Lundergan, Gorman (F.J.), Howard, Morrison (Frank), Trotter, Robinson (W.J.), Reilly (W.M.), Martel, Tobin (S.P.), Donnelly (T.J.), Burns (J.T.), Johnston (J.C.), Polston (W.T.), Kummer, Belt, Doll, Carey (R.D.), Clark (E.B.), representing 4,056 votes.

Vancouver, B. C.—Gillmore, Dullzell, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Franklin, Walter, Davis (J.N.), Nacey, Mara, Baine, Callanan, McCann, Morrissey, Oberfell, Kugler, Zusi, Bowen, Thornton, Stretch, Ryan (M.F.), Knight, Holmgren, Beaудry, Hutcheson, Duffy (F.), Kelso, Tierney, Rogers (H.C.), Flynn (Thos.), Kunz, Feely, Richard, Ornburn, Perkins, Collins (Wm.), Harrison, Levi (Geo.S.), Woods (C.J.), Thomas (I.E.), Fitzgerald (E.H.), Treadwell, Doyle (J.J.), Broach, Bugniet, Bieretz, Paulsen, Joyce (M.T.), Preiss, MacDonald (J.C.), O'Brien (T.), Huddell, Evans (D.), Possehl, Fay, Fitzpatrick (J.H.), Volz, Woll, Glenn (F.H.), Steward (L.C.), McNally, Fitzgerald (J.), Ross (J.W.), Rickert, Wines, Doyle (F.), Adamski, Houck, Schlesinger, Maloney (J.), Essex, Squibb, Moretti, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Etchison (J.B.), D'Andrea, Sullivan (D.J.), Flore, Hesketh, Koleske, McInnis, Schott, McSorley (Wm.J.), Moore (Geo.T.), Hagen, Gainor, Finnian, Duffy (Chas.D.), Mugavin, Swartz, Kennedy (A.J.), Bruck, Ryan (J.P.), Welch (J.D.), Wharton, Hewitt, Fry, Cline, Henning, Haggerty (D.P.), Fijozdal, Milliman, Towle, Myers (J.H.), Hogan (S.C.), Rode, Gorman (P.E.), Lane (D.), Walsh (J.J.), Hynes (J.J.), Redding (T.), Rooney (Wm.K.), Reul, Reilly (Thos.), Lewis (J.L.), Murray (P.J.), Kennedy (T.), Hall (L.), Green (Wm.), Hughes (F.), Fagan (P.T.), Boylan, Keough, McCoy

(R.T.), Frey, Reeves (W.D.), Weber (Jos.N.), Weaver (C.A.), Parks (J.W.), Bagley, Canavan (Edw.), Fetterman, Fremming, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (J.P.), Ackerley, Kauffman (H.), Burns (M.J.), Barry (H.P.), Wilson (J.), Collestan (M.J.), Rooney (J.E.), O'Keefe, Payne, Biehl, Coefield, Burke (T.E.), Rau (C.M.), Anderson (C.), Fallon (Wm.), Fallon (A.), Mahon (W.D.), Dineen, Regan (T.J.), Murray (M.J.), McLellan (N.), Collins, (W.M.), Strickland, Canavan (W.F.), Dempsey, Maloy (T.E.), Burke (J.F.), Soderberg, Hansen (F.C.), Tobin (D.J.), Hughes (T.L.), Gillespie, McLaughlin (J.), Goudie, McKenna (J.J.), Marion, Perham (H.B.), McInroy, Burr, Ellison (F.J.), Thomas (P.), McMahon (T.), Starr, Smith (Wm.), Evans (E.L.), Kohn, Hatch, McDonough, Manning (J.J.), Child, Egan, Gramling, Soderstrom, Sherman (M.E.), Hulsbeck, Woodsid, Cabral, Victor, Egan (J.V.), Sullivan (J.), Campbell (Joe.C.), Galagher (J.B.), Iglesias, Tracy (D.W.), Watson (R.), Haney (G.F.), Sidd, Dyer (M.), Campbell (Wm.W.), Quinn (J.C.), Scully (J.J.), McDonald (F.C.), Beauregard, Walls (H.), Martinez, Dorsey (G.), Levine (D.), Doyle (F. E.), Covert (W.P.), Walsh (M.), Alifas Crouch, Marquardt, Rogers (J.P.), Earley, Vacarelli, representing 24,390 votes.

Salt Lake City—Horn, Powlesland, Hoage, Rosqvist, Ross (E.J.), Thompson (M.I.), Cahill, representing 55 votes.

Not Voting—Noonan (A.T.), Kasten (Frank) Tracy (Wm.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Richard (H.E.), Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, Meyer (Andries), Rosemund, McNamara (J.F.), Morton (Jos.W.), Conroy (J.B.), Kaufman (M.), Greene (M.F.), Lawyer, Gordon, Marshall (H.S.), Moynihan, Scully (J.J.), Hannan (E.L.), Britton (W.W.), Suitor (Fred.W.), Mitchell (M.W.), Cullen, Kaiser (E.W.), O'Connell (James), Jewell, Stierle, Taylor (T.N.), Lawson (Geo.W.), Graham, Gill, Barry, Wilson (T.A.), Anderson (Gust), Bowden, Ohl, Jr. (Henry), Moser (C.J.), Ryan (Jeremiah), Lang, O'Connell (James), Koster, Malley (Jas.F.), Campbell (G.C.), Laude, McEwen, Machado, Sweeney (C.F.), Mueller (Gus), Carrigan (J.E.), Taylor (C.O.), Tucker, O'Dell, Becker (L.F.), Katz, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, McSpadden, Sumner (Steve), Long (C.D.), Watt, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Nealey, Dacey, Sheehan (Jas.P.), Distle, Slavens, Shave, Thompson (A.J.), Draper (P.M.), Finan (Jac.C.), Kelly (Wm.), Williams (N.E.), Donahue (M.J.), Bower (A.P.), Hartnett, Smethurst, Lawrence (Archie M.), Reed (Chas.L.), Granfield (Wm.A.), Fanning (M.J.), Jacobs (Jos.), Woodmansee, Gatelee, Fitz-Patrick (J.W.), Riley (C.A.), Callahan (Bernard), Taylor (J.C.), Donnelly (S.J.), Jones (L.E.), McGeory, Banks, Mack (A.E.), Bohm, Morse, Clow, Murphy (Mary G.), Walsh (Frank E.), Shaw (W.), Oglesby, Connors (Myles), Keeley (T.A.), Bradley, Carrozzo, Roberts (J.), Haffer, Cohen (M.), Flynn (M.J.), Randolph (A.P.), Webster (M.P.), Lawson (O. L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Hill (V.S.), Smith (Ida), Campbell (Edna), Granfield, Mitchell (Theodore), Fearn (Bertha), Miller (Mrs.J.), Cronin, Findlay, Shaw (A.), Stephenson (Wm.E.), representing 1,023 votes.

President Green: The City of Vancouver, having received a majority of the votes of this convention, is declared the convention city for 1931.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: On behalf of the international union I represent I wish at this time to express our great appreciation of the assistance rendered us by the American Federation of Labor in bringing about an amalgamation and settlement in the New York situation, and I am confident that the further assistance of the officials of the Federation will bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the entire situation. I hope that this will help to preserve and promote the welfare of organized labor. I wish also to assure this great American labor movement that our organization pledges itself to continue to assist in carrying out the best interests and doing everything possible for the welfare of the labor movement.

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF CLINT HOUSTON

Delegate Franklin read the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Our friend and Brother, Clint C. Houston, loyal and devoted member of our movement, veteran of many battles in the interest of freedom and human progress, has been taken from our midst while attending this convention as a chronicler of its proceedings; and

WHEREAS, Clint C. Houston was a veteran member of the International Typographical Union and long a member of the staff of "Labor," the organ of the Standard Railroad Unions; and

WHEREAS, Our departed brother was for many of the years of his life an editor in the labor movement, its able and fearless advocate and champion, and in all things the friend of the weak and the supporter of justice and trade unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to this Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that because of his sterling character, his faithfulness to the cause of organized labor, because of his nobility of character and the love he bore his fellow men and because of the admiration and affection borne him by the delegates to this convention and by thousands of those whom we represent, we hereby express our condolence and our profound grief, and that we write permanently into our records our

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

tribute to the memory of our friend and Brother, Clint C. Houston, as one who toiled for the glory of the cause of labor, unselfishly, unflinchingly, going to his last, long rest in the line of duty; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we express to the bereaved family our profound sympathy and sorrow and that we record our desire that copies of these resolutions, properly transcribed, be presented to the members of the family and to "Labor," whose representative he was in this convention.

JAMES B. CONNORS,
J. H. FRANKLIN,
B. M. JEWELL.

Delegate Franklin moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

President Green read the following announcement: The remains of our late brother, Clint C. Houston are at Waterman's undertaking establishment, 497 Commonwealth Avenue, and may be seen there after seven o'clock tonight and tomorrow morning. The

remains will be sent to Atlanta, Georgia, for interment. It is not possible at this time to say at what hour the funeral will be held here. Announcement will probably be made later.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

President Green: The Chair desires to thank the committee for the service rendered.

The two young ladies who canvassed the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention report that they have received \$1,021 for the Danville, Virginia strikers, \$821.00 being contributed by the delegates and \$200.00 by our very good friend as represented by the check to which I called your attention. I wish to express to all those in attendance who contributed to this collection my sincere thanks on behalf of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

At 5:45 o'clock p. m. the convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 17, the session on that date to be held at the Statler Hotel.

Ninth Day — Friday Morning Session

Boston, Massachusetts,
October 17, 1930.

The convention was called to order at 10:00 o'clock a.m., by President Green.

Absentees

Gillmore, Mullaney, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Richard, Flaherty, Cohen (S.), Kelley, Schulte, Coulter, Zuckerman, Meyer, Rosemund, Kaufman, Schlesinger, Cohen (M.), Desti, Marshall (H. S.), Wolff, Britton, Berry, Suitor, Mitchell (M.W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Stierle, Taylor (T. N.), Ross, Graham, Gill, Barry (J.L.), Wilson (T.A.), Anderson (G.), Bowden, Ohl, Moser (C.J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Belt, Laude, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, McSpadden, Sumner (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Dacey, Sheehan, Distle, Slavens, Shave, Kelly (W.), Williams, Donahue, Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Doyle (F.E.), Covert, Walsh (M.), Fitzpatrick, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Mack, Bohm, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Walsh (F.E.), Shaw, Connors (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Haffer, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampton, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Hill, Campbell (E.), Mitchell (T.), Miller.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I want to report that my co-delegate, Brother Pryor, is again in bed and quite ill.

Delegate Bannister, Railway Clerks: Mr. Chairman, the delegation of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, acting under instructions from their convention, operate under the unit rule. During my absence yesterday a caucus was held and I did not know they had reached a majority decision to support a certain convention city. It is our law and I desire to recognize law when it is such, and for the benefit of the record I want to change my vote in favor of Vancouver as the convention city, concurring in the unit rule expression.

President Green: If there is no objection the correction in the record will be made as requested by Brother Bannister. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Delegate James O'Connell, Secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

Affiliation of Local Unions With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Arthur J. Beauregard of the Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union.

WHEREAS, There are several local unions throughout the country not affiliated with state branches, central bodies or building trade councils; and

WHEREAS, We found that in most instances it was some officer or officers' personal reasons and not by action of the locals that they were not in these departments; and

WHEREAS, These same officers not only handicap these departments by not being affiliated and working along for the principle of organized labor, but in most cases belittle these organizations and their officers, thereby setting a bad example for other crafts within these departments, causing unrest and in some cases some locals withdrawing from these branches of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Mass., October 6, 1930, shall change Article eleven (11), section two (2), of constitution to read, "All local unions connected with National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall have their President notify all local unions of that trade, to affiliate with State Branches, Central Bodies and Building Trade Councils where same are organized within their territory and unless said notification be complied with within six (6) months, their charter shall be revoked."

The provisions of this resolution are contrary to the practice and policies of the American Federation of Labor. The affiliated national and international organizations are guaranteed the right to administer all matters pertaining to their internal affairs. Therefore we non-concur in the resolution, and recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor make a special effort during the year to bring about a more complete affiliation of all local unions with the city central and state federations of labor and that he by letter to the executives of all the affiliated national and international organizations request them to circularize their local

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

unions urging the affiliation of any that are not now affiliated with the city central bodies or the state federations of labor, in order that a complete affiliation of these organizations may be brought about at the earliest possible date.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 67

This resolution was withdrawn by the introducer, therefore no report on the part of the committee is necessary.

Delegate O'Connell: This completes the report of the Committee on Laws, which is signed:

MARTIN F. RYAN, Chairman,
JAMES O'CONNELL, Secy.,
DENNIS LANE,
JEREMIAH DINNEEN,
A. J. KUGLER,
THOMAS McMAHON,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
FRANK DOYLE,
THOMAS C. CASHEN,
WILLIAM TRACY,
CHARLES W. FREY,
ABRAHAM KATOVSKY,
THOS. FLYNN,
LEO WORTHALL,
WM. ROONEY,
MAX ZARITSKY,
W. D. REEVES.

Delegate O'Connell moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Laws as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council. This report contains the report of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress last September. The report will appear in the printed proceedings of today's sessions.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor,

Greetings:

The British Trades Union Congress was convened in Albert Hall, Nottingham, England, on September 1, and the usual addresses of

welcome were made by the Honorable Lord Mayor, Mr. W. Wesson, a member of Typographical Union; the High Sheriff, Mr. W. Hooley; the Town Clerk, Mr. W. J. Board, and the President of the Nottingham Trades Council, Mr. B. Hewing.

After these addresses had been responded to by President Beard the report of the Secretary was read, which disclosed there were 606 accredited delegates, a slight increase over last year. An approximate increase in membership of 75,000 was reported, as was also an increase in unions affiliated to the Congress. The financial report indicated the treasury to be in a healthy condition.

The report of the General Council was exceedingly comprehensive, treating as it did in detail with all of the activities of the General Council during the past year. The report discussed some 180 subjects, many of them related, and the discussion of these subjects by the delegates, while at times heated, was intelligent and highly informative.

In addition to this report the agenda contained 57 resolutions and nine composite resolutions were considered in conjunction with the following subjects: Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act of 1927; Compensation to Workers Displaced by Amalgamation and Rationalization; Unemployment; Shop (hours of employment) Bill; Reorganization and Rationalization; Payment for Holidays; Hours of Work; Fair Wage Clause and Organization of Commercial Travelers.

As has been the case in recent conventions of the American Federation of Labor, unemployment and displacement of workers by machinery and mergers received the major attention and discussion, nearly all of this debate taking place under the resolutions relating to rationalization and unemployment. Copies of these resolutions are attached to this report.

One of the most intensely debated questions was that of "Family Allowances," the subject matter of Resolution 45 and a recommendation of the General Council.

The General Council in its report had recommended that a minority report of a Commission appointed to study this subject be the policy of the Congress. Resolution 45 had for its object the placing of funds on a national scale in the hands of individual families for the support of dependent mothers and children, while the General Council advocated that instead of embarking on a new policy this fund should be administered by the Department of Government already charged with similar work. The recommendation of the General Council was adopted.

As a whole the convention was constructive and harmonious, the delegates seeming to be striving to arrive at agreement rather than dissension. The work of the convention was highly educative in character to your delegates, as the debates and the method of conducting the business of the convention were entirely different to ours. In addition to your delegates the following fraternal delegates addressed the convention: Mr. C. Dickie, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; Mr. B. Shiva Roa, representing the East Indian Labor Movement; Mr. W. Schevenels, representing the International Federation of

Trade Unions: Right Honorable Clynes, M. P., representing the Labor Party, and Mr. W. Halls, representing the Co-operative Movement of Great Britain.

The work of the convention was concluded on September 5 by the election of the 32 members of the General Council and choosing J. Beard, member of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and Mr. F. Wolstencroft, member of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, as Fraternal Delegates to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor, and A. B. Swales, member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Your delegates were accorded every possible attention and courtesy by the officers and delegates to the convention during our stay at Nottingham, and we were royally entertained from the moment of our arrival in the convention city until the close of the convention, by a special committee which had been appointed for that purpose.

Taken as a whole, there were many opportunities presented for us to gain valuable information of working and social conditions in Europe during our stay, for which sincere thanks and appreciation are extended, not only for this opportunity but for the very high honor of representing the American labor movement at the convention of the British Trades Union Congress, all of which is fraternally submitted.

JOHN J. MANNING,
THOMAS E. MALOY.

President Green: I have also in my hand a copy of an agreement entered into some time ago between the machinists and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. It has been reported to me that it would be appreciated by the representatives of these two organizations if this agreement regarding jurisdiction might appear in the proceedings of this convention. If there are no objections this will be done. Hearing none it is so ordered. Following is the agreement:

**AGREEMENT
TORONTO, ONT., CAN.**

Agreement entered into between the International Association of Machinists, herein-after referred to as the I. A. of M., and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of North America, hereinafter referred to as the I. A. of T. S. E.

The intention of the following agreement is to bring about harmonious understandings between the members of these organizations to the end, that by cooperation and assisting each other, better conditions as well as control of our respective jurisdictions may be enjoyed by both organizations.

1. It is understood by both parties that members of the I. A. of T. S. E. are recognized to have jurisdiction, to have charge of,

to adjust, and operate all projectors and all appliances connected therewith.

2. It is understood by both parties that members of the I. A. of M. are recognized as having jurisdiction over the processes in the manufacturing of motion picture machines.

2a. It is agreed that members of the I. A. of T. S. E. shall have jurisdiction over the setting up and taking down of motion picture machines in such places as they are used for exhibition purposes.

3. It is agreed by both parties that when temporary emergency running repairs are necessary the operator will make such repairs that are necessary to keep machine in operation.

4. It is understood by both parties that all operators who as a sideline repair machines at their homes or in shops shall become members of the I. A. of M.

5. Both parties to this agreement shall endeavor to assist each other to draw up, and enter into with all shows and such other places that might be affected, an agreement or understanding that will recognize and employ members of both organizations on their respective work.

6. It at any time a dispute arises between the parties to this agreement, that cannot be adjusted by the business representatives of the organizations in their respective localities, the matter in dispute shall be referred to the International Presidents of the organizations who shall either personally or by authorized representatives meet and adjust the matter at the earliest opportunity.

7. It is understood that this agreement does not abridge or trespass the recognized jurisdiction of other organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Signed,

A. O. WHARTON,
President I. A. of M.
WM. F. CANAVAN,
President I. A. T. S. E.

Witnessed by:

T. A. RICKERT.

This agreement will not be operative until approved by the proper tribunal of the respective organizations, parties hereto.

It is, however, agreed that both international presidents will urge the acceptance and adoption of the agreement when proposed to such proper tribunals.

Approved December 10, 1929, by Executive Committee of I. A. of M., A. O. Wharton, International President.

Approved by General Executive Board and Los Angeles Convention, July, 1930.

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.

New York, N. Y.,
September 6, 1930.

Mr. A. O. Wharton,
International President,
International Association of Machinists,
Machinists Bldg., 9th Street and Mt. Vernon
Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Replying to your letter dated July 31, you are hereby officially advised of the ratification

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

by our International Convention of the agreement entered into between the International Association of Machinists and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, and witnessed by Thomas A. Rickett, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. Such agreement, with your approval, will become effective immediately.

I trust that the action of the respective organizations will be highly beneficial to both in aiding in the solution of our mutual problems.

With best wishes, I am,
Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. F. CANAVAN,
International President.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Modification of the Volstead Act

The committee recommends adoption of that part of the report of the Executive Council entitled, "Modification of the Volstead Act," which appears on page 114 of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Repeal of the Volstead Act

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Arthur J. Beauregard of the Providence Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, The enactment of the Volstead Law has failed completely to bring about the Utopia promised by its advocates, but instead has brought about a condition abhorrent to constitutional government as a result of wholesale and retail bootlegging, hi-jacking, cutting booch, wood alcohol, gang warfare, speakeasies, smuggling across the borders on both land and sea, commercialized justice, and government by padlock and injunction; and

WHEREAS, The people are aroused to the danger confronting the country as the result of the Volstead Law; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in previous conventions has declared itself in favor of modification; and

WHEREAS, There is a sentiment now sweeping the country for the repeal of the 18th Amendment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Mass., October 6, shall go on record favoring the repeal of the Volstead law.

In view of the action of the convention in adopting the report of the Executive Council

on "Modification of the Volstead Act," the committee recommends that Resolution No. 4 be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I do not desire to discuss this resolution but I intend to discuss the resolution introduced by the delegation that I represent. I do not want to have it understood by the adoption of this resolution that it will shut off discussion on the other resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: It is being reported on separately.

Delegate Beauregard, Providence Central Federated Union: As the introducer of that resolution I want to say that after attending the meeting of the committee we are in accord with the recommendations for modification, but we felt that this should be submitted to the convention for two reasons. One is that here in the east we are told that our southern brothers and sisters are opposed to modification or repeal in any way, shape or form. We have them here with us. That was one of the reasons, that we know from past experience that they would not object if we in the east and our brothers in the middle west and in other sections desired to modify the 18th Amendment. We will all agree it is a menace to our country.

The other reason for bringing this in here was because the law enforcement commission is now in session, I believe, and I gather that whichever way the convention goes on record it will bring considerable weight on that commission. We are in favor of the modification. However, I attended the committee meeting and they converted me, but I want the brothers to be assured that unless it goes through, a year from now I am going to present the same resolution. I notify you to that effect now, Mr. Chairman.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Declaring for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Kovel- eski, Conrad Schott and Agnes McInnis of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That we shall work first and foremost for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end of casting out this solitary sumptuary statute, the intrusion of which into constitutional realms has so severely hurt our country. The question of whether prohibition or regulation is the more effective relation of government to the liquor traffic is utterly subordinate to the distortion of our Federal Constitution by compelling it to en-

the burden of a task which is an affair for the police powers of each of our forty-eight separate and sovereign States, and never should be the business of the Federal Government.

The ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor lies beyond the mere modification of any enforcement statute in any jurisdiction, State or Federal. The cancer of the present and the threat of the future remain with us until this invasion of our Federal Constitution is repealed and removed. We will not stop in our efforts until the operation is complete.

In passing we favor any and all modifications of enforcement acts corollary to the Eighteenth Amendment which will temper the fanatical excesses and absurdities of these acts. Sensible and creditable modifications of this kind will soon become facts. But they will be aided by us solely as measures of temporary and partial relief, antecedent to the ultimate and entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That, in place of the Federal Prohibition, we favor the installation by the States of a method of controlled and restricted distribution which will prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for unconscionable profits, and not only do away with prevailing speak-easies and secret drinking, but prevent the reappearance of any unregulated system and the political iniquities which accompanied it.

In view of the action of the Convention in adopting the report of the Executive Council on "Modification of the Volstead Act," the committee recommends that Resolution No. 29 be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman, I had hoped that the committee might bring in the resolutions just read and give the delegates an opportunity to discuss them as to their merits without being handicapped by the adoption of previous resolutions, but of course I understand the clever maneuvering on the part of the committee which ties our hands so that possibly we are not in position now to present our matter to the convention in the form we would like.

We are not opposed to the modification of the Volstead Act and that is set forth in our resolution. For that reason we offered no opposition to the resolution first read and adopted.

We do say this, however, that sooner or later the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have got to appreciate and take action of some kind on this great question that is involving our country in the disgraceful conditions it has come into at the present time. It is true that modification of the present law will possibly eliminate some of the evils attached to the 18th Amendment, but unless we have the revocation of that amendment and return to the states' rights method of dealing with prohibition and the use of liquor for beverage purposes, we will get little redress from our Federal Government.

The delegation of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers are in favor of the repeal of the 18th Amendment. We are in favor, as the resolution says and as you have voted this morning, of a modification of the Volstead Law until such time as the efforts of the people of this country are successful in taking the 18th Federal Amendment from the statute books of our country. We say this, that while there is considerable pessimism about the possibility of ever being able to secure a sufficient number of states to take this law from the statute books, yet if you will think back a few years they used to laugh and sneer just as loudly at the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League in those days and the possibility of their being able to put into effect the Volstead Law in a country such as ours, where liberty and freedom are supposed to exist. A year ago I was possibly as pessimistic about ever repealing this law as most of the delegates here today, but in the past year many of our leading citizens in all walks of life, many organizations have changed their views on this subject. There is an educational movement going forward today and I predict in a very few years it is bound to bring about a repeal of this drastic and unfortunate condition that is confronting us at the present time.

Secondly, the feeling is gradually changing in the states and government, and I venture this thought, that while we are afraid at this convention to discuss or to act upon this resolution, and recommend its non-concurrence, in one year from today, if conditions go on as they have been going in the past year, I am sure the sentiment of our convention will change and that the Committee on Resolutions, whoever they may be, will look with more favorable consideration upon a resolution of this character.

The resolution speaks for itself. There isn't any necessity of my going into details. We favor as the ultimate goal, the repeal of the 18th Federal Amendment. Until that is possible we favor any method or any means by which a modification of the Volstead Act, which is a part of the 18th Federal Amendment, can be made effective.

We want to be recorded, Mr. President, as being against the committee's report in so far as non-concurrence in the resolution is concerned. The delegation wishes to be recorded that way.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I ask to be recorded as voting in the negative.

Anti-Injunction Legislation

The injunction problem, as referred to the Committee on Resolutions, is presented in the Report of the Executive Council on page 107, under the title, "Anti-Injunction Legislation," and is also referred to in the last four full paragraphs on page 80 of the Council's report,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

in connection with the subject, "Right to Organize."

Under the title, "Anti-Injunction Legislation," the Council submits a copy of the anti-injunction bill prepared by a sub-committee of the Committee on Judiciary of the United States Senate as a substitute for S-2497. The substitute bill, we understand, will come up for consideration in the Senate at the next session of Congress in December under a divided report submitted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, a majority of the committee presenting a report in opposition to the measure and a minority reporting in favor of its passage. The substitute bill follows the general outline of the bill as endorsed at the Toronto convention a year ago. There are, however, some substantial differences between the bill as approved at Toronto and as reported by the Senate committee.

The most vital departure from the provisions of the bill as endorsed at Toronto occurs in the declaration of public policy contained in Section 2. This can, and should be, remedied by appropriate amendments when the bill comes up for consideration in the Senate. The Executive Council, we are advised, is prepared to urge action in this respect at the proper moment. The declaration of public policy as contained in the bill as approved at the Toronto convention relates wholly to the rights of organization and collective action. In the substitute bill, as reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, this is modified in such manner as to emphasize individual rather than group action.

We believe that the Executive Council has acted wisely in urging that the bill be reported out of committee and we congratulate the officers of the American Federation of Labor upon their success in having this done. It was the only practical way in which progress could be made towards the final enactment of effective anti-injunction legislation.

Your committee recommends that the action of the Toronto convention be reaffirmed in that the Executive Council be again authorized to provide for such changes or amendments in or additions to the anti-injunction bill as, in the judgment of the Council, may seem necessary. It would be manifestly unwise to prevent the Executive Council from using any judgment in the matter by issuing rigid instructions as to the precise language which must appear in any legislation which we seek to have enacted. That course would

simply serve as a barrier which would make it practically impossible to obtain legislative action. Our duty now, in relation to this matter, is to give the Council fullest measure of support in an effort to make further progress in Congress towards the enactment of anti-injunction legislation.

Under the direction of the Executive Council, all state federations of labor have submitted questionnaires to every candidate for Congress in their respective jurisdictions to ascertain the attitude of such candidates towards the pending anti-injunction bill. The Council recommends that candidates who decline to support the measure should be opposed in the coming congressional elections and those who favor the bill should be supported.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the position taken by the Executive Council in this respect and further recommends that the officers and members of the entire American labor movement be urged to take an active interest in the campaign to secure the enactment of legislation needed to relieve labor from the injunction incubus which now hampers the workers of America in their efforts to improve their standards of life and labor.

In that section of the report dealing with the "Right to Organize," the Executive Council, in the last four full paragraphs on page 80, points out that the misuse of injunctions in industrial disputes is a major obstacle against the efforts of the workers to exercise their organization right. That fact cannot be reiterated too often. It should be stated again and again until the people become fully conscious of the grave menace involved in the growing misuse of injunctions in both federal and state courts.

It is not only the liberties of working people that are being challenged by the misuse of the injunction power by the courts. The injunction evil, under which the workers suffer most, is now being extended to restrict the constitutional activities of other citizens, including even writers and editors, who remained silent while the workers were being engulfed and made no protest until they, themselves, were made victims.

The Government of the United States is being steadily altered from its original form, under which the constitution and the law were supreme, to a form in which individuals sitting as judges in our equity courts act as

dictators, disregarding the constitutional rights of citizens and ignoring the laws of the land. There is an opportunity now to bring about a thorough discussion of this problem in the Congress of the United States by pressing vigorously for the passage of the pending anti-injunction bill, with such amendments as may prove necessary. Success will depend largely upon the response by the officers and members of affiliated unions to the call of the Executive Council for action in the coming congressional elections.

The officers and members of every affiliated national and international union, the officers and delegates of every state federation of labor and city central body and the officers and members of every local union are urged to do their utmost to bring about the election of congressional candidates favorable to our cause and to secure the defeat of those who stand for a continuance of the present injunction evil.

We recommend approval of the Report of the Executive Council on this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen

Mr. President and members of the convention—It is not a pleasant thing to stand here for the second time on the one subject substantially alone. When the Clayton Act was adopted, or rather when it was under consideration, there are men in this convention who know that I was completely and absolutely opposed to it, and I stated that it would make conditions worse instead of better. When it was passed and the labor movement was felicitated—I think that is the word that was used—upon the great victory, I felt completely and absolutely out of harmony with what took place, but I realized that the water was over the dam and nothing further could be done.

At the present time the water is not yet over the dam. Final action will not be taken in this convention. Final action will not be taken in the Congress of the United States in the coming session. This thing is too fundamental, this thing is too awful in its consequences to permit of its being disposed of by that Congress of the United States in the short session.

I do hope with the rest that there will be a discussion, that the Senate will take it up and discuss it, and when it does I want to warn you now that you are going to have some peculiar buzzing around your ears. My reasons for saying this are based on more than thirty years of study in which I tried to rid myself of pre-accepted notions. I have tried to find first what was the abuse, and second, what is the remedy. I have to ask for your patience and I will have to ask the

Chair to give me the necessary time, so that I can explain to this convention the reasons for the faith that is in me. It will take some time to do it. If the convention should feel disposed not to give the time of course there isn't anything for me but to accept and say most emphatically from the bottom of my soul that I know you will regret the action you are bound to take here today.

My reasons for the faith that is in me lie in the very essence of the history and polity of the United States. I know there are men that claim to understand or want to talk about this thing, but when it comes to the test, there will be men, there must be men, who know enough of the history of the United States to ask everybody to stop, look and listen. I am going to try to give you the ideas that I have, the reasons for the faith that is in me.

In the Colonial times the government of the colonies was a government by discretion vested in the power of the King. It was a government based on the prerogative of the King. It was a government in which the colonies step by step, learned to protest. In doing so these colonies went back to fundamentals and said that free men have a right to organize, and where they are not violating law applicable to the individual they have a right, in combination, to do what that individual has a right to do alone. Voluntary associations of free men for mutual support and protection gradually arose in every one of the colonies. These organizations for mutual aid and protection finally met in convention and they adopted the Declaration of Independence, and in proper respect to the opinions of mankind they issued a statement of why they wanted to divorce themselves from the mother country. After having laid down the fundamental upon which they believed government should be based, which is that all men are created equal, that they are by their Creator endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which is the right to life, the right to liberty and the right to the pursuit of happiness—and without the right to life and the right to liberty there can be no pursuit of happiness—after having laid this down as a fundamental they enumerated the different complaints they had against the mother country and the government, especially against the King, because the mother country was to a large extent in sympathy with them. It was against the King that they directed their complaints and they said, "He has refused to pass proper laws." I am not quoting exactly and I won't take up the time to look it up and see that I do, but I want to give the substance of it to you. They said, "We are not governed by law, we are governed by Royal discretion. The laws that we are trying to pass he vetoes, and instead of giving us courts of law he gives us courts of chancery, court of admiralty, which is equity under another name." An Equity court is fundamentally a court of conscience, or, as the English call it, a chancery court.

Of course the King wanted to stop it, and so he sent the necessary troops. The patriots, trying to make good, went to fighting.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

What for? The right for the pursuit of happiness, based upon the right to live and the right to freedom. Voluntary associations for mutual aid and protection, organized by free men, were the swaddling clothes and the fundamental ideas of this Government of ours, and it is the fundamental idea of the labor movement that trades unions or labor organizations in their essence is the association or coming together of free men for the purpose of mutual aid and mutual protection.

As the King raised his objection to the action of these voluntary associations in the several colonies and through the action of their convention, so the Government of the United States, in passing the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, did exactly the same thing. Prior to the Civil War definitions of what constitute a man made a liar out of the Declaration of Independence, the first Constitution of the United States. No one was recognized as a man unless he was white. Everybody else was not a man and hence could be held in slavery. The public conscience gradually revolted against it, and if some action had been taken in time, that frightful disaster, the Civil War, would have been prevented. But no, it seems almost foreordained that great changes in human society have got to be bought by the blood of men and the tears of women. So there was no help for it. But when the war was over and the 13th Amendment was passed there was an activity in the people of the United States gradually growing, such as had not been exercised in the world for more than eight centuries. You well know about the organizations of labor, you know about the Knights of Labor, you know about the Greenback movement, you know about the cooperative banking movement, you know about all the different kinds of movements that were running forward and backward through the country between 1850 and 1890, and the people became more and more conscious of their power and of their knowledge and of their desire. Those who dealt with the policy of the United States were seeking for a way to prevent the fruition of that movement which was running through the country. And so they adopted, over the protests of farsighted and very honest men, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It was opposed by Stewart of Nevada, Teller of Colorado, Hoar of Massachusetts, and others, and there was one man who never stopped for a minute in his opposition. That was George, of Mississippi. He said that this thing would be used against the farmers and the working people. He said, "It is handing them over mercilessly in their ignorance and helplessness to the intellectually strong men who want to establish another form of government in the United States." He said, "I cannot sit silently watching this." Again I am not quoting his words exactly, it is the substance of them I am trying to give you.

What was it that they did in passing the Sherman Law? You have not been reading it, I guess. If you had, you have evidently not been taking the trouble to get to understand it. And here I read:

"Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise or conspiracy

in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations is hereby declared to be illegal."

Voluntary association of free men for the purpose of mutual aid and protection is herein outlawed.

"Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court."

Here you have a criminal statute making the thing on which the United States based its struggle for independence a crime. But of course being made a crime it was to be tried in the usual way by indictment, by testimony in the open court, by trial before the petit jury, a jury to judge of the facts. The men who passed this thing knew just as well as the King did that a jury would not convict in the colonies, so his edicts were in law insignificant. The men who passed this law knew very well that if this law came before the juries there would be very few convictions and certainly very few as applied to the working people. And so they gave jurisdiction to the Equity Court to enforce this law.

And so for the first time in the history of the United States they did provide that the law might be and should be enforced by equity. The means of enforcing anything by equity is by injunction. When a court sits in equity it sits as the kings in Europe, it sits as the King of Great Britain prior to the second revolution against the Stuarts. Then the King abdicated the power to do justice as he saw fit, and then for the first time the English Parliament and the English people had an opportunity to do justice as they saw fit and to have no one to say them nay.

This power came to us by being mentioned in the Constitution once, just like habeas corpus, like trial by jury, like maritime jurisdiction. We took it from England then, with of course the right to modify it as they shall feel inclined, through the people, however, through constitutional amendment. The result of this law was to set aside every constitutional limitation. You know that it set aside over and over again trial by jury. You know that there cannot be an injunction issued without violating the First Amendment to the Constitution. You know that when the court sits in equity it is bound by nothing but its own conscience. If you don't know it it is time you did. Enforcing law by equity, making equity superior to the law, giving to the lawyers the opportunity of avoiding the laborious effort of trial by jury—and it is a very easy thing to file some affidavits before a friendly judge, have an injunction issued, and then let the judge determine what constitutes a violation and what penalty shall be applied to all by virtue of his conscience.

The thing caused tremendous agitation. Then we went before Congress and we got what we consented to accept—the Clayton Act.

It was supposed to be an amendment. Did it take away from the courts, did it repeal the propositions that law should be enforced by equity, by injunction? No. What else did it really do? It said in Section 6 that if the trades union or labor organization does not violate law, no injunction shall issue. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law shall not apply to labor organizations unless they violate laws, but here you have the law which makes any contract—and what is the thing we do when we organize? We make a contract with each other, a combination, that is what we do. We combine together. Or a conspiracy—what is it that we do but apply legal methods to do illegal acts, or illegal acts to legal measures? Necessarily we are violating the law, and so no matter what we do, when the equity court has jurisdiction then Congress cannot at all determine its actions. It has got no such authority from the Constitution. It can act for the protection of property and for protection of property alone.

Further than that, of course, they can extend the definition of things, and so they have extended the definition of property, so that everything that man is entitled to—the right to life has become property, the right to liberty has become a property right, and the right to the pursuit of happiness has, under this legislation, become a property right. And while the Sherman law says only the government can use equity, the Clayton law says every Tom, Dick and Harry can use it.

Now the Clayton Act came into the district courts. The district courts disagreed about it. The courts of appeal disagreed about it and it came to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the *Truax vs. Corrigan* case was the very first case in which it came there. The state of Arizona provided for use of equity for every citizen and exempted labor from the jurisdiction of it. The Supreme Court of Arizona sustained the constitution of Arizona, and when it came to the United States Supreme Court it was overruled and that part of the constitution of Arizona that exempted labor from the operation was wiped out of the Constitution on the grounds that this nation recognizes no distinction before the law. There must here be equality before the law. And here the constitution of Arizona had put the labor organizations either above the people as a whole or below them as a whole. Choose for yourselves. You know blessed well that it meant below and cannot mean anything else in the practical sense.

In the *Duplex* case the Supreme Court went into a careful analysis of the Clayton Act and substantially said that it was nothing except what the proper equity and the highest kind of equity would command, but it had been decided, by this time that the right to do business is a property right, the right to patronage of the vicinity is a property right of the business conducted. Good will is a property right, and all of it therefore subject to the jurisdiction of the equity courts. The court said in *Truax vs. Corrigan* that a court could and ought to deny equal protection of the law to all the people. In other words everything we do, personal relations, sex relations, trade relations, everything is within the equity jurisdiction of the Equity Court, if part of the people are subject to it.

And what now do you recommend in your bill, what is it that you do? You put your O. K. on all these things and you hold out your hands for the shackles and say, "Please put them on, but please don't hurt too much." You will not look squarely at the thing itself. You must repeal Section 4 of the Sherman Law, you must repeal the same identical section of the same power given by every state that has passed a similar law. You must repeal it out of the Volstead Law, you must repeal it out of every kind of legislation that has been enacted by the states and the nation if you are going to preserve the polity of the United States, such as the fathers conceived it and such as I knew it to be when, as a double-headed Dutchman I renounced allegiance to my own country and sought citizenship in the United States. Why? Because already, then, I understood that America was different from all others. Here we say "the people of the United States" and we select men for congressional honors in the Senate and in the House to represent us nationally. We protest against tying the hands of labor by legislative provisions which provide for abolishing the limitation of the Federal power. Every cross road judge of a state or nation sitting in Equity somewhere being urged by his friends will tie the hands and feet of labor upon their request. It has gone to the extent of taking from the state the right to pass legislation because it might interfere with property. How can they pass legislation that does not interfere with property rights, when property right is made to cover all human relations? Labor is a body to call attention to the evils under which we live and enter protest against those evils, and, so far as we know, to submit some remedy, but that is not at all necessary to accept this modern, damnable philosophy, that you cannot protest against a wrong without furnishing a remedy. You accept that kind of a slogan and you might just as well adjourn. You accept that government by law is to be superseded and will be enforced by equity and you have no valid reason for your existence as a union or a federation.

Now what are you doing in this bill? You are saying in the first six sections that you shall have a right to do this, that or the other thing. That is superfluous because those rights are given by the Constitution of the United States, but in Section 7 you authorize the issuing of injunctions to prevent the violation of law. As long as you do that the equity court has jurisdiction, and having jurisdiction, mind you, no matter what some lawyer may tell you, when the equity court has jurisdiction it is responsible to nothing and nobody, and the proof of that you will find not only in the *Duplex* case but in the *Stonemasons' case*. In the *Stonemasons'* case they didn't do anything except to refuse to finish the cutting of the stone, but they did combine for this purpose, they contracted with each other to do that kind of thing, and so they came within the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and they came within the kind of a bill that you now are endorsing.

Section 7:

"No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary or permanent injunction in any case involv-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ing or growing out of a labor dispute, as herein defined."—

All right, let us see what the definition is:
"By all lawful means aiding"—

You have got the right to aid by all lawful means—

"Any person participating or interested in any labor dispute who is being proceeded against in, or is prosecuting, any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any state."

This language means nothing. Section 1 of the Sherman Law still stands. Section 4 of the Sherman Law still stands. Why should we be willing to accept this? I don't accuse the men who do it, God forbid. I agree that we have no better friends than the sub-committee. I agree to that, but they have not been fairly dealt with. We came there and asked, as a result of the Los Angeles convention and the New Orleans convention, for bills that would repeal this thing, that would repeal Section 4, or we thought it would, that would restore the definition of property—or we thought it would. How many of the labor lawyers that came before the committee supported this bill? Not one—because I do not consider Mr. Martin, of Seattle, a labor lawyer. He does some work for labor organizations now and then with the other work he does, and he should not be called a labor lawyer. He was the only one.

The other lawyers came in to fight the bill—they were men who had spent a few days in law school. They knew how easy it is to get your case disposed of before the equity judge, if you get the right one. Then came the professors and teachers of equity from the Colleges. Teachers of equity—what are they teaching? Necessarily that equity is superior and should be used to enforce the law. You can't find in the book of Professor Frankfurter any definition of law or of equity. What might we expect?

If you are in a quarrel about religion, if you as a Protestant or as a doubting Catholic have some question to ask and some investigation to make about the Holy Trinity or about the Immaculate Conception, would you go to a Catholic priest for it? The Catholic priest will tell you what he believes. The professor, the equity lecturer of a university, being an honest man—and they are all honest men—if he can from his rostrum tell his students that equity is to be used as superior to law and you put in his hands the question of how to train this wild animal, equity, cut his claws, what will he do? Being an honest man he will tell you that you ought not do this, that or the other thing.

Now that is what the bill is. You want it. I can't stop you, but there are a couple of questions I would like to put and I would like to have them honestly and squarely answered and then I am through. Was there, prior to 1890, any real, authoritative decision giving good will and business the right of equity protection? Was there, prior to 1890, any decision by a higher court that made the right to carry on business a property right to be protected by equity? Was there, prior to

1890, any man denied a trial by jury and sentenced to jail for six months, and then when that man appealed to supreme courts was he answered that Congress gave us this jurisdiction and of course intended that we should use it—it is the amendment of a law that you want, but it is the right kind of an amendment, it is not the bidding of the judges to be good and kind, it is what the Englishmen did with the thing that said you can't have this jurisdiction any longer.

Now, in conclusion, I want to ask you to remember the hundreds of thousands of men who are working in involuntary servitude in the middle of this country and elsewhere, and then I want to call your attention for just a moment to the fact that you have been talking largely about the yellow dog contract. You are right in everything you say about it except one thing, and Senator Wagner put his finger on the trouble when he said: "The yellow dog is a fang without venom."

"No workman has ever been sued in a court of law for violating such a promise. But in a court of equity, through the injunction, such promises are given the most extraordinary protection available in American jurisprudence."

Now I want to read what Senator Wagner said in talking about this question:

"For thirty years we have agitated against the labor injunction. From every labor platform has resounded the denunciation of government by injunction. Bills in the federal and state legislatures have been passed with loud acclaim greeting the prophecy of their advocates that all the abuses of the injunction were thereby remedied. We thought we had changed the law. We believed we had modified the procedure so as to conform a little more closely to our notions of justice and fair play. And now after three decades of excitement the distance we have traveled is too short to be measured."

I command to your serious consideration these words of one of the great lawyers in the country, "The distance we have traveled in thirty years is so small that it cannot be measured." You must have been traveling on the wrong road, you must have taken the wrong fork when the roads forked. You must have been traveling on the wrong road all the time—and you have. You stopped to look and listen for a minute and then you changed around and went back to the same old road. You go on traveling the road you are traveling now and you haven't got a great many more American Federation of Labor conventions to attend.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Woll of the committee.

Vice-President Woll

I regret personally, as well as on behalf of the committee, that we are required to answer some of the statements made by our good friend, Andrew Furuseth, because we are placed unfortunately in the position of dis-

senting from some of the opinions expressed, statements made, interpretations enunciated, expressed and implied, which, under existing circumstances, is not helpful to the general labor movement in trying to solve this most serious problem confronting the wage earning class. I do not exempt even unemployment, for without the right of organization to function freely and fully, all incidents of the employment relationship cannot be adequately, fully, or satisfactorily adjusted.

The previous speaker went into the historical development of the equity power. I shall not attempt to place before my understanding of the development of the equity powers of courts, from the days of its origin until the present time, but I shall confine myself to the statement made by the previous speaker that in the Colonial days the right to organize, the right of wage earners to do fully and freely as they pleased was unrestricted, and that the Constitution as originally adopted gave that distinctive right. If the previous speaker has studied Colonial history, if he has studied judicial decisions and acts of the Colonial legislatures with relation to employment relationship, he will find that the old law of master and servant applied. He will find that for two or more to combine for the purpose of interfering with wages or hours of work in any way was an unlawful conspiracy. He will find that labor could only organize under the assumption for mutual benefit arrangements, and not industrial or trade relations. That is the law of the Colonial plan, and not as stated by him, and it took many years and great struggle and strife on the part of labor to be accorded those fundamental economic rights.

As a matter of fact, we have in Adam Smith's Philosophy of Economy the policy so rigidly applied in Colonial days and in the early days of the United States Government within the respective states.

So much for that, because I shall not attempt to take up much time of this convention. He speaks about the constitutional right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and we are given the impression that immediately upon the adoption of the Constitution by the thirteen colonies all these restraints upon the wage earning class were removed, and that the right of organization was fully given to us. Let us see—and I shall only deal with this briefly. This right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness declared for in the Constitution—did it specifically delegate any power to the national government at that time to give expression or even interpretation to that language? No, for the predication upon which our relations of state to state and state to the nation are concerned, that power was reserved to the states to do as they might please and was not a restriction upon them. Do you question the validity of that statement? Then I ask, how was it possible that there might be ownership, exclusive ownership of the human body of the black man if the Constitution itself freed labor, made men free economically? And certainly you know as well as I do that the black man continued to be a slave after the adoption of the Constitution.

That is the understanding our forefathers had. That is the interpretation they placed

upon the Constitution as they themselves adopted it, conceding the right of working men to have the exclusive control over the black man. And then we are told that the Constitution as interpreted by our forefathers gave to every man life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, an unalienable, natural right. It did not, and it required a civil strife and a constitutional amendment to accomplish that aim. The 13th Amendment is the one that established that freedom, and when was that adopted? At the thirty-eighth session of Congress, and not when the Constitution itself was made. So if we want to have true historical facts let us not color them to meet our own conceptions, but let us view them as facts.

Mr. Furuseth justifies that by saying it was a false application of this doctrine. Well, if our forefathers, who certainly must have known what they were doing, who understood the language they were using, who themselves understood their application when they permitted ownership in man to continue and when it required an amendment to the Constitution later on to change the original conception—surely I would not say that that was a false interpretation of our forefathers. Yes, a wrongful one, but not a false one.

He speaks of the Sherman Law, and I agree fully with him that the Sherman Law, if rigidly applied, would outlaw the labor organizations, and if he was to take this position and say that that law ought to be repealed I repeat for one would be heartily in accord with him.

The Sherman Law does not deal with property. The Sherman Law deals with actions and relations of men in their personal capacity, or, as conceived in the law, in their corporate capacity. It deals with relations and activities of men and is not confined or defined in its application merely to property, no matter what definition you place upon that conception, no matter what philosophical theory you adopt for your viewpoint upon it.

It says every contract, and that means labor contracts as well as trade contracts, or any kind of contract. Surely our good friend will not take the position that for me to engage some one, or for me being engaged by some one could not be or should not be other than by contractual relation. Thus, the Sherman Law is all-inclusive, all contracts, labor contracts as well as others, and it does make the combination of two or more a conspiracy in restraint of trade. And trade itself again does not imply that it must be physical property involved, because trade is involved in other intangible matters not involving human service. The whole philosophy of the law, I think, is dangerous. Yet I repeat if the delegate who spoke previous to me will urge its repeal I should be the first to stand shoulder to shoulder with him on that subject.

He speaks of the Sherman Law as making it a crime to enter into a contract or combination in restraint of trade tending toward a monopoly or the fixing of price. He does not, however, state that while it made it a criminal offence for any one to combine for these purposes, it likewise made it a civil offense, and not alone a criminal offense, and provided even triple damages in a suit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

of law if one was found guilty. And do we need evidence of that? How about the Danbury Hatters case? Did we not appeal to the labor movement to pay them damages in that particular suit? So it is a civil as well as a criminal offense to violate the Sherman Law as it may be interpreted, and I don't want to let you have the idea that it is purely a criminal code, and therefore argue that the original jurisdiction of equity was not to enforce the criminal law.

Then let us bear this in mind, that any criminal law carries with it a civil offense, that where the criminal code comes in is the assumption that the public is injured, but the individual having suffered immediately is not deprived of his opportunity to be compensated for damages. And there we have usually in all these cases this matter of one being sued criminally as well as civilly, and not by process of equity, but by processes of the civil and criminal codes of law.

I regret that I am required to make these statements, and as I tried to preface my remarks, it is unfortunate that we are placed in this position to weaken our possibility of getting what we might possibly obtain, yet we cannot allow this statement to go unanswered and place our body in a false position in the public mind and public judgment.

He says we must repeal Section 4 of the Sherman Act. Yes, I think it ought to be repealed. I want to correct my former statement. I would rather see the original Section 4 in the law today to what it is now and agree with you that it ought not be in even then, for the original power of equity was given solely to the United States Government under the Sherman Law, and no individual had the authority or right to enter into the equity courts for the restraining of any one under the provisions of the Sherman Act prior to the Clayton Law. If that was a law today the only one that could secure an injunction under the provisions of the Sherman Law would be the Government itself, and I am sure that the Government, however hostile it might be to labor, could not seek such injunctions as have been granted upon the applications of individual persons and corporations.

He speaks of the Clayton Law and of his great opposition, of his great wisdom as to what might occur if that law went into effect or was adopted. Well, I have read over the proceedings of the convention. I quoted them last year. I quoted the report of the committee of which the previous delegate was chairman, and I failed to find any such condemnation or prophecies as are now alleged to have been made when that law was under consideration. And then I am reminded of the fact that the delegate came to this convention about the same time asking for the endorsement of a bill introduced by the then Congressman Hearst, of the Hearst publications, which practically ratified that which he would now denounce. It is well for men to say, after events have passed, I told you so, but records do not disclose any such prophecies.

However that may be, the Clayton Act, with all its other amendments, I think is worse than the original Sherman Law and I agree

with the delegate in that it extended the right of entering the equity courts to any one feeling themselves aggrieved under the Clayton and Sherman Acts, and opening up the doors of equity. And who is it that gave the courts that power? Our Congress. We speak about the abuse of equity powers, we denounce the courts. Oh, let us put the fault where it lies—our legislators, subject to election, realizing the public mind, evade their responsibility by delegating it to the courts in order that they may accomplish their end, and yet stand with a clear slate before the popular vote to which they must be responsible.

He speaks of the *Truax vs. Corrigan* decision. What was involved in that case? As a matter of fact, the court in that instance did not clearly rule on the right of a state to enact such legislation as this. It ruled upon an interpretation of the Supreme Court of that state placed upon the act and said in view of the interpretation placed upon that by the Supreme Court of that state it is unconstitutional because violative of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which means that no state can deprive any person of the equal protection of the law, but he does not advise this convention that in dealing with this subject we are dealing with the powers of the national government and that Amendment 14 has no application whatever to a restraint upon the part of our national government, but relates wholly and exclusively to our state governments, whereas only Amendment 5 applies to our national government.

He speaks of the *Duplex* case. Yes, in the *Duplex* case the court held that the Clayton Law in no way changed the common law and did not legalize the secondary boycott or compound boycott, and of course justification for that was found in the language used in Section 20, seeking to define the relationship of employer and employee and holding that it must be almost an immediate contractual relationship in order to come under its definition, and that those not directly engaged in the manufacture of these presses were not standing directly in relation to the firm involved, and therefore the common law was not changed. I do not agree with the Supreme Court in its interpretation. I agree, too, that the language is badly constructed and permits almost any interpretation to be placed upon it.

Then he speaks about our bill. Well, if you want my frank opinion, please don't understand me to say that I think it is the best that can be devised. I won't take such a position. I have my personal views. However, I am the last to enforce my personal views upon a collective and responsive body such as this, to the danger of securing nothing, perhaps. As I understand, we seek to write as best we can, and having reached an opinion, even though we may differ, we join with them for the accomplishment of concrete results, and not merely for the exploitation of theory or speculation of mind. I know that other members of the committee feel the same way, and you recall that we endorsed at one time the proposal of the delegate who has previously spoken. We joined with him in his effort and what happened? We had our extensive hearings. He refers to that; he refers to lawyers. Who other than he appeared

to claim the right of Congress in the desire of building the proposal he has made, and then after all of that, how have those responded who are considered most friendly to labor on that Judiciary Committee of the Senate? Did we find Senator Norris, Senator Walsh, Senator Borah, or Senator Blaine agreeing with our contentions? Did they agree with the philosophical proposal of the previous delegate that equity powers must be entirely restrained and confined to that intangible definition of property? No, not a single one. Then as practical men are we going to exploit theories and combine our whole mass movement in speculation, or are we going to be men of a practical turn of mind and if we can't secure everything at this moment, do the best we can to secure that which will bring some relief, if not complete relief.

Brother Furuseth lays great stress upon the definition of property, although a historical recital of his own definitions and various changes in his philosophical conception indicate that he does not clearly understand how he would define property. Even in our law courts and in our relations there must be some definition of property, and if we have one definition of property for equity courts and a different one in our civil relationship and through our law courts, where are we going to be?

And then in a resolution that is to follow and which I shall not touch on now, under his proposal to restrain the power of equity from every statute that does not involve injury to tangible property—something to the senses—he would invade every field of relationship and every activity of life and ask this convention to go out into every state in the nation and turn over our whole system of law, as well as equity, and our whole conception of relationships established in these many years of mankind.

He says that our bill is but a limitation upon the power of courts. Yes, that is true. It is not a complete prohibition, it is not a complete restriction, it is a limitation of power, it is more—it is also a definition of law. It is also a modification of the Sherman Act, besides a limitation of equity powers, because in the first instance named by him it sets out the rights of labor, it sets out the right of combination, it sets out the denial of the conspiracy doctrine in labor relationships, and he does not touch upon that at all. It is the first attempt made to secure a modification of the philosophical expressions contained in the Sherman law and a modification of the conspiracy doctrine upon which it is predicated, and it is likewise a limitation upon the interpretation of what constitutes interstate commerce, upon which the act itself is founded.

I won't claim for it perfection, and I don't know that any one can devise a bill or law at one time that is so all-inclusive that in the progress of time and development, situations or relations must develop that were never contemplated and therefore not covered. But we are attempting to do the best we can from a practical view, and where do we stand even there? Did our good friends in Congress, the Senators who filed the minority report favorable to our contentions, recommend the bill as we proposed it a year ago and as we propose reaffirmation at this time? Certainly not,

for in the very beginning, where we predicated the public policy on the denial of the conspiracy doctrine, they reaffirmed the individualistic theory of relationship rather than that of collective relationship. Do we agree with our good friends in Congress on that? No. We hope, and we so state in our report, that amendments shall be pressed.

He reads but one section—Section 7. Section 7 uses the word "unlawful," and he assumes that under that term "unlawful" the courts may construe every act or activity or relation of labor as though everything else were contained in the act itself, but if he reads Section 6 he will find that acts now held to be unlawful are declared to be lawful, and the attempt has been made to set forth clearly and fully and explicitly every right we claim as trades unionists. If we have overlooked any, then pray advise the officers of the American Federation of Labor for the committee that made its recommendations realizes that other things might develop that need correction and therefore proposes delegating full power to the officers and the Executive Council to meet such situations, and the report clearly sets that forth.

Would the delegate have us propose a law that racketeering, would he have us propose a law that not merely tortious actions, but felonies may be justified under this law whereby we seek to function properly? Would he place no restriction upon the power of combination merely because we are wage earners? I don't know that we have ever claimed such privileges. We seek, as I understand, only to function in a proper and intelligent way, and not revoltingly to the public mind and public conscience and good understanding. I repeat that if some acts that have been held to be unlawful are not clearly set forth in Section 6, then let us add to it, but don't let us interpret another section as a denial of everything else contained in the bill.

Then again, our good friends in Congress, in their minority report, Senators Blaine, Borah, Walsh, Norris and the other gentlemen who concur in the minority report, do they conform to our bill in that very section quoted—Section 7? What do we say? We go on and say:

"No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary injunction or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, as herein defined, except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court (with opportunity for cross-examination) in support of the allegations of a complaint made under oath, and testimony in opposition thereto, if offered, and except after findings of fact by the court, to the effect:

(a) That unlawful acts have been threatened or committed and will be executed or continued unless restrained;

(b) That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow;

(c) That as to each item of relief granted greater injury will be inflicted upon complainant by the denial of relief than will be inflicted upon defendants by the granting of relief;

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

(d) That complainant has no adequate remedy at law; and

(e) That the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property have failed or are unable to furnish adequate protection."

It must be proven that not only a single one of these conditions or facts must exist, but these four different statements, conditions and facts must have been found in each and every instance and combined. Why, then, seek to place this committee in a false position by a recital of but one?

But what did the committee that was so friendly to labor do? It removed the conjunctive term, "and," in its minority report, and it is the report of the minority committee that would make these acts separate and distinctive and proof required upon only one in order that injunctions might issue, and hence our refusal to endorse that bill without these amendments again being re-established.

I don't want to discuss the subject any longer. I, too, agree with Senator Wagner and with the previous speaker that we have gone along for thirty years and we are no further than we were. As a matter of fact, I think we are further back than we have been heretofore—and let us be frank with one another. It is just such urgencies and such divisions as are manifested in our own councils upon this question that weaken our power, that confuse the minds of our membership, and that are the strongest cards we can play into the hands of those opposed to us and to our right to organize. When men are no longer willing to submit their will to the will of the majority, pray then do not place the fault upon others first for non-accomplishment, but rather let us judge ourselves as to what degree we may not have contributed or perhaps be primarily responsible.

Congress has to enact this legislation, and division in our own ranks is the best opportunity given to those that may be friendly and doubtful and to those that are opposed for not enacting this law. The report of the statement of the previous speaker, you can rest assured, will be used in that discussion for the non-enforcement or non-enactment of any law dealing with the subject.

Another thing, and again I want to be frank and say we are going backward. The last year has witnessed more trades unions going into our equity courts restraining each other than ever before. Here some years ago we said we defied these decrees because they were violative of the rights of man, because they were restrictive of the constitutional guarantees of the wage earning class; come what will, we shall not obey those orders and we shall take whatever punishment may come; in other words, we shall be true patriots in the defense of freedom of men and the right of wage earners to organize.

And oh, what happens in later years? We have a little complaint against another organization or something occurs, and immediately we fly to the courts of equity for relief, for advantage, for defense, for aggression. Yes, I say we have made no progress, we have been going backward, and so long as we will be divided upon any measure, so long

will the road be hard and so long will it be difficult to accomplish anything.

I claim no perfection for this proposed legislation. I doubt if it will come out in the form even in which we have proposed it. I have my own individual point of view. I am frank to say that I should be the last to utter a word against the proposal of a year ago. To the contrary, I would urge its unanimous approval and adoption in order that we might secure relief against that constant restraining and limitation of power which is placed upon us as wage earners.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I desire to be recorded as voting no.

President Green: We will interrupt the report of the committee for a minute or two in order to hear from a public official of the State of Massachusetts whom we love and admire, but before we hear from him the Chair will recognize Delegate Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers of America for a brief statement.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I am going to be very brief this morning, realizing that you desire to finish your business and leave for your homes. Many friends of President Green in Pennsylvania felt that, in view of his splendid service to the labor movement of this country, following his fifth election as President of the American Federation of Labor, it would be appropriate to send something to the convention that would reflect our feelings for the service rendered by President Green. With that in mind a piece of coal was mined by a union miner at the Marvin Colliery at Scranton, from the big vein. It was designed and engraved by Thomas N. Crone, of Scranton, Pa., a union miner, for presentation to President Green upon this occasion. The design is symbolic of the elevation of our worthy President from the position of a mine mule driver to President of the American Federation of Labor. I understand that while President Green drove a mule in the mines he did not use the choice vocabulary that frequently is used by mine drivers, and I have my doubts, in view of that, as to whether or not he was a good mule driver. However, we know that he is a good President.

President Green, on behalf of the labor movement of northern Pennsylvania, as represented by Delegate John B. Gallagher, I

want to present to you this piece of coal mined by a union miner and designed and carved by a member of your own organization, and with it go the best wishes of the labor movement in Pennsylvania.

President Green: I will just take a moment of your time to express to Brother Kennedy and Brother Gallagher and those they represent my sincere thanks for what I shall always term a most precious and valuable gift. I must confess that I was not regarded as a competent mule driver. I never could use the mule driver's language properly. You know there is a mule driver's vocabulary, and it does have the most wonderful effect upon a mule. And frequently when the mule manifests a disposition to rebel, to go on strike, a real efficient mule driver can speak to that mule in mule driver's language and the mule will move. But I never quite acquired that expert knowledge.

I observe that on the front of this piece of anthracite coal is a mule and a driver on the car. That reminds me of days gone by. And while I am happy that I had that experience, associated with this, it is worth much to me, but I confess to this delegation that I am not anxious to go back. I want to thank Delegate Kennedy, Delegate Gallagher and others for this most beautiful gift.

President Green: Now I want to present to you for an address, in his own way and in his own convincing and eloquent style, the distinguished Senator from the State of Massachusetts. Many of the officers, delegates and members of organized labor know this man personally; others know him by reputation. Those who know him personally have learned to love and admire him. They love and admire him because he possesses in an unusual degree those great human qualities that make for statesmanship. Those who know him by reputation understand that he has always been a friend of the masses of the people, a friend of labor. I think I should say to this delegation that when the test came during the last session of Congress, when an opportunity was presented for labor to know who were its professing friends, its real friends and its open enemies, that Senator Walsh met the test and stood up as a real friend of labor.

We prevented the confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker to be a member of the Supreme Court of the United States

by two votes. One week before the vote was taken we had a majority of ten, but during the week just previous to the time when the vote was recorded a number of our friends forsook us. Two votes in the United States Senate. Senator Walsh can be properly classified as one of those two votes. I make that brief explanation so that you may know the attitude of this outstanding statesman, this devoted, patriotic citizen, this distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, whom I present to you—Senator Walsh.

**HON. DAVID I. WALSH
(United States Senator from Massachusetts)**

Mr. President, representatives of the American Federation of Labor—It gratifies me beyond the expression of language to receive such a hearty commendation of my public service from the one man, above all others in the United States of America, who has a right to speak in the name of the toilers of America. To know that I have merited by my humble efforts the appreciation of the men and women of your great organization is not only gratifying but it is inspiring, for if I have even entertained any ambition about what verdict should be rendered upon my public service it was the ambition that the common man and woman in America should receive through my words and in my official deeds a sympathy and a devotion for the promotion of their welfare and the protection of their human rights.

I want to express my appreciation of the assistance, cooperation and aid which has come to me in the performance of my official duties in Washington from the able and conscientious leaders of your organization, first of all, Mr. Green, from Mr. Morrison, and from all your executive officers. I want to publicly express my commendation and to say to you that as one who knows that they have been faithful to their duties, that many of the things which have been accomplished for the welfare of the working people have been due to their untiring efforts in behalf of labor.

You are the representatives of a large body of men and women, not merely those who are enrolled in the membership of your organization, but the millions outside your membership whose lives are necessarily devoted to toil, endless toil. They have a right to have organized effort put forward in behalf of their welfare in shaping the destinies and the future policies of our country. Nearly every other interest in this country is so well organized and so ably financed that the best of legal talent, that the power of presentation through every avenue of publicity is open to them; but the millions of men and women who toil have a right to look to you for the championing of those policies and principles which will prevent further usurpation of their inalienable rights.

And how little the masses ask of our Government. Sometimes I think that the only cry that comes up from the millions of men and women who toil and who are far away from the places where policies of government are shaped is, "Leave us alone, don't exploit us, don't rob us, don't deprive us of our inalienable rights." Often I think the greatest fight we can make in America is to prevent legislation against human rights, against economic injustices. Let me urge upon you the importance of organization. No better

illustration of the necessity and value of organized effort is so apparent as is unfolded by an examination of the long, steady, constant, never-ending fight of labor for a living wage, for reasonable conditions of employment, for a reasonable share in the equal opportunities of life. It has been through organized effort that success and progress has been made, and as a friend of your movement, I would urge you, to go back to your people more determined than ever to impress upon them that this is an age of mass production, and unless labor is mass producing in its labor organizations it can not keep pace with the progress that the labor movement should continue to make in America.

There are many public problems that I would like to discuss with you today, that I think are of particular importance to labor at this hour. Undoubtedly you have given them very serious consideration yourselves. There are however two questions that I particularly want to speak about. Foremost is the question of unemployment. You will pardon me if I am personal. Mr. Green and Mr. Morrison will confirm what I have said. I have talked for more than four years in the United States Senate about the problem of unemployment. I have urged in vain a study of the question. In every session of the Congress I have called attention to the growing importance of this problem. I saw it developing seriously here in Massachusetts years ago when the depression in the textile industry commenced. It is not a problem of the present year, it has been with us for at least four years, if not longer.

My criticism of the Government is not so much that it has not found a solution, my criticism of the Government is that it has been indifferent, to put it moderately, if not positively unwilling to recognize facts. There can be no relief or remedy for any cause unless the facts are first known and admitted.

Two things I have exacted during this long discussion, and again and again looked for it from those in positions of high responsibility. It was, first, an open, honest, candid statement of what the actual conditions were and in what direction we were moving in the way of unemployment relief, and, secondly, an expression of sympathy. It is the least a public official can do, to say, "I am sorry, it is regrettable, it is deplorable." That is the least that can be expected of our Government. My criticism is that those we ought to expect sympathy from, those from whom we ought to expect an honest expression as to the actual conditions have not given it. There has been an attempt until very recently to minimize conditions and brush facts aside. I think that is a more serious indictment than that nothing has been done to change conditions.

How can the unemployment problem be solved? There is only one man in American life who can solve the unemployment problem. It can not be solved in the middle of unemployment, suddenly and quickly. It must be treated through preventative measures. Our country in time of war emergency gives unlimited powers and unlimited qualities of leadership and direction to the one official, who is particularly charged with the destinies of our country. In war he can appeal to the Congress for almost any conceivable power and receive it. Public officials forget partisanship when emergencies arise in our beloved country. Just as we look to the Commander-in-Chief to direct and guide and lead us and tell us what he wants to do in time of war, so we look for that same leadership, that same enthusiasm in a domestic emergency that is just as bad as war, unemployment.

My friends, I am speaking frankly and I am not

speaking in a partisan or personal vein. I am trying to discuss and present this question in a broad and large aspect and tell you what I think is the sole manner of solving this problem, regardless of party and regardless of persons.

Unemployment! What is worse? What are the awful consequences of war—death, disease, famine, poverty? Of Unemployment? Poverty, yes; debilitation, yes; disease, yes; and there is in addition undernourished children, suffering from cold, suffering from want of food, fathers disheartened and discouraged, mothers made physical wrecks from breaking hearts. Is there anything worse in life than the evils of unemployment that strikes at the very foundation of hope and cheer and peace in the human breast? Isn't there some place in our Government where one commanding voice must speak and behind that voice a heart-felt desire to remedy the pestilence against which he seeks a remedy? Only through the statesmanship of the official leader in public life who is entrusted with the responsibility to guide and protect us in the hour of emergency can we get relief.

When there is no sympathy, when there is an attempt to urge that it is exaggerated, when that condition exists there can be no planning, there can be no developing of a statesmanlike policy that will seek a solution. My friends, the time to remedy the problem of unemployment is not in the midst of unemployment, though it is a good time to concentrate attention upon the disastrous consequences of the policy of unemployment; it is an opportune time to call public men's attention to the problem and ask for a remedy, but unemployment should be attacked by a policy of prevention. Just as our Government is spending millions of dollars and exerting all its efforts and strength to prevent disease, to prevent the breaking down of the public health, to protect us in the time of war, we are justified in asking the Government to spend money and effort to protect us from unemployment in times of peace.

There is another subject that I wish to discuss. It is affiliated with the unemployment problem, and I think your organization ought to take very serious notice of it. It has been given a great deal of attention and thought by me ever since the World War. I refer to the awful economic evils consequent from the capitalization and the re-capitalization of industry and the federation and re-federation of wealth in this country. Let me use a homely expression. The man who picks your pockets is a criminal, despised and guilty of a serious, punishable offense, and yet you know there has gone on in this country since the World War a system of exploiting industry, of consolidating industry, of federating capital, not for the purpose of helping industry except in very rare instances, but for the chief and sole purpose of permitting conscienceless bankers of this country to fill those industries with watered stock and destroy their usefulness to labor and to society.

If time permitted I could cite to you illustration after illustration of the extent to which industry has been stilted through the cruel and conscienceless manipulation of banking groups whose sole purpose was to sell stock and securities that gave them a tremendous profit and that so loaded down the capital of the industries that they were sure to perish as soon as the stocks were disposed of to the innocent public. The man or group of men who federate wealth or capital, who consolidate industry and inflate it beyond honest values is even worse than the pickpocket, because he uses the seal of our Government to protect him. He uses the special laws of Congress and of the states exempting him from personal responsibility

because of the corporate powers that are given in the charter incorporating him.

I recall particularly now an elderly lady coming to my office not long ago and handing me two worthless stock certificates. She asked me for their value and asked how she could realize any money upon them. I told her as soon as I looked at the certificates, "Madam, why did you spend money in buying these certificates? How much did they cost you?" She said they cost her two thousand dollars. She and her husband had paid for them by drawing from the bank every dollar they possessed. She said, "The agent who sold them told me they were good and would pay 6 per cent interest. We were only getting 4 per cent." I said, "Why didn't you ask somebody for advice?" She said she had asked for advice, that she had gone to the State House and asked if there was such a corporation in existence and she was told there was. Then she added, "I never thought my Government would permit its seal and its corporate laws to deceive and rob the poor."

Oh, the great crime of dishonest inflation of capital! Do you realize the injury it does? If there are fifteen million dollars invested in an industry, five millions of which have been put in as watered stock and only ten millions of honestly invested money, what is the harm? First of all, that industry must proceed to do business upon the basis of earning a dividend upon fifteen million dollars, five millions of which is watered and dishonest. Secondly, the public must be charged a price for such products that would permit a return, not upon ten million dollars of investment, but upon fifteen millions of dollars. And finally and lastly, the working man and woman must have a wage, and here is where the robbery really comes in, based upon, first, the earning of a dividend not upon ten millions, but upon ten million plus five million of dishonest securities. Thus labor is punished and the wages of the workers are measured upon their capacity to earn a dividend on something that is unsound and dishonest.

In my opinion there has been more money extracted from the pockets of the American people through inflated capital than through all the robberies, defalcations and embezzlements since the foundation of our country. That is a strong statement but the facts justify it. The saddest part of the record is that these stock promoters never go to a broken down industry. They know they could not sell the securities of an industry that hasn't a good trade name and their devilish work has gone on among the very strongest industries of the country. I could name industries in this, my own commonwealth, that have been sent into their graves and destroyed because of the illegal consolidation and reconsolidation that have taken place. I have in mind one that has gone through five in the last ten years, and every time more watered stock was put in the capital. All over the land there are smokeless chimneys and men and women walking the streets, and one of the chief reasons is because these industries have been the toy and the plaything of unscrupulous bankers who have enriched themselves by unloading the dishonest securities of these inflated corporations on the public.

Again I call upon our Government to prevent exploiting and robbery of the working men and women and the consumers of American products by putting a strict regulation upon the federation and reorganization of the finances of industry and business.

You have been most generous and I ought to apologize for proceeding as long as I have, but I wanted to call your attention to the fact that

there are some problems of vital concern that we in public life are thinking about and for which we need your support and cooperation to find a correct solution.

May I be permitted to speak in these closing hours of your convention for that group of United States Senators, who joined together in the last session of the Congress to give to labor a greater dignity than it has ever before officially received in the United States. May I bring, in their name, their congratulations upon the achievement that has been accomplished for labor by forever and forever destroying the validity of the yellow dog contract in America. It was a long, hard fight, as Mr. Green has said. It was a test of the political philosophy, it was a test of the kind of heart beats that a public man has in his breast, and I am proud of the United States Senate and proud of the fact that when that question arose notwithstanding all the influences at work, the United States Senate stood solidly by a safe majority, small but safe, for the opportunities of the working men and women to enjoy one of the chief blessings of economic freedom. Yes, I rejoice that the Senate has made that contribution to your cause.

Let me say in closing that there is a great deal of public criticism of the Senate. Unfortunately, some of it is justified. Sometimes we talk too long, and we talk extraneously and we talk on subjects that ought not to be discussed in the Senate. But let me say for the Senate that it is at least uncontrollable. Some one visiting the Chamber of Deputies in France, a stranger, turned to his companion, a Frenchman, and said, "Why this loose talk, why this inattention to what is going on?" The Frenchman said, in his witty way, "Oh, don't mind these are the manners of democracy. In a partisan controlled legislature, there isn't any loose talk, in fact, there is no talk at all."

The manners of democracy necessitate occasionally unworthy men getting into public office who indulge in extraneous talk and the discussion of things not apropos to the subject under consideration. But I want to insist that the United States Senate with all its limitations, is the greatest open legislative forum in all the world today. It is the one place where one man with courage who has a grievance or who seeks to expose a wrong in the Government can stand upon his feet and defy the presiding officer and defy every Senator to prevent him from presenting the facts as he sees them. There if anywhere is free speech.

No party political machine dominates the Senate. Today more than ever it is a liberal force in American life, today more than ever it has taken its side with the causes of the common people against the few who seek to exploit them and to use Government for their own selfish and personal ends. Yes, the United States Senate is the last point of protection against all those who seek to use the Government for selfish ends and sinister purposes.

I am proud to note the progress that the Senate has made in its open and frank championing of the causes that are near and dear to your hearts, and I go back from visiting you here assembled grappling with the great problems that affect so much the happiness and prosperity and well being of millions of human beings—I go back to the Senate more determined than ever to carry on the fight which you are so bravely waging for the common man and woman and the preservation of their inalienable rights.

(The entire audience arose and remained standing for some time, enthusiastically applauding the Senator.)

President Green: I know you will not be satisfied if, in addition to this wonderful demonstration of appreciation, I fail to express our very sincere thanks and our deep appreciation to Senator Walsh for his visit to our convention and for his masterly address. I am happy because he is here. It is indeed pleasing for the officers and the delegates attending the American Federation of Labor convention to meet face to face those able champions of human liberty who stand upon the floor of the greatest legislative body in all the world and there fearlessly and courageously fight for the protection of human rights.

My friends, you must be increasingly happy when you are privileged to listen to such a powerful, masterly address from a man who has stood upon the floor of the United States Senate battling for the cause of labor, the cause of the common man, the ordinary person, and in defense of our liberties and our freedom. Are we not increasingly inspired and encouraged to go on with our great humanitarian program, realizing that this man with his powerful personality, his statesmanship, his unassailable

and unanswerable logic will be found upon the floor of the United States Senate in the next session of Congress, and I hope in the next and the next and the next as long as he may want to go, fighting for us, raising his powerful voice, giving the benefit of his great mind in defense of human liberties and of the American Federation of Labor. We rejoice over his presence, we are happy because he is here. I thank him in the name of the American Federation of Labor for his visit and for his masterly address.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I don't know that there is any need of a motion, but I wish to move that the address delivered by Senator Walsh be printed verbatim in today's proceedings of this convention and a copy of the proceedings mailed, not only to the delegates but to every state branch and central body in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

At 12.50 o'clock a recess was taken to 2.30 o'clock p. m.

Ninth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2.30 o'clock.

Absentees

Gillmore, Mulianey, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Richard, Flaherty, Cohen (S.), Schulte, Coulter, Zuckerman, Meyer, Rosemund, Kaufman, Schlesinger, Cohen (M.), Moser (B.), Desti, Marshall (H.S.), Wolf, Britton, Suitor, Mitchell (W.M.), Cullen, Kaiser, Egan (J.J.), Stierle, Taylor (T.N.), Tobin (S.P.), Ross, Graham, Gill, Barry (J.L.), Egan (J.V.), Wilson (T.A.), Donnelly, (T.J.), Campbell (J.C.), Anderson (G.), Burns (J.T.), Bowden, Ohl, Moser (C.J.), Ryan (J.), Campbell (G.C.), Laude, McEwen, Sweeney, Mueller, Carrigan, Taylor (C.O.), Tucker, O'Dell, Becker, Katz, Fritz, Souza, McSpadden, Sumner (S.), Long, Burton, Murphy (P.F.), Dacey, Sheehan, Distle, Slavens, Shave, Thompson, Finan, Kelly (W.), Williams, Donahue, Bower, Hartnett, Smethurst, Fanning, Dorsey, Jacobs, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Doyle (F.E.), Covert, Walsh (M.), Fitzpatrick, Riley, Callahan, Saylor, Donnelly (S.J.), Jones, McGeory, Banks, Mack, Bohm, Clow, Murphy (M.G.), Carey, Walsh (F.E.), Shaw, Connor (M.), Keeley, Bradley, Carrozzo, Roberts, Haffier, Cohen (M.), Randolph, Webster, Lawson (O.L.), Hampson, Taylor (S.M.), Stump, Hill, Campbell (E.), Mitchell (T.), Fearn, Miller, Cronin.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Favoring Repeal of Acts Giving to the Courts Jurisdiction to Enforce Law by Equity

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Congress in enacting the Sherman Anti-Trust law extended the jurisdiction of Courts sitting in equity so as to use equity to enforce law; and

WHEREAS, Equity when given jurisdiction supersedes law and sets aside all constitutional limitations including the bill of rights and the thirteenth amendment; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental structure of our government is thereby changed from one of limited powers to one of absolute and irresponsible power; and

WHEREAS, This extension of equity jurisdiction necessarily extends the definition of property so as to include activities and the earnings therefrom; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor demand from the Nation and the States that any legislative act giving to the courts the jurisdiction to enforce law by equity be promptly repealed and that nothing shall be held to be property unless it be exclusive, tangible and transferable; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to Senators and members of the House of Representatives and to the presiding officers of the legislative branches of the various states.

Your committee is of the opinion that the issues presented in Resolution No. 55 are of such far-reaching importance as to warrant presenting a brief analysis of its purpose.

In the first paragraph of the resolution, the thought of the reader is directed to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which is the only law directly referred to in any part of the entire resolution. The uninitiated are thus likely to assume that the resolution deals only with such legislative acts as directly affect interstate commerce and industry and labor. It will be found that its scope is very much broader than this.

In the fifth paragraph of the resolution, it is proposed that the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall demand from the nation and the state the repeal of all legislative acts giving to the courts the jurisdiction to enforce law by equity proceedings. Does this relate only to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in the national field and similar anti-trust laws in the states? By no means. It has reference to the Interstate Commerce Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, the Export Trade Act, the Clayton Act and several other federal enactments, including the Volstead Act. It has reference to the injunction and abatement acts in various states which are used against houses of prostitution. It enters the field of divorce, alimony and separate maintenance, as between husband and wife.

If the American Federation of Labor were to undertake to follow the course advised in Resolution No. 55, it would be necessary to subordinate its effort to secure remedial legislation for labor in an attempt to show the dangers involved in the injunction sections of a great number of statutes which have no direct relation to industrial disputes and to questions involved therein.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

That there is grave danger involved in the misuse of the equity power in fields other than those involving the immediate interests of the workers is well recognized by every student of the subject. We are of the firm opinion, however, that progress can be made in securing remedial legislation for the wage earners of America without saddling them with the fearful task of entering upon a campaign to repeal every statute, national and state, which in any way authorizes the enforcement of law by use of the equity powers of the courts.

With these observations, we recommend that Resolution No. 55 be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I cannot refrain from making a few observations upon this report of the committee. I am teetotally opposed to it. It is wrong in principle. It is un-American. It is non-Christian. It is in the service of human slavery. They don't know it because they don't realize it, and so I don't speak of individuals.

In addition to this I want to call your attention to some definitions that do not come out of my head but come directly out of the most responsible and the most used dictionary of law that this country knows and uses. It is used by all the big lawyers, it is used by the courts. Here is the definition of law:

"The aggregate rules set by men as politically superior or sovereign, to men as politically subject."

"A rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power in the state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong."

"A rule of conduct contained in a command of a sovereign addressed to the subject."

"A rule of enactment promulgated by the legislative authority of a state; a long established local custom which has the force of such an enactment."

"The doctrines and procedure of the common law of England and America, as distinguished from those of equity." (Page 668 of the Law Dictionary.)

The definition of equity is:

"The application of right and justice to the legal adjustment of differences where the law by reason of its universality is deficient . . . that system of jurisprudence which comprehends every matter of law for which the common law provides no remedy . . . springing originally from the royal prerogative . . . moderating the harshness of the common law 'according to good conscience.'"

"The avowed principle upon which the jurisdiction was at first exercised was the administration of justice according to honesty, equity and conscience."

"In the reign of Richard II two petitions addressed to the King and lords of

Parliament, were sent to the chancery to be heard, with the direction, 'Let there be done, by the authority of Parliament, that which right and reason and good faith and good conscience demand in the case.'" (Bouvier's Law Dictionary, p. 359.)

Now let me read the definition of jurisdiction as we have it in the United States today:

"In America, the federal courts have equity powers under the constitution, where an adequate remedy at law does not exist."

Then it quotes several decisions and goes on:

"The adequate remedy at law, which is test of the equitable jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, is that which existed when the judiciary act of 1789 was adopted, unless subsequently changed by Congress." (Bouvier's Law Dictionary, p. 361.)

One more definition and I am through:

"Property. The right and interest which a man has in lands and chattels to the exclusion of others."

"The sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over external things of the world in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe."

"The right of a person over a thing (in rem) indefinite in point of user."

"That which is peculiar or proper to any person; that which belongs exclusively to one; the first meaning of the word from which it is derived—proprius—is one's own."

"A vested right of action is property in the same sense that tangible things are property. It is a thing owned, that to which a person has or may have a legal title." (Bouvier's Law Dictionary, p. 905.)

Now I commend that to the members of the committee.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: Just a word or two. Delegate Furuseth's accusation that the report of the committee is un-American and un-Christian is nothing more than an exhibition of loose talk, and I do not believe that I am justified in taking up any time of the convention in replying to it. In order to save the time of the convention and to make the record clear I would like to state that most of the propositions presented by Delegate Furuseth in his recent statement and the one made this morning were answered by me at the Toronto convention in a statement which I made with some care and at considerable length. That statement, now a year old and in the possession of Delegate Furuseth during those twelve months, still stands unchallenged. It is a sufficient answer to everything that he has said here, from my point of view, and I make reference to it so that any one who happens to read the record of these proceedings who desires further information on this subject may refer to it. It appears on pages 346-350 of the Toronto convention proceedings, and I commend the reading of it to Delegate Furuseth.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Furuseth: I ask that I be recorded as voting no.

Promote Enactment of Injunction Relief Legislation

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Roy Horn of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; F. H. Fljordal of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, B. M. Jewell of the Railroad Employees Department; J. A. Franklin for International Brotherhood of Boilermakers Delegation; A. O. Wharton for International Association of Machinists Delegation; Matthew Woll for International Photo-Engravers' Union Delegation.

WHEREAS, In order to protect the freedom of labor and to make it possible for the workers to organize for mutual aid and protection, it is primarily necessary to assure them of the right to organize and to guarantee them full freedom of association; and

WHEREAS, Although, as the Supreme Court has recently held "the legality of collective action on the part of employees in order to safeguard their proper interests is not to be disputed," nevertheless there is a widespread, persistent, ruthless campaign of associated employers to prevent their employees from organizing and to discredit and cripple all legitimate labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Through the use of injunctions in labor disputes such employers misuse the judicial powers of government and induce the courts to render unfair and partisan aid to employers seeking to deny liberty of contract and freedom of association to their employees; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has endorsed Senate Bill 2497 to define and limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes and to outlaw the so-called yellow dog contract; and

WHEREAS, Similar bills should be introduced in the several states so as to enforce the same public policy in the state courts; and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of forty-four states meet in the year 1931 and the full force of organized labor should be exerted to advance this legislation in the national and state legislatures and to bring into cooperation all possible support to the end that this legislation may be enacted into law; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and it is hereby authorized and directed to take such action as shall be necessary and appropriate in conjunction with State Federations, central bodies and national legislative representatives and other sympathetic representative organizations to bring to the active

support of Senate Bill 2497 and state legislation modeled thereon, all the forces now organized, or that can be organized, and in aid of the American Labor Movement, which seeks through legal, peaceful means, consistent with our democratic institutions of government, to bring to the American worker full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty for which the constitution of the United States was written to secure for all our citizens.

The reference to "Senate Bill 2497," as contained in Resolution No. 94, is clearly intended to refer to the substitute bill presented in the report of the Executive Council under the title, "Anti-Injunction Legislation," and not to S-2497 as originally introduced in the Senate. With this understanding, your committee is in full accord with the purpose of the resolution. We are mindful, however, of the fact that constitutional limitations in some of the states, where the lower courts have equity powers by direct constitutional grants, are such as may make necessary some changes in the language of the bill, when prepared for introduction in the legislatures of such states. In other instances, the provisions of state constitutions limiting a bill to a single subject may require a division of the measure into two or more bills.

We recommend that Resolution No. 94, as interpreted by the committee, be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to proceed in accord with the resolution to such extent as the Council may find practicable, wise and in the best interests of the wage earners of America.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Partisan Political Campaign

Under the caption, "Non-Partisan Political Campaign," the Executive Council (p. 112) relates activities engaged in during the past year in the effort of furthering the election of those aspiring to public office and who have demonstrated their sympathetic understanding and attitude and who have responded favorably to the needs of the wage earners in general and the appeals of organized labor in particular, and in defeating those who have been indifferent if not opposed to the human interests involved in our social, economic and industrial life.

We note particularly the policy defined for the pending political campaign in making the demand for relief against the unwarranted use of the injunction in industrial disputes the predominating issue. Your committee heartily concurs in the plan and procedure thus out-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

lined. Despite the gratuitous advice of those who would swerve the American Federation of Labor from its sound non-partisan and economic moorings and thrust it into the whirlpool of partisan politics, your committee holds that if there be weakness in our present non-partisan political methods, it is not in its structure but in the attitude and response of those indifferent or hostile to this plan of action.

Your committee is thus moved to call upon all wage earners and all sympathetic to labor's appeal to join whole-heartedly in this and future non-partisan political campaigns, and by so doing not only add strength and vigor to the voice of labor but increasingly enhance the political power of all who would give first and foremost consideration and attention to the human element involved in all our relations of life and work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee recommends that the last paragraph of Resolution No. 19 be amended by striking out the word "recommended" in the two places where that word appears and inserting in lieu thereof the word "authorized" in the first place and the word "urged" in the second place, and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted:

Urging Adoption of Legislative Program for Relief of People of Porto Rico.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the State Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, and P. Rivera Martinez of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, P. R.:

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been denouncing industrial, living, working and economic conditions in general in the Island of Porto Rico during the last thirty years as unsound and disastrous to the welfare of the inhabitants of Porto Rico, and

WHEREAS, Such conditions as denounced by organized labor have been found to be true by the Hon. Governor Roosevelt and by the Child Health Association, and to the effect a general plan of rehabilitation has been agreed upon to relieve local conditions in the Island, and

WHEREAS, Concordant with such a resolution was adopted by the Porto Rico State Branch on September 1st of this year which in part reads as follows:

"Such plans of economic rehabilitation of the country must have for their effective enforce-

ment the decided support and co-operation collectively of all the organizations of the Island and of the continental United States which always have been in favor of the welfare and progress of our people.

"The Porto Rican Federation of Labor endorses unreservedly the plans of effective economic rehabilitation being developed by Governor Roosevelt to make of our Island a country which will give employment to the unemployed, where children should receive the greatest protection and where the wealth created by labor will be better distributed in order to attain the happiness and welfare of the great mass of our people instead of a small group, against the health and life of the many.

"The Porto Rican Federation of Labor, conscious of its mission, reiterates its co-operation and most sincere support for all the American institutions which may have the same principles, and work to make of our unfortunate people a community of useful, healthy, well nourished citizens on the same level with our fellow-citizens of the Continent," and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor closes its report to this Convention on Porto Rico, page 89, with the following:

"The present Governor of Porto Rico, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, has studied local conditions and has made presentations to our government and country that should be followed by constructive plans. We recommend that this convention urge upon the Administration and Congress the need for fundamental constructive policies," and

WHEREAS, As a complement to such plan it has been demanded by the Porto Rican Federation of Labor that the operation of the following Acts of Congress be extended to Porto Rico, so as to make them applicable to the Island:

1. "An Act to provide the promotion of vocational education; to provide for co-operation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for co-operation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure," approved February 23, 1917, and any Act amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, upon the same terms and conditions as any of the several States.

2. "An Act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment," approved June 2, 1930, and any Act amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, upon the same terms and conditions as any of the several States.

3. "An Act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, and all other Acts subsequent to its passage amending or supplementing said Acts or amendments thereto.

4. "An Act to provide additional credit facilities for the agricultural and livestock industries of the United States; to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act; to amend the Federal

Reserve Act; and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1923, and all Acts subsequent to its passage amending or supplementing said Act or amendments thereto.

5. "An Act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy and for other purposes," approved November 23, 1921, and any subsequent Acts amending or supplementing such Act.

6. "An Act to establish agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges established in the several States under the provisions of an Act approved July 2, 1862, and of the Acts supplementary thereto," approved March 2, 1887, as amended and supplemented.

7. "An Act to provide for co-operative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an Act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and of Acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture," approved May 8, 1914, and of Acts supplementary thereto, and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to give its worthy support to the cause of labor in Porto Rico and to help our Island in every sense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Fiftyith Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

That we heartily endorse the Resolution adopted by the State Federation of Labor of Porto Rico above referred to, and pledge our moral support to the rehabilitation plans for the Island of Porto Rico; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized, and he is hereby earnestly urged to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor toward the legislative demands of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, so that the case of Porto Rico be properly presented and duly heard, and so that the proper action might be taken before Congress to secure adequate help from Congress and also to secure the extension to Porto Rico of the laws above referred to.

The amended resolution was adopted unanimously.

The committee recommends that the resolution, thus amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Weber in the Chair.

Urging Establishment of Federal Bureau to Test Effect Upon Health of Workers of Chemical Materials Used in Industry.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Samuel Squibb of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, Modern industry is continually introducing new and old chemical compounds,

using new materials and developing new processes; and

WHEREAS, There is no provision under State or Federal Government to test the effect of these new compounds, materials and processes on the health of men and women employed in industry; and

WHEREAS, This lack of knowledge has brought terrible suffering and death to many workers, for instance, fifteen or twenty men killed by tetro ethyl lead, sixteen women watch dial painters killed by radium, many men paralyzed by breathing manganese dust; and

WHEREAS, In the Bureau of Standards, the Federal Government has established a bureau to test chemical compounds, materials and processes in order to determine their character and value to industry when utilized by industry; now, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request and urge the Federal Government to establish a bureau to test and investigate chemical compounds, materials and processes used in industry in order to discover the effects on the health of employees coming in contact with the chemical compounds, materials and new processes, this bureau to be a part of the Public Health Service.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 20 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 22, 26 and 32 deal with the same subject and your committee therefore reports upon them jointly.

Favoring Maintenance of Efficiently Manned Navy Yards and Arsenals for Adequate National Defense

Resolution No. 22—Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Nation's defense requires the maintenance of navy yards and arsenals equipped to produce efficiently and manned by competent mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The subject of maintenance of adequate national defense is injured alike by the propaganda of extreme pacifists, and that of extreme militarists and private interests whose principal purpose is to make profit from the manufacture of war munitions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is opposed to all forms of propaganda which interfere with a sane, well-balanced policy for national defense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftyith Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring the full development and upkeep of all navy yards

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

and arsenals, the adequate remuneration of all civilian employees, and the adequate remuneration of all enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy; be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the manufacture of war munitions and naval vessels in our arsenals and navy yards so that the element of private profit will place this department of national defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may make greater profits; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, and to all United States Congressmen and Senators.

Proposing That the United States Build a Navy in Conformity with Maximum Provisions of London Naval Treaty

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The treaty for the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, signed at London on April 22, 1930, imposes upon the people of the United States the obligation faithfully to perform their full duty in the maintenance of conditions that tend to insure the peace, progress and civilization of the world; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of world peace depends in large part upon the comparative naval armament of nations; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of the American standards of living enjoyed by our workingmen depends in large part on the maintenance of free avenues of trade with other nations; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of such free avenues of trade depends upon our comparative power to protect our lanes of ocean-borne commerce; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the paramount duty of the United States under the aforesaid treaty is to build and maintain a navy in full conformity with the maximum provisions of this treaty; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States is obligated to retain in active service, efficiently equipped and manned, the maximum navy provided by said treaty.

Urging Building the Full Limit of Armament Allowed Under the London Naval Treaty

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate John L. Barry of the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Senate of the United States in its wisdom has seen fit to ratify the London Naval Treaty; and

WHEREAS, It has been shown beyond doubt that our navy in its auxiliary classes is far inferior to the other powers, and in order for the United States to have a parity with the other powers it will be necessary for the United States to build up her navy; and

WHEREAS, For the protection of her commerce and her rights upon the seas, the United States should not allow her navy to become inferior to that of any nation; and

WHEREAS, In order to hold our force of skilled mechanics in the various navy yards together, because if these men are discharged and scattered to the distant parts of the country it would be detrimental to the safety and welfare of the country, it being almost impossible to replace this class of highly skilled artisans, upon whom the nation depends to a great extent for protection and security; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body do hereby pray and entreat the Senate of the United States to build the full limit of cruisers, aircraft carriers, all destroyers and submarines permitted under this treaty; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we believe our national navy yards and arsenals are a vitally important element of our national defense and therefore should be maintained in an efficient and effective condition. This can only be done by employing a full force of skilled mechanics. We therefore urge that not less than 50 per cent of all government work, both new construction and repairs, be done in government shops.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 22 be amended by striking out the three paragraphs containing the preamble and that the first of the three remaining paragraphs be amended by inserting the following words after the word "arsenals": "and their use for the building of ships for any department of the government, as well as for the navy and army, and, also, the manufacture, to whatever extent may be practicable, of material, equipment and supplies for all departments of the government," and that in the next paragraph the word "elimination" be inserted in place of the word "element." so that the resolution will read as follows:

"**RESOLVED,** That this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring the development and upkeep of all navy yards and arsenals, and their use for the building of ships for any department of the government, as well as for the navy and army, and, also, the manufacture, to whatever extent may be practicable, of material, equipment and supplies for all departments of the government, the adequate remuneration of all civilian employees, and the adequate remuneration of all enlisted men and officers in the army and navy; be it further

"RESOLVED, That we favor the manufacture of war munitions and naval vessels in our arsenals and navy yards so that the elimination of private profit will place this department of national defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may make greater profits; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, and to all United States Congressmen and Senators."

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 22, as thus amended, be adopted as a substitute for the original Resolution No. 22 and Resolutions Nos. 26 and 32.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Alifas, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union: I do not rise for the purpose of opposing the committee's report. In fact, I am in hearty accord with the committee's report and I might say, judging by the ability of the business end of the committee, it is well that I am not in serious disagreement with them.

The first few days a large part of the time of this convention was taken up with trying to find ways and means to relieve unemployment, and I think if the purpose of this resolution is carried out it will go a long way towards solving the present hard times in which we find ourselves. In the first place, the situation as we have it now is that we have our warehouses full of materials for public needs, but we lack in purchasing power. Our granaries are full. The country is over supplied with foodstuffs and all sorts of other materials that the people need, but there is no purchasing power. During the period of prosperity when all these goods were produced the working men received their wages, and those wages have now been spent, and the surplus is now the property of our captains of industry. How are we going to get the purchasing power to reduce that supply so they will again start their factories? They do not want to produce more of the goods they already have, and since the only kind of service we can render will be to manufacture and produce materials that are not going to be sold again on the open market, that means more public work.

We had a naval conference in London which decided on the minimum size of the navy that was acceptable to the various powers, and that minimum is what we propose in these resolutions. An adequate navy, of course, is an indefinite term. Some think the navy provided by the London treaty is inadequate, but if we can spend one hundred million dollars a year for these non-productive materials which cannot be sold again, it would release that much money with which the wage earners can reduce the supplies on hand in our warehouses and in that way start industry again. If two million dollars is spent in one week by wage earners the next week it will be spent by the

retailers and the following week by the wholesalers and so on, and it is quite probable that one million dollars will create at least fifteen million dollars' worth of business and purchasing power for the workers. It seems to us, therefore, that that is one solution that we have.

Personally, I think the President of the United States and the leaders of Congress made a mistake in returning to the big tax-payers \$160,000,000 in taxes paid during the last year, instead of spending that \$160,000,000 on public work of the United States during the current year and thus releasing a vast amount of purchasing power. I think we should recommend to the President and the leaders of the House that they should spend large sums of money to start things going. Taxes are not a dead loss even to the tax-payers, and we must remember that those who got that \$160,000,000 are among the large corporations, headed by the Bethlehem Steel Company.

It seems to me this is the real crux of our situation. Employers are not going to run business at a loss. It has been well said that business in this country is run for profit and not for service. Money for public works comes from taxation and the taxpayers will get it back again in the form of greater purchasing power.

Just one more word on the merits of a navy. Some people think we don't need a navy. The world today is by no means a safe place to live without some sort of police force. The United States is one of the stable governments that still exist. We are not a militaristic nation and the navy would not be used for that purpose, but the few stable nations of the world must be able to protect encroachments upon our country on the part of other people who are not so well fit as we. We fought a war not long ago for the purpose of ending war and making the world safe for democracy. We have accomplished neither one. As regards democracy there are at least two or three dictatorships that have been established—one, the Red dictatorship, the other whose emblem is the black shirt, and we have a number of revolutions now in the South American countries.

It behooves us to have a navy that is adequate to protect this country and its institutions, even though it is not necessary in the minds of some people. In the meantime we would be releasing vast amounts of money for the purpose of adding to the purchasing power, so that these bulging warehouses could be emptied of their goods and the employers could again start their factories and fill them up.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Protesting Employment of Prison Labor on Construction Work for the Federal Government

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates William J. Bowen, George T. Thornton, Harry C. Bates and John J. Stretch of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly condemned the employment of prison labor in competition with free labor and has lent its support and given of its leadership in every campaign to bring an end to that evil; and

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, held in Montreal, Canada, had before it a resolution condemning an important phase of the prison labor problem, namely the employment of prison labor in the construction of federal prisons and reformatories, unanimously adopted by that convention in language as follows:

"WHEREAS, On January 7, 1925, Congress passed a law which makes it mandatory for the Attorney General to employ prison labor for the construction and maintenance of all Federal Prisons and Federal Reformatories, wherever possible; and

"WHEREAS, Such prisoners are not competent mechanics to do such class of work, and do not care to do such work, are taking a great deal of work from civilian mechanics who are entitled to this work, which greatly affects our members and which is not helping the unemployment situation in any way, and does not seem to be in line with President Hoover's plan; and

"WHEREAS, It seems in the past, when such bills were up for passage that provided for prison labor, that there was no opposition to such bills; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this convention go on record against prison labor doing work that requires building mechanics on all Federal construction work, and the delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Boston, Massachusetts, be instructed to present a resolution at said convention requesting the A. F. of L. Convention to go on record against prison labor and to amend the Bill that was passed January 7, 1925, to eliminate the words prison labor, and to oppose any Bill that provides for prison labor that requires the employment of competent mechanics, and further

"RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. notify all International Unions in the future of any Bills that provide for prison labor so that the respective International Officers can oppose any bill that provides for prison labor, which work rightly belongs to the Building Mechanics."

Be it therefore

RESOLVED, By this Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we approve the above quoted resolution, making its resolves the action of this convention, to the end that further progress may be made in the elimination of prison labor in competition with free labor.

The convention having already acted favorably on two resolutions of a similar nature, your committee recommends reference of Reso-

lution No. 31 to the Executive Council for the purpose of having the Council make a complete statement on the subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Appeal of Actors and Musicians for Support of Popular Movement Against Mechanizing of Cultural Arts

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Jos. N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, John W. Parks, Chas. L. Bagley, Edward Canavan, W. Ralph Fetterman of the American Federation of Musicians; Paul Dullzell of the Associated Actors and Artists of America, and J. W. FitzPatrick of the Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Histrionic and Musical Arts are a cultural agent of unquestioned value in the progress of all nations; and

WHEREAS, The perpetuation and the further progress of these arts depend upon the professional actor and musician and the continued development of young talent to professional proficiency; and

WHEREAS, The mechanizing of these Arts is destroying all incentive and opportunities for young actors and musicians to develop their talent by centralized employment opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor deplores the tendency and purely commercial motives that are undermining and destroying the foundations of our cultural structure and that are debasing the arts of our people, that we approve the undertaking of musicians, actors—indeed, all employed in the theatrical, entertainment and musical profession in arousing the people to the dangers involved in placing these arts upon the altar of greed and under the guise of scientific and mechanical advancement are destroying the very soul and life of the human qualities and opportunities that have made for these higher and finer sensibilities of mankind and that we call upon all wage earners as well as all others deeply interested and seriously concerned in the preservation and further development of these arts to join in this appeal against the dehumanizing of the arts and for the enlargement of opportunities and incentives to the youth of our land for a constantly higher and finer cultural life by preserving for all time the very spirit of soul and of the fine human attributes and qualities involved in these arts and which so greatly contribute to the enchantment and enrichment of life itself.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 33 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Labor Policy of Fox Theatres in Wardrobe Department

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Isabel Hall Early of the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770, New York, N. Y., Bertha C. Fearn, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17298, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mary Cronin, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 18059, Pittsburgh, Pa.:

WHEREAS, The Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Unions are making every effort to convince the American Federation of the importance of this resolution and suggest ways and means be provided, whereby our organizations will be protected against the unfairness of Fanchon and Marco employing non-union wardrobe women on the Fox Theatre Circuit; and

WHEREAS, The Fox Theatres Corporation are enlarging their circuit of houses throughout United States and Canada, and employ non-union labor in the wardrobe department, thus destroying our working standard, also lowering our wage scale, which is against all principles of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates and Representatives of our organizations, most respectfully ask that the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to gain us recognition in all theatres, and to support us in our fair and just fight for our rights as trade unionists.

Resolution No. 34 is not drafted in a form for adoption by the convention. Your committee therefore recommends the adoption of the following resolution as a substitute for Resolution No. 34:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to take such action as in the judgment of the Council may be wise and proper to bring about the extension of trade union organization among theatrical wardrobe attendants and to endeavor to secure recognition for such unions, including Theatrical Wardrobe Attendant Unions No. 16770 of New York, N. Y., No. 17298 of Philadelphia, Pa., and No. 18059 of Pittsburgh, Pa., and other affiliated local unions of a similar character, with special reference to the Fox Theatre Circuit, the Fox Theatres Corporation, and the Fanchon and Marco concern.

Delegate, Early, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, I feel I would not be keeping the faith with my organization if I did not stand here and make a personal appeal to this body of workers and ask their cooperation to help us in the theatres in our struggle to gain the recognition that rightfully belongs to us, and to ask your cooperation with all the others who work with us, to stand by the union

woman who carries her credentials in her pocket, a paid-up card, against a non-union woman who travels over the country as a tourist for very little more than her railroad fare.

We, the Wardrobe Women, earnestly urge that you give us all your help, and it will be very gratifying to me to take back to my organization the message that our appeal was not in vain.

I thank you.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green in the Chair.

Proposing Protective Legislation for Union Labels in District of Columbia

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is no law in the District of Columbia which protects the membership of unions in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor against the misuse of their emblems, that is, their Union Labels, Shop Cards and Working Buttons; and

WHEREAS, These union emblems have been misused by parties not authorized to use them in the District of Columbia, and no redress can be had for the abuse of these emblems under present conditions except by procuring injunctions or a suit at law; and

WHEREAS, Such remedies are costly and cumbersome and do not yield the immediate and effective result that the registration laws of the several states do with regard to the protection of the Union Label, Shop Card and Working Button; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced such bill or bills in the Congress of the United States and try to secure their adoption, that will protect the Union Label, Working Button and Shop Card from misuse or imitation in the District of Columbia.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 35 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 36, 79, 83 and 97 deal with the same general subject. The resolutions are as follows:

Favoring Camden, N. J., for the 1931 A. F. of L. Convention

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Joseph V. Egan of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, The first Monday in September, 1931, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the advent of Labor Day, being first held in the City of New York on September, 1882; and

WHEREAS, The Father of the movement that brought about this National Holiday as a tribute to labor, our late Brother Peter M. McGuire, the first International Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and whose residence, during the greater part of his life, was situated in the City of Camden, New Jersey, and his remains are now interred in Arlington Cemetery in the same city; and

WHEREAS, It was through our late Brother McGuire's efforts, in addition to others, that the American Federation of Labor came into being, and his courageous fights in behalf of labor in the early days of its existence have helped in a great measure to bring about our present-day conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, in this Fifty-second Annual Convention, assembled this 15-16-17th days of September, 1930, at Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record to present a resolution to the American Federation of Labor at their next convention in Boston, in October, 1930, that the 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in the city of Camden, New Jersey, as a tribute and as a pilgrimage to Camden, to honor the memory of our late Brother Peter J. McGuire.

Proposing Omaha, Nebraska, as the City for the 1931 Convention

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Harry J. Gill of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Omaha, the largest city in the state of Nebraska, not far distant from the center of the United States, the fourth city in the United States in railroad facilities, in excess of 225,000 population, with ample hotel accommodations and other facilities for the entertainment of a convention, desires that the 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in this city; and

WHEREAS, It has been a number of years since a convention of the American Federation of Labor has been held in this mid-west territory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor assist in any way possible the Omaha Labor Unions in bringing about the convention of the 1931 session of the American Federation of Labor in Omaha.

Proposing Columbus, Ohio, as the City for the 1931 A. F. of L. Convention

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates P. J. Morris, W. H. Pope, Wm. F. Bauers and Edward Ryan of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The following resolution is introduced at the request of Local Union No. 172 of Columbus, Ohio:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 15, 1881, and

WHEREAS, the meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers Local 172 join with the Columbus Federation of Labor in extending an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its annual convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Local Union request our International Officers to bring this invitation to the attention of the officers and delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and inform them of the hearty welcome that awaits the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the state and city of its birth.

Proposing Columbus, Ohio, as the City for the 1931 A. F. of L. Convention

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly of the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 15, 1881, and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio (Druids' Hall, 180-182 South Fourth Street); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor extend an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to celebrate its semi-centennial anniversary and hold its annual convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Ohio State Federation of Labor be instructed to bring this invitation to the attention of the delegates of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and inform them of the hearty welcome that awaits the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in the state and city of its birth.

Your committee is of the opinion that is is not the function of any committee to make recommendations to approve or disapprove proposals to select any particular city as a convention city. The committee therefore recommends, without prejudice to any of the cities named, that no action be taken on Resolutions Nos. 36, 79, 83 and 97. We further recommend that in the future such resolutions shall

not be accepted for introduction in the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Employment of Civilian Workers on Mechanical Work for Army and Navy

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is considerable unemployment in the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War are constantly assigning repair work to enlisted men that was formerly performed by civilian labor; and

WHEREAS, If this governmental repair work was performed by civilian labor it would reduce considerably the ranks of the unemployed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual Convention assembled in Boston, Mass., in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty (1930), that the Officers of the American Federation of Labor correspond with the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War and endeavor to have the repair work of the Army and Navy Departments performed by skilled and experienced civilian workers, thereby relieving to some extent the unemployment situation.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 37.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Protect Interests of Union Labor in Boulder Dam Work

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Operations on the Boulder Dam project, involving construction costing over \$165,000,000 and which will provide employment to thousands of men for the next eight or ten years, will be practically in progress next year; and

WHEREAS, It is yet undetermined whether the construction is to be by private contract or force account under the supervision of the Reclamation Service Department of the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, There is need for concerted effort on the part of Organized Labor to create and institute protective measures in order that this gigantic governmental project be constructed under conditions favorable to Organized Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual session assembled in the City of Boston, Mass., in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty (1930), hereby requests its Executive Council to make a thorough research and investigation of same and endeavor to put into effect all elements tending to safeguard the interests of Organized Labor on this project; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council recommend to each National and International Union whose jurisdiction is and will be affected by the Boulder Dam project that they assign a representative to protect their interests and the interests of Organized Labor.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 41 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Declaring in Favor of House Joint Resolution 334 Proposing Radio Broadcasting Rights for Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior for Apportionment to Radio Stations of the Most Representative Groups

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized labor with some four million members and comprising with their families almost one-fourth of the entire population of our country and representing not only its actual membership but the many other millions of men and women who toil, has asked the Federal Radio Commission for just one channel of the ninety available in this country, together with ample power and adequate time of operation; and

WHEREAS, The commission however has denied this petition and has granted to WCFL—Labor's station—the right to broadcast on only 1500-watt power during the daytime only, while it has granted to the radio trust six or seven clear channels with unlimited time of operation besides numerous other broadcasting stations with part time operation; and

WHEREAS, Metropolitan newspapers which already have powerful means of communication, but which are nevertheless local institutions, have been given the choicest wave lengths with ample power and unlimited time of operation, and hundreds of private individuals and corporations who are seeking to make a private commercial profit out of radio, have been granted choice channels with ample time of operation; and

WHEREAS, The great body of millions of working men and women in the country represented by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have been told that it is not "in the public interest, necessity,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

and convenience" for them to have a voice on the air; and

WHEREAS, House Joint Resolution No. 334, now pending in Congress, proposes to amend the radio act of 1927 by providing that the Federal Radio Commission shall assign three cleared-channel broadcasting franchises to the Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior which shall be licensed to the radio station recommended by the heads of those departments as being most representative of the labor, agriculture and education interests of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the Fiftieth Convention assembled does hereby urge the passage of House Joint Resolution No. 334, and instructs its Executive Council to make a determined effort to secure prompt action on the said Resolution.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 44.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Patronage of Fair Concerns in Full Fashioned Hosiery Industry

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Real Silk Mills, manufacturers of women's full-fashioned hosiery, have a policy in their factory which includes a "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The Real Silk Mills of Indianapolis have secured an injunction in the Federal Courts restraining the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, a department within the United Textile Workers of America, from approaching their employees to explain the benefits of trade unionism to them; and

WHEREAS, A large part of the hosiery manufactured by the Real Silk Mills of Indianapolis is sold from door to door, to the wives, sisters and daughters of the American Labor Movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn the labor policy of the Real Silk Mills of Indianapolis, Indiana; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to all affiliated local unions and city and state bodies along with a letter urging our membership to purchase only such full fashioned hosiery as appears on the "white list" issued by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 47 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to endeavor to bring about

an adjustment of the difficulty referred to, and to notify all affiliated organizations in event of failure to bring about a satisfactory adjustment. The committee further recommends that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to direct the attention of affiliated organizations to the "white list" referred to in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, United Textile Workers: Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the action of our Resolutions Committee in referring this first Resolved to the Executive Council in an endeavor to adjust the differences between the Real Silk Hosiery Mills and the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America. In the Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis there not only exists the yellow dog contract but there exists what I would term a double deck yellow dog contract. In the first instance the individual worker must sign a contract with the Real Silk Hosiery Mills that they will not become a part of our organization. On several occasions we attempted to organize, upon an appeal made by the workers in that shop. The result was the company went to the courts and the courts enjoined us from interfering in any way whatsoever with the employees of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis. Some of those workers who were locked out and sent home because they joined our organization, not having any other place to secure positions and because of the need of something to do in order to earn a livelihood, applied again to the Real Silk Company for a position with the result that their parents were forced to sign this agreement with the Real Silk Hosiery Mills:

"I (name) do hereby guarantee to Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., that I will pay to it any damage or loss which it may sustain if my son shall violate his agreement with Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., by joining the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, any local union thereof, or any other union.

"This guarantee is executed in consideration of the following conditions: That my son was formerly employed by the mills; that he agreed that the mills should be run non-union, and that he would not join a union, for which reason he was discharged by the mills; that he has resigned from the union and is applying for employment again by Real Silk Mills, Inc.

"If my son should violate his agreement with the mills which he has signed, I will pay to Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., the loss and damage sustained by it, above referred to."

In addition to that, Mr. Chairman, the Real Silk Hosiery Mills, strange to say, is one of

the full fashioned mills that appear to be making a very substantial profit today. These mills sell the majority of their products from door to door and they appeal to the wives and daughters of the members of this great labor movement to purchase the goods. On any number of occasions the salesman that goes from door to door guarantees that these goods are made under union conditions and in a union shop. That is absolutely not true, and I trust the delegates will bear in mind that they must tell the wives and daughters of their households that Real Silk goods and hosiery made by the same company are absolutely unfair to organized labor. They not only have the yellow dog contract but they have the injunction against our organization.

In the second Resolve, Mr. Chairman, we propose that the labor movement recommend to their men and women that they buy such goods as are listed in the white list of our organization. The mills manufacturing these goods have signed agreements with our organization which carry with them many very beneficial things, including unemployment insurance. You will bestow a great favor on the full fashioned section of the textile industry if a concerted drive is made against the Real Silk products and have them recognize that if they want to make abundant sales in this country they must recognize the right of their workers to become a part of this organization.

Urging Patronage of Pequot Products

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America,

WHEREAS, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America in Salem, Massachusetts, are seriously handicapped and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills making the same product at a lesser cost, with longer hours to work and lower wages, and

WHEREAS, The local unions of Salem and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade union movement, and suggesting a means whereby our organization can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy our union and place this mill in the same class as the other low-paid mills which drive their workers with the speed-up or stretch-out plan, in order to secure mass production at low cost, with the inevitable glutting of the market; therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its former action to urge the delegates to keep in mind Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases in order to assist the United Textile Workers of America in promoting their patronage throughout the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED. That this Convention reiterate the previous action of the American Federation

of Labor in authorizing the promotion of Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, and again urge all delegates to take a personal interest in assisting the United Textile Workers of America to resist the attack of non-union sheeting mills; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 48 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Modification of Packers Consent Decree

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Patrick E. Gorman, M. J. Kelly and Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, Several years ago the United States Government during the Wilson administration, made an agreement with certain American meat packers; namely, Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson and Cudahy packing companies, whereby these companies confine their activities to the packing industry and divest themselves of all interest in unrelated lines and refrain from carrying on a retail meat business; and

WHEREAS, This agreement known as the "Consent Decree" has worked out and is now working out beneficial to the public and to the retail meat dealers of the country; and

WHEREAS, During recent months these same packers have petitioned the government to modify the "Consent Decree" so that these packers could engage in the retail merchandising of meats; and

WHEREAS, To allow the packers their petition would be granting these packers monopoly of the meat trade and would work out to the detriment of the meat consuming public and to the thousands of small merchants who have been engaged all their lives in the retail merchandising of meats; and

WHEREAS, To grant the packers' petition would create serious hardship upon the retail meat dealers of the country because these packers could, and would, undoubtedly, use their great force to drive the independent merchant out of the meat business. Fully seventy-five per cent of the product handled by the independent meat dealers is now purchased directly or indirectly from these same five packers, and to allow the packers' petition would put these retailers in a most unfavorable competitive position; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of independent present day retail meat dealers are friends of organized labor while these five large packing companies, by their past actions and declarations, are bitter enemies of organized labor; and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, It was in the plants of these five packing companies that so-called "company unions" were formed to supplant the legitimate trade unions, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in its recent convention held at Detroit, Michigan, in June of 1930, made a strenuous protest to the government, through the office of Attorney-General, that there be no modification of the "Packers Consent Decree" that would permit these packers to engage in the retail merchandising of meats; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and raise their voices in the name of all labor by a protest to the Attorney-General of the United States, President Hoover, and all Administration officers who are charged with the enforcement of the "Packers Consent Decree" that is now in effect.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 52 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 53 and 64 deal with the same subject. The resolutions are as follows:

Urging Legislation for Disposition of the Muscle Shoals Project

Resolution No. 53—By the Tri-Cities Central Labor Union, Sheffield, Florence and Tuscaloosa, Ala.

WHEREAS, There has been an inexcusable delay in the settlement of the great Muscle Shoals project by Congress, and

WHEREAS, The activities of lobbyists for selfish interests in bringing about this delay are a national disgrace, and

WHEREAS, The proper settlement and development of this project would be of immense benefit to the entire Southeast and would in a large measure relieve the unemployment situation which is most distressing in this section; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members and officials of the Tri-Cities Central Labor Union, which body represents all labor crafts of the Muscle Shoals district and vicinity, in regular meeting assembled on this the 24th day of September, 1930, urge the members of Congress to take action at the next session of Congress convening in December, 1930, that will bring about immediate settlement and disposition of this project in such a way as will fully protect the rights of the public; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the officers of the American Federation of Labor with the request that such a Resolution or similar Resolution be presented to the American Federation of Labor

while in session at Boston, Massachusetts, in annual Convention, and that this Convention be urged to adopt and support such a Resolution. The adoption of such a Resolution being in harmony with the past conduct of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Urging Legislation to Dispose of Muscle Shoals Project

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and Wm. E. Walter of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, There has been an inexcusable delay in the settlement of the great Muscle Shoals project by Congress, and

WHEREAS, The activities of lobbyists for selfish interests in bringing about this delay are a national disgrace, and

WHEREAS, The proper settlement and development of this project would be of immense benefit to the entire Southeast and would in a large measure relieve the unemployment situation which is most distressing in that section; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in National Convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, urge the members of Congress to take action at the next Session of Congress convening in December, 1930, that will bring about immediate settlement and disposition of this project in such a way as will fully protect the rights of the public; be it further

RESOLVED, That all Legislative Agents connected with Union Labor be urged to bring this matter to the attention of the different members of Congress.

Resolutions Nos. 53 and 64 relate to the same subject. Resolution No. 53 is not drafted in proper form for action by the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 64 be amended by striking out the preamble thereof and the last paragraph and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted as follows:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in national convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, urge the members of Congress to take action at the next session of Congress, convening in December, 1930, that will bring about immediate settlement and disposition of the Muscle Shoals project in such a way as will fully protect the rights of the public.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council continue to watch the situation closely to the end that whatever legislative action is taken will conform to or

ganized labor's idea and will be for the best interests of the general public.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Independence of the Philippine Islands

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America; David Levine of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Union; C. L. Bagley of the American Federation of Musicians; Rowland Watson of the Washington State Federation of Labor; Chas. S. Child of the California State Federation of Labor; H. C. Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America; Daniel P. Haggerty of the International Association of Machinists; W. A. Granfield of the San Francisco Central Labor Council; John P. McLaughlin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and C. J. Woods of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, At the time of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by our government, pledge was made by governmental authorities that the control of the Philippine Islands was to be temporary; and

WHEREAS, The Filipinos cannot be assimilated with our people without creating a mongrel race; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has held them to be Asiatics and ineligible to citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming sentiment of the Filipinos is for their independence, and we believe in the self-determination of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, while reaffirming its previous declarations on the subject, insist that the pledge made to the Filipinos and the American people be now redeemed by granting complete independence to the Filipinos.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 58.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Endorsement of Provision of Tariff Act Prohibiting Shipment of Convict Made Goods Into United States

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Holt Ross of the Mississippi State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States provided in the last tariff act that no

goods, products, wares or merchandise made in whole or in part by convict labor, or by forced or indentured labor be allowed to be shipped into this country; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is highly in favor of this clause which prevents said articles being shipped into this country to be sold in competition to goods manufactured or produced by free labor; and

WHEREAS, Certain goods or products have been allowed to be entered in this country wherein it was alleged said goods were manufactured by convict labor, and whereas strong proof was offered to substantiate said allegations; and

WHEREAS, The Treasury Department ruled that the burden of proof was placed upon the parties objecting to said shipments instead of upon the shipper; so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the American Federation of Labor does hereby heartily endorse this clause of said tariff act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That whenever a case presents itself wherein there is a strong probability that said convict made, forced or indentured labor goods are being or are about to be shipped into this country, that the President be instructed in using whatever means he might deem advisable in carrying out the protective features of this clause of the said tariff act.

The subject matter of Resolution No. 60 has been acted upon by this convention upon recommendation of the Committee on Legislation, in the adoption of that part of the report of the Executive Council entitled "Foreign Convict Labor Products," which relates to "Forced and indentured labor under penal sanctions" as well as convict labor. Your committee is of the opinion that action on Resolution No. 60 is therefore unnecessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Memorial Tribute to Samuel Gompers and Deceased Leaders

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Holt Ross, Mississippi State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is always present in every convention the invisible spirit and loving memory of that happy warrior and martyr, our late and revered president, the honorable Samuel Gompers, and other late leaders; and

WHEREAS, We deem it proper to eulogize their unselfish and estimable service to our cause; so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention that the President thereof do appoint a committee to work

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

out fitting plans for the proper tribute to their memory, and that he be further instructed to set aside an hour for the proper observance of any plans submitted by said committee.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Lynching

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18069, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, An alarming and frightful rerudescence of lynching and mob violence in the last nine months, has swept the country, rendering the persons, jobs and property of colored Americans insecure, thereby defying and nullifying constitutional guarantees of their life, liberty and possession of property, and

WHEREAS, Various un-American organizations styling themselves as Blue Shirts, Black Shirts and Ku Klux Klan, have mobbed, beaten, killed and driven from jobs colored wage earners in flagrant and utter violation of American traditions of fair-play and equal opportunity, which dangerously menaces the permanence of our free institutions, and

WHEREAS, Colored Americans have displayed matchless, heroic and exemplary bravery, patriotism and sacrifice of blood and life on every battle field from the war of Independence to Flanders Field in defense of the honor and cherished institutions of our great Republic, and have, with brain and brawn, contributed to its industrial and commercial development, and to its spiritual greatness in art, music, literature, science, religion and philosophy, as well as demonstrated their capacity for the highest standards of American citizenship, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in harmony with the sound traditions and repeated pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor that the aforementioned practices of economic and civil injustices upon the colored wage-earners and our fellow citizens are herewith unequivocally and sharply condemned and the voice of American labor reaffirms and emphasizes its faith in and devotion to the principles and ideals of equal opportunity, fair-play and justice for all Americans in industry and before the law, without regard to race, creed, color or nationality, as the safest assurance and guarantee of the stability of our institutions; and the American Federation of Labor pledges its forces and calls upon all affiliated unions to employ their great influence and power, in cooperation with various civic and religious organizations, to stamp out lynching and mob violence and industrial discrimination because of race or color as a disgraceful crime and a blot upon American civilization.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 71 be amended by striking out the preamble and by striking out the words "the aforementioned" in the last paragraph, and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted, as follows:

RESOLVED, That in harmony with the sound traditions and repeated pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor that practices of economic and civil injustices upon the colored wage-earners and our fellow citizens are herewith unequivocally and sharply condemned and the voice of American labor reaffirms and emphasizes its faith in and devotion to the principles and ideals of equal opportunity, fair-play and justice for all Americans in industry and before the law, without regard to race, creed, color or nationality, as the safest assurance and guarantee of the stability of our institutions; and the American Federation of Labor pledges its forces and calls upon all affiliated unions to employ their great influence and power, in cooperation with various civic and religious organizations, to stamp out lynching and mob violence and industrial discrimination because of race or color as a disgraceful crime and a blot upon American civilization.

Delegate Furuseth: I move to strike out the word "nationality" that is used in there, because it comes in conflict with the immigration laws.

Secretary Woll: The point raised by Delegate Furuseth, I think, has no application to the immigration law, because under the immigration law we do permit a certain number of people to enter our country every year. Until they become citizens they are aliens.

Delegate Furuseth withdrew the amendment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing That Officers of the American Federation of Labor Consider Entire Attitude of Congressmen in Regard to Labor Measures in Compiling Records

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate N. P. Alifas of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently adhered to the political practice of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies by supporting or opposing them, as the case might be, for election to public office; and

WHEREAS, For many years a labor voting record of members of Congress has been faithfully compiled by the American Federation of Labor, for reference as to their attitude toward labor legislation; and

WHEREAS, During the last two Congresses only one record vote was taken on labor measures passed or pending, thus leaving our mem-

bers and friends at a loss to know the present attitude of members of Congress, particularly newly elected members, on Labor's legislative program; and

WHEREAS, The leaders of the House, during the 70th and 71st Congress, appear to have endeavored to establish "Party responsibility" as distinguished from "Individual responsibility" of Congressmen to their respective constituencies, and have, by parliamentary maneuvers designedly prevented roll calls on labor measures, and have so employed the Rules of the House as to prevent labor measures of great importance from coming before the House for action; and

WHEREAS, These roll calls provide too meager a basis upon which organized labor may properly support or oppose candidates for Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor urge our friends in Congress to demand more roll calls on Labor measures and upon controversial questions in which organized labor is interested, and that the labor record of all members of Congress be amplified by taking into consideration their bona fide speeches, bills introduced, committee activity and parliamentary positions taken; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the establishment of such more complete labor records as may hereafter be established by the American Federation of Labor, the leaders of the House, the members of the Rules Committee, the members of the Steering Committee and other members holding responsible positions in the House of Representatives be held personally politically responsible, except in so far as they individually may have sponsored labor legislation of major importance, for the failure of the House to enact the several measures in which Labor is interested; and that our affiliated organizations and Labor publications be urged to conduct their political campaigns in such districts, as these members represent, with this policy in view; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a list of our outstanding friends and the outstanding opponents of organized Labor's program in Congress be compiled by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, taking into consideration their bona fide speeches, bills introduced, their activity in committees and their parliamentary activities with a view to concentrating the political influence of organized labor on these two select groups.

The committee has received no evidence to warrant the adoption of Resolution No. 77, and therefore recommends non-concurrence.

Delegate Alifas, Washington (D. C.), Central Labor Union: As the introducer of the resolution I would like to say that on a number of occasions members of the House have made points of order against labor measures, and according to the records kept by our organization that has not been noted. It contains just as much of an activity, either for

or against our measures, as a roll call vote. We have a number of members in Congress who, by reason of having voted for labor measures in the last few years, and who are distinctly against other labor measures, have not been listed as our enemies. I do not quite understand why the committee should bring in a report non-concurring in a proposition to place members of Congress on record in all matters in which it is possible to secure a statement of their public acts. I am going to vote against the recommendation of the committee. I hope the convention will adopt the resolution. I am not so unsophisticated as to think the convention will do so, however.

Chairman Woll: The committee did not receive any evidence that the present system of making up records for the American Federation of Labor is not complete. Statements have been made that state federations of labor have found complete satisfaction in the information provided. The American Federation of Labor officials may enlarge upon such activities without the instruction of the convention.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I don't like the idea of speaking against the report of the committee, but I think the resolution is a good one and it ought to be adopted unless there can be an understanding that the records be enlarged so as to show the real activities of the members of Congress.

Mrs. Kahn of the Fourth District of California, I think, and Mr. Free, of the Sixth District of California, have been reported as being friendly to labor, and yet if you look into the committee proceedings, if you look into the hearings you will find that they are opposed to the fundamental labor demands. I went through the whole district of Mr. Free calling attention to that. I didn't go to the Congressional Records, because it is an easy matter to release a man and let him vote to suit his constituency after having accomplished his work in another direction.

The action in committee, not in the introduction of bills, but the action that a representative or a senator takes on a committee sometimes lays bare his very soul, as it did in the case of Congressman Free and as it did in some instances in the case of Mrs. Kahn. I think if the officers of the Federation who have got to do with this matter will state, as I understand they have some tendency to state, that this will be looked into and that the committee actions will be looked into in order to

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

make up the record, that should be done. If that is not done I think the resolution should be adopted. I know without question that the action of the man in committee is entirely different from his action on the floor in many cases.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: There are just two points in connection with this matter that I desire to call to the attention of the delegates. The first is the manner in which the business of the convention is and must be transacted. I think most of you realize that there are resolutions presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor dealing with almost every conceivable question. As a member of the Committee on Resolutions I frequently find that the proponents of these various resolutions fail to appear before the committee and give any reason whatever for the adoption of the resolutions they propose. The committee is placed in a position where it must sponsor the resolution, defend it upon the floor of this convention and accept the responsibility for its passage, or report adversely.

I believe it to be a sound practice, and I have so contended, that where a resolution is presented for the consideration of a committee, the committee, unless it does desire to sponsor the resolution and take that responsibility upon failure of the proposer to present adequate reasons for a favorable report, is in duty bound to report adversely to this convention. That has to do with the policy that was followed in connection with this resolution.

I believe the committees of this convention should follow this policy. If they do not there will be injected into this and into future conventions questions that have no place on the floor of a convention of people banded together for a common purpose. I think this is an important enough question to take a few minutes of the time of this convention to give expression to this policy.

The resolution is a resolution of direction, it directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor as to the manner in which they should compile the records of our congressmen and of our senators. It enumerates the facts that are to be considered as determining in indicating the friends and foes of American workers. No reasons were given the committee, no evidence was presented to indicate the inadequacy of the present system, but the resolution was presented and it was left to the committee to find its own reasons for a favorable report, or to go out and secure

sufficient information to support a favorable report, or it was compelled out of necessity to report adversely.

As one member of that committee I am satisfied that the executive officers who have performed this work in the past are better able to judge as to the factors to be considered and their importance in fixing the records of the congressmen and senators. And being of that opinion, in the committee I supported the adverse recommendation, and it is my purpose at this time to give the delegates in this convention my reasons and the committee's reasons for its report on this matter.

President Green: May the Chair take advantage of this opportunity to make a brief statement to the convention. The officers and members of organized labor and all their friends are deeply interested in the records made in the legislative halls of our country by members of Congress when they vote upon legislation and other matters of great interest to labor. We have steadfastly followed the policy of presenting to labor the records of congressmen and of United States senators upon questions affecting labor and in which labor is interested. I was of the opinion that the records sent to organizations of labor throughout the country showing how congressmen voted upon legislative matters endorsed by labor, how often they voted, when they voted favorably, when they voted unfavorably and when they were absent, pretty well covered the legislative record of the congressmen and the United States senators. I did not know that there was any dissatisfaction anywhere regarding the policy pursued. The plan followed was originated a long time ago, we have endeavored to improve upon it where it seemed that improvement could be made. We always supply our state federations of labor, central bodies, national and international unions with the records of congressmen and senators so that they can advise their members and the members, exercising their sovereign rights of citizens, can go to the polls and vote for their friends and oppose their enemies.

Now I understand we are asked to go further and give information as to the attitude of congressmen and senators when they appear before committees, their speeches and points of order in committees long before the legislation reaches the halls of Congress. It would be very difficult to include in our records the

real attitude of senators and congressmen with regard to labor measures. We do not want to get into a controversy over the attitude of men when they challenge us and say it was their intention to vote for a measure when it came on the floor for action. How can we tell what is the attitude of men in Congress previous to the time a vote is taken on a measure? We may feel that a congressman or a senator is against us, but the real test is when a vote is taken, and that is the test we have always applied.

Yes, my friends, there are those who seek to block things in committees; there are those who raise points of order; there are those who act very queerly, some of them mysteriously. It has been my observation that some of those who act in this manner vote for our measures when they are compelled to face the test. It is my judgment that if we would follow the policy outlined in this resolution in the preparation of the records of congressmen and United States senators that we would create confusion and we would develop controversies, that the records might be challenged and that we could not successfully prove the attitude of a man because he talked one way and voted another.

However, the Executive Council is willing to improve upon any plan we follow. If upon investigation we can find a better way, a more improved way, a way in which we can give to our membership more information, we will gladly do so, but it occurs to me that these matters should be discussed with the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor or with the Executive Council. I never heard of this plan until it was presented to this convention through this resolution. I desire to make this explanation so that the delegates and officers may understand our desire, our purpose and our policy. We want to defeat our enemies and elect our friends, but we want to give to the membership of organized labor the record of the votes of these men who claim they are our friends and who show themselves to be our enemies. I hope the report of the committee will be adopted.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: Having had some experience in this I take this opportunity merely to bring it to the attention of the convention so that others may not have the experience I have encountered. I have been an officer of my organization for twenty-seven years. Two years ago I was a

candidate for Congress. Imagine my surprise when, meeting my opponent, he flashed on me that he was the candidate of the American labor movement, having a 100 per cent endorsement by the American Federation of Labor. Upon investigation I found that he did have this report referred to, giving him a 100 per cent endorsement, when he had voted, as my recollection goes now, on five questions in eight years.

I know I must give credit to the President of the American Federation of Labor, and it will refresh his memory when I remind him that I found it necessary to bring this matter to his attention and he very promptly wrote me a letter offsetting the campaign matter being used by my opponent that he was representing the trades union movement in the House of Representatives for the Ninth District of Ohio.

I am inclined to think there is some room for improvement. I do not think for a moment that the officers of the American Federation of Labor would intentionally do anything of that kind, but in the routine this unfortunate situation did develop in my own particular case, and I would not take up the time of the convention except to suggest that you men who are active in the movement at home assist the President and the Secretary of our American Federation of Labor and avoid what occurred in my own case, which I could have avoided had they known I was a candidate for Congress in that district.

I don't believe the adoption of the resolution will clarify the situation, but activity in the districts will prevent a situation of this character arising.

Delegate Jewell: I think I am safe in saying that there is a considerable amount of dissatisfaction about the records as they are kept, because I have been present in conferences where that dissatisfaction has been voiced by various representatives of our railroad organizations. I understand from your statement that, notwithstanding the adoption of the report of the committee, the Executive Council is still free to proceed in such a way as in its judgment is necessary to improve upon the records we keep. I believe a conference with you and your legislative representatives of all the labor organizations in Washington would bring to your attention the complaints that have been made and thereby there may be worked out an improvement.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

I am conscious of the fact that there is a great problem involved. I feel our records are inadequate. I am confident that Senator Simmons of North Carolina has not a 100 per cent labor record, although the records show that he has. I have one objection to offer. I think it ought to be possible to apply some test to the various votes cast for or against these measures. I have in mind that the vote on Judge Parker was a real test of manhood and sincerity, and a man who voted against the confirmation of Judge Parker's appointment should be given more credit than a man who voted on some minor problem. Yet as we keep the records he gets only the same amount of credit as a man gets for voting on a minor measure.

Certain of our railroad organizations not affiliated with the Federation and the organizations affiliated with this Federation are co-operating in the endorsement of candidates, and I know I can say for all the organizations affiliated to this Federation that they entertain the constant fear, and they are constantly reminding their candidates that they must cooperate with the American Federation of Labor officials in order that we do not get our wires crossed on this matter.

President Green: The Chair desires to correct some wrong impressions, I think, that have been made by some of the statements to which you have referred. I cannot understand the statement by my friend Delegate Jewell that Senator Simmons of North Carolina was credited with a 100 per cent labor record. I did understand that the railroad group outside the American Federation of Labor had given him the endorsement. He voted for the confirmation of Judge Parker and based upon that vote we went into North Carolina and used our influence to bring about his defeat, and, fortunately, he was defeated. I will ask Vice-President Davis of the Boiler Makers if that is true.

Delegate Davis: I think I can substantiate every word you have said, Mr. President.

President Green: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is always ready to receive and consider any suggestions for improvement, and we welcome them. We are trying to find a better way. We want to make the true attitude of the representatives of Congress clear to our membership so that they may vote intelligently.

We welcome it from the legislative representatives, and if we can make improvement we will do so. I would like to ask, on behalf of the Executive Council, that the legislative representatives and others offer suggestions, and we will welcome them and put them into effect if they seem to fit the situation.

Delegate Jewell: It is my recollection that the railway organizations met in Washington on March 23 and 24 of this year. In the evening at the Cosmos Club we were presented with the record kept by the railway brotherhoods' legislative representatives, and they had with them the American Federation of Labor record. When we discussed Senator Simmons' record I remember the legislative representatives of the railway brotherhoods said that they gave him a clear record and that the American Federation of Labor record gave it to him. Later, after the Parker vote was taken, these organizations advised their members that Senator Simmons voted wrong on that test vote. The point I want to make is that up to the time that vote was recorded we were told in that meeting that both the brotherhood record and the American Federation of Labor record gave him a clear record, which I don't believe he was entitled to.

Delegate Davis: I think what the introducer of the resolution has in mind more than anything else is the action of certain members. Congress in committee. Many of us know the difficulties we have encountered with the injunction bill in committee. Some of these men have a fairly good record in so far as their votes in the House and Senate are concerned. I think the introducer of the resolution has in mind the obstructions placed in our way in getting measures out of committees, and points of order before the House, which sometimes defeat legislative measures.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Owing to the fact that there has been evidently some misunderstanding as to the methods of procedure in connection with the endorsement of political candidates, I think it is only fair to state that I served on a committee in both associations, and we did not cross our wires. The endorsement that went to Senator Simmons was only an endorsement which then existed, by the American Federation of Labor, and the action to which the President of this convention referred and which caused a change in both the American Federation of Labor

and the railway brotherhoods' representatives took place after the Parker vote. I don't think there is any misunderstanding existing between the two groups. A majority of the members affiliated to the Railway Employees Department are affiliated with this Federation. In the case of Senator Simmons, after the Parker vote, the railroad organizations sent to their members individual letters advising them of the withdrawal of the endorsement of Senator Simmons and sent representatives into his state to oppose his re-election.

President Green: But the Simmons organization in North Carolina used the endorsement sent there prior to the Parker vote.

Delegate Alifas: I regret exceedingly to appear to have given any affront to the officers and Committee on Resolutions. I assure you that is the farthest thing from my mind. I am a legislative representative of the International Association of Machinists and I merely desire to make a helpful suggestion that might tend to overcome a situation that has developed in the last two or three years. Up to two or three years ago the labor records of the House members were fairly satisfactory. Recently an effort has been made to keep us from learning of the attitude of some members of Congress or the Senate by not having record votes made. If they continue that practice for the next few years, as far as the House of Representatives is concerned, with the present machine in power we will not get another labor roll call vote. During this present Congress we have not had a solitary roll call, and from now on we will be compelled to endorse 60 or 75 per cent of the members for re-election even though we do not succeed in getting an additional roll call.

It occurs to me that we ought to apply some other test, and in the meantime hold the leaders of the House for either what was done or what it failed to do, because the leaders of the House have been responsible for the refusal to have a roll call. I possibly should have appeared before the Resolutions Committee, and Brother Howard's point was well taken in that I did not appear in support of my own resolution. However, inasmuch as the preamble of the resolution has not been read, I ask your indulgence while I read it, because it gives sufficient reasons why this matter should be given some serious consideration. The Committee on Resolutions could have recommended that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration if they

had so desired. That would have been perfectly satisfactory to me, and I don't think it will be satisfactory to any of us to have the resolution rejected, because we are not satisfied with things as they are.

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee: I understood you to say you are the legislative representative of one of the international organizations.

Delegate Alifas: Yes.

Secretary Olander: And since you find the records unsatisfactory, why did you fail to carry that to the representative of the American Federation of Labor that had the matter in charge at the time?

Delegate Alifas: I have talked to officers of our Grand Lodge and officers of the twenty-two standard railroad organizations. It occurred to me to introduce the resolution because I thought it the opportune time to have it given consideration.

Delegate Alifas read the preamble of the resolution, and continued: It seems to me if these reasons were read by the committee they ought to have provided a basis for bringing in a favorable recommendation. I assumed that the committee was so conversant with matters before them that it would not be necessary for any one to call their attention to my reasons for presenting this resolution.

President Green: Let us clear up this situation. Perhaps a couple of questions and answers will do so. Is it not true that what you are complaining of is the attitude of the powerful Rules Committee of the House of Representatives which has prevented such a vote?

Delegate Alifas: Yes, and the Steering Committee.

President Green: Is it not true that we have called to the attention of this convention the dominating attitude of the Rules Committee?

Delegate Alifas: Yes.

President Green: And did not the committee go on record denouncing that and call upon us to use the power and influence of this organization to clear up that matter?

Delegate Alifas: Yes.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

President Green: Is it not true that there are congressmen who are friendly to us who petitioned the Rules Committee to permit them to have a vote? The Rules Committee would not permit it. That prevents those friends of ours from making a record on legislative matters. The powerful Rules Committee that dominates the House of Representatives opposes our measures, refuses to grant a special rule, preventing labor members from voting, and that information will be sent at all times to our constituency, but that is a parliamentary procedure. It is a fight if you change the rules of the House of Representatives so that it will be more democratic.

Delegate Alifas: I agree with you on that. Some of the members of the Rules Committee have 100 per cent record so far as the last two Congresses are concerned.

President Green: I will be glad to let any of our constituency know what the Rules Committee does and who they are.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposing Use of Granite in New Post Office Buildings

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Sam Squibb, Granite Cutters International Association, and Fred W. Sutor, Quarry Workers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There exists serious unemployment among the granite workers of New England, and

WHEREAS, Every New England State is a granite producing state, and

WHEREAS, The government of the United States has adopted an extensive Federal Building program which includes several New England post office buildings, among them one for the City of Boston, Mass., and

WHEREAS, If New England granite is used it will furnish employment to a large number of New England workers and put into circulation in New England an amount of money which will go a long way towards the realization of organized labor's and President Hoover's policy for the revival of business, and

WHEREAS, There is no more suitable material than granite for the exterior of this class of permanent building, it being both substantially beautiful and economic of upkeep; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 50th annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in the City of Boston, Mass., endorses the use of granite for the exterior of

the Boston, Mass., Post Office Building and urges the proper Federal authorities to speed up the building program to relieve the pressing unemployment situation in this basic New England industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor bring this matter to the attention of the proper authorities in Washington.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 78.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pardon for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Thos. A. Slavens of the Newport, Rhode Island, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In spite of the indisputable evidence submitted during the past year to prove the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, these two noble labor patriots remain in prison; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the action of the Los Angeles and the New Orleans and the Toronto Conventions of the American Federation of Labor in relation to this case be reaffirmed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention send the Governor of California a telegram urging Thomas J. Mooney's and Warren K. Billings' immediate pardon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution and the convention's action upon it be immediately sent to Thomas J. Mooney and to Warren K. Billings.

The committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution as a substitute for Resolution No. 87:

RESOLVED, That the action of the Los Angeles and the New Orleans and the Toronto Conventions of the American Federation of Labor in relation to the case of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings be reaffirmed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Examination of Practitioners of Healing Arts

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Chas. F. Wills of the Building Service Employees International Union:

WHEREAS, Since all government tends to arrogate to itself more and more power, depriving the individual of his rights; and

WHEREAS, History shows that minorities always tend to use governments to further their own selfish wants; and

WHEREAS, History shows that on American soil religious liberty had to be suffered for and won; and

WHEREAS, Since today our laws make no provision to guarantee to each individual the absolute right of physical liberty; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that the United States Legislative bodies and the Legislative bodies of each individual state enact laws guaranteeing each and every person full physical liberty, and eliminating all laws of compulsory medication, vaccination and inoculation, passing laws putting the Drugless Method of healing on an equal basis before the law with Medication and Surgery, by refraining from passing any law abridging the right of any American citizen to have the Doctor or Healer of his choice; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the proper qualification of the practitioners of various methods of healing can best be determined by examination before qualified bodies of practitioners of their own methods and we are opposed to the examination before dual boards and before mixed boards.

The committee reports that it has received no evidence to justify the adoption of Resolution No. 93 and, therefore, because of this lack of information, the committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has created a Commission to arrange a fitting nation-wide observance of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, in 1932; and

WHEREAS, The Commission so created, composed of the President of the United States, the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, four members of the United States Senate, four members of the House of Representatives, and eight citizens appointed by the President of the United States, is charged with the duty of planning and directing the celebration; and

WHEREAS, The high purpose of the event is to commemorate the life, character and achievements of the most illustrious citizen of our Republic and to give every man, woman and child living under the Stars and Stripes an opportunity to take part in the celebration which will be outstanding in the world's history; and

WHEREAS, The George Washington Bicentennial Commission, desiring the full cooperation of the people in the United States has extended a most cordial and urgent invitation to our organization to participate in the celebration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fiftyeth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby endorse the program of observance of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, to take place in 1932, accept with appreciation, the invitation of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and pledge this organization to extend earnest cooperation to the United States Commission in all possible ways, so that future generations of American citizens may be inspired to live according to the example and precepts of Washington's exalted life and character, and thus perpetuate the American Republic; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be incorporated in the official proceedings of this meeting and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, Washington, D. C.

The committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 95.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cuba

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Thos E. Burke of the United Association of Plumbers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always taken a consistent and effective stand for just relations between the United States and our Latin American neighbors, especially when they have been struggling for liberty; and

WHEREAS, A struggle for freedom is now in progress and is rapidly approaching a climax in Cuba, which is practically a bordering country; and

WHEREAS, A special legal relation exists between the United States and Cuba, bringing the danger the American financial interests in the island will successfully urge some form of American intervention or pressure in favor of the present government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our representatives in the Pan-American Federation of Labor be instructed to use all diligence in opposing all forms of intervention and interposition, including diplomatic pressure and government-approved loans, in behalf of the existing government.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 96 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

To Prevent Employment of Alien Workmen
Upon Construction of Ships Built by the
United States

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; James Wilson, Pattern Makers' League of North America; M. J. Keough, International Molders' Union; G. M. Bugnizet, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; Roy Horn, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

WHEREAS, The private ship building yards are now busy in the construction of ships authorized under the Jones-White Act; and

WHEREAS, The construction of these ships will require the employment of many thousands of skilled mechanics; and

WHEREAS, These private ship yards employ a large number of alien workmen who are in constantly increasing numbers displacing American workmen; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record as vigorously opposing any such displacement of American labor, and furthermore instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to have legislation introduced in Congress which will prevent the employment of alien workmen upon the construction of any ships the construction of which is paid for in whole or in part by any grants or financial assistance or funds of the United States Government.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 99 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution of Thanks

Resolution No. 100, by Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The delegates, officers and guests of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor enjoyed a most hearty welcome at the hands of the organized labor movement, the people generally and the municipality of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Boston rendered untiring service to the convention throughout the sessions and provided for the entertainment and comfort of the delegates and visitors with most cordial hospitality and efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention, on behalf of the delegates and officers and their

wives and other members of their families accompanying them, and also on behalf of all guests and visitors, tender most hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of the City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to the following: Governor Frank G. Allen, Mayor James M. Curley, His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Rev. Jones I. Corrigan, S.J.; Rev. P. H. Clifford; Rev. N. Brougher, Rev. George L. Paine, Nathan Sidd, President, Boston Central Labor Union; James T. Moriarty, President, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Entertainment Committee through P. Harry Jennings, Chairman; Margaret I. Connelly, Treasurer, and Harry P. Grages, Secretary.

RESOLVED, That we thank the clergy of Boston and vicinity with the same spirit of good will and cordiality which prompted them to extend the freedom of their pulpits to a large number of delegates and officers of the Federation, and that we also extend our thanks to the press for the courteous and generous manner in which they have given publicity to the proceedings of the convention.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the convention be extended to Hon. Herbert Hoover, President of the United States, for the honor conferred upon this convention by his presence at and address to our convention.

RESOLVED, Too, that we thank all other distinguished visitors for their attendance and addresses to this convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Olander: This completes our report, which is signed by all the members of the committee:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman,
VICTOR A. OLANDER, Secy.,
G. W. PERKINS,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
CHARLES L. BAINE,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
ARTHUR M. HUDELL,
J. P. MORRIN,
J. L. WINES,
CHARLES P. HOWARD,
CLARENCE E. SWICK,
M. J. COLLERAN,
GEORGE THORNTON,

Committee on Resolutions.

Chairman Woll: I move that the report of the committee as a whole be approved as acted upon by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Following is the sermon delivered by President Green at Trinity Church, Boston, on Sunday, October 12, and which, by motion passed at an earlier session, is to be included in the proceedings of the convention:

SERMON DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT GREEN AT TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1930

Throughout the ages leaders and teachers of religion have denounced human exploitation and oppression. Moses pleaded the cause of the oppressed Israelites at the court of Pharaoh and Christ was most eloquent and unsparing when, in denunciation of their hypocrisy and greed, He arraigned the Scribes and Pharisees. Righteousness in human relations is the theme of all religious philosophies and justice is the basis of all law, human and divine.

All moral and religious codes set up recognized standards for the guidance of mankind. They have applied to human and social relations with equal force throughout all periods of the world's history. There has been no change in the essence or virtue of religious or moral laws. Right is right now and has ever been right, just as wrong is wrong now and has ever been wrong. The Biblical injunction proclaimed in Deuteronomy, Chapter 24, Verse 14: "Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates; at his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it; lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee," is just as applicable and pertinent now, at the present stage of modern civilization and modern industrial development, as it was when promulgated by Moses many centuries ago. The wrongs which have been imposed upon hired servants, upon working men, women and children, in both ancient and modern times are not due to ignorance or to a lack of understanding of the common elemental rules and principles of justice which should influence and control human conduct.

History records the rise and fall of many nations and of many races. They grew and prospered in proportion to their adherence and conformity to the principles and precepts of righteousness and truth. The elements of decay and destruction entered into the body politic of nations which are now remembered in name only when they substituted might for right, despotism for liberty, injustice for justice, and grinding oppression of the masses on the part of the favored few for equality of opportunity for all.

Philosophers and teachers in each generation have, through both the written and the spoken word, appealed to the heart and conscience of mankind to be just and righteous in all their dealings with each other. The

churches and all the institutions of education and training have appealed to the spirit and intellect of all classes of people to be obedient to law, to forsake wrongdoing and to follow the path of honesty, justice and righteousness. No one can justify wrongdoing or defend the accumulation of ill-gotten gains through the exploitation of working people because of a lack of knowledge and understanding of what constitutes fair and just dealing as between man and man.

The social, industrial and political ills of the human race are directly traceable to greed and selfishness. These evil influences have exercised a tremendous influence in the affairs of mankind. The strong and powerful have dominated the weak and helpless. Ambition and the desire to accumulate wealth, to possess power and to rule over others are prolific causes of human suffering, distress and woe.

Despite religious training, teaching and exhortation, supplemented by appeals to the public heart and conscience, many men and women who were classified as workers and servants have been exploited and oppressed. No period of the world's history has been free from the degrading effect of this evil practice. It was followed when the Egyptians compelled the children of Israel to make bricks without straw, when Nebuchadnezzar made vassals of all Jews within the dominion of the haughty Babylonian Empire, when the Romans compelled the conquered of other nations to perform forced labor, when the Greeks persecuted their captives, and when in England the barons and lords reduced the tillers of the soil to a condition of serfdom approximating slavery, and when, in our homeland, there was established and maintained the institution of human slavery.

In looking back toward the dawn of creation, contemplating the recorded bitter human experiences which have occurred at stated periods in developing civilization, we, of this generation, must be impressed with the great difficulties encountered by the masses of the people in their struggle for freedom and independence. The barriers of class domination, economic control, ancient customs and social and political inequality seemed insurmountable. There was no power to which working men and women could appeal for help and redress. They were regarded as inferior to the ruling class, for it was considered ignoble to perform work of any kind.

It was out of these harrowing experiences that the idea of collective action, organization and united effort among working men and women originated and developed. The workers slowly learned that neither individual effort nor personal merit counted in the economic struggle for higher living standards and improved working conditions. Only through concentrated action could working men and women make their influence felt or their voices heard. This organized movement among the workers was very insignificant and of very slow growth in the beginning. The plan seemed revolutionary in that it tended to upset the tradition of centuries. The ruling classes looked upon it as a subversive movement, menacing to society and dangerous to government.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

However, like other movements which at the beginning were misunderstood and later were given the stamp of public approval, organization among workers progressed in the face of tremendous obstacles until it was given public recognition and regarded as essential to the further development of industry and social welfare. It is universally conceded that these organized movements, formed by working people, have done much good and have assisted very materially in promoting the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the masses of the people. The home life has been made better, children have been given wider opportunities for education and self-development. Women have been protected in industry. Widows and orphans and the dependents of killed employees have been accorded special care and financial help through the operation and application of workmen's compensation legislation, sweat shops have been abolished, humane and tolerable working conditions and increased wages and reasonable hours of employment have all been established as a result of the organized efforts of working men and women. In this respect organized labor has made a real contribution to the development of the best and most noble in human life.

The American Federation of Labor always stands as a bulwark against the aggression of selfishness and greed, and thus it assists in making vital and effective the divine injunction, "Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant."

Modern life and modern industrial processes have served to intensify the social and economic ills from which humanity has ever suffered. Factory composition and industrial methods have undergone a decided change. Mass methods and mass employment have been substituted for individual skill and personal relationship. Out of this have grown a condition of sordid materialism and a state of sacrilegious psychology which constitutes a menace to the nation's spiritual and cultural life. The tragic economic and social conditions prevailing in the coal field communities of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and elsewhere bear testimony to this fact. The accumulation of great fortunes out of the earnings of industry and the state of abject poverty which exists in some centers of population tend to deprecate intangible human values. It is in this extended industrial and economic field where the organizations of labor stand and serve. Like General Nivelle, who answered the withering fire of the hosts who attacked the fortress at Verdun by saying, "Thou shalt not pass," the organizations of labor declare to those who wish to exploit and impoverish working men, women and children, "Thou shalt not oppress."

It is well that there is a great moral and economic force established in the field of industrial relations. This force truly represents the heart and mind of Labor and serves as an instrumentality through which the workers may give expression to their heart's yearnings, hopes and aspirations. The collective expression of working men is the voice of Labor speaking for it in the councils of the nation, in the conference room and in the open forums of public discussion. The fact of its existence serves as a wholesome influence in industrial affairs.

But this organized labor movement does not assume a negative position only. While it resists and opposes economic wrong and social injustice, wherever found, it pursues a constructive, affirmative policy of human betterment in all sections and all communities. It strives to bring the enjoyment of a more abundant life, a better home environment, the realization of higher living standards, broader cultural opportunities and a deeper sense of appreciation of all that is good and beautiful in life to all working men, women and children. The workers' struggle for higher wages, reasonable hours of work and tolerable conditions of employment is not based upon a desire to accumulate wealth or to inflict injury upon industry. Instead, it is inspired by a purpose to enhance human and spiritual values. Their motive is not materialistic. It is lofty, high and noble. They see in wages life and living in all that the term implies and in reasonable working hours opportunity for recreation, intellectual advancement and spiritual uplift. It is an overpowering urge which moves the mass of workers forward toward the realization of such praiseworthy transcendental ideals. Here is where the work of Labor parallels that of the Church.

Human betterment means spiritual betterment. The Church cannot make an effective appeal to those who are experiencing the pangs of poverty. It can appeal to those who enjoy decent living standards, in decent homes, in decent communities. Poverty, crime, sin and hate seem to be the counterparts of each other, while good citizenship, spiritual vision, religion and morality are found among those whose economic and living standards are pitched upon a high level. At least the work of the Church is made much easier where opportunities are created for self-development and self-expression. When thinking of this work and service I am reminded of the great moral and religious truth expounded by Jesus in his illustration recorded in Matthew (Chapter 25, Verses 34 to 40):

"Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

For I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in.

Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungry, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison and came unto thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

President Green: The Chair now recognizes our old friend Brother Perkins on International Relations. I should like to say in presenting Brother Perkins that he is one of those whose name has been associated with the American Federation of Labor practically

since its birth, the names, the American Federation of Labor and George W. Perkins, are almost synonymous. It seems he is almost a fixture, an institution, if you please, a part of our great labor movement. Men may come and men may go, the tide may ebb and the tide may flow, but good old George Perkins goes on forever.

Recently he was ill and I was very much concerned, I was very much alarmed, but we are happy, all of us, to see him here at this convention in comparatively good health, enjoying the convention, giving us the benefit of his presence and his advice. I have always welcomed his sound advice, his recommendations, as you have welcomed them. I wanted to pay this tribute to my distinguished friend, your friend and co-worker, Brother George W. Perkins, in presenting him to you at this time.

Delegate Perkins: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—First of all, let me assure you that I am deeply appreciative of the splendid introductory remarks of my good friend, President Green of the American Federation of Labor. To be engaged in such a work as we are in should arouse our highest aspirations. I know of no movement in which we need more attention and more action than we do at this particular time for the betterment of the working men and women. To be engaged in this work is a joy forever for me. I am glad that I am in the labor movement and, what is more, my friends, I am going to stay in it, despite inducements that have been offered, until the final bell rings. I hope it will ring when I am standing before you or other working men and women advocating the cause of trades unionism.

Now just one thought. We have heard much concerning unemployment. Years ago I made the statement—I made it thirty-five years ago, and reiterate it at this time—that the prosperity of any country depends upon the consuming power of the masses. What working men and women are suffering from today is under-consumption caused by inefficient wages and unemployment. With the rapid introduction of machinery labor is unable from the wages received and the hours it must toil to consume the product of its own work. But there is a cure; it is in organization of working men and women. If they are able to consume what they produce there will be no unemployment, and there is no other solution for the problem that confronts us today. There may be splendid help from Congress and the legislatures of the states, but in the final analysis

you must settle this question for yourselves. I am sincerely thankful for our Chairman's splendid introductory remarks.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Pan-American Federation of Labor

Under the caption, "Pan-American Federation of Labor," page 122 of the Executive Council's report, we find among other things the Executive Council says, "In many cases our services have greatly benefited the working peoples, who have requested our co-operation in a constructive and appropriate manner."

Concerning the Sixth Pan-American Labor Congress, the Council says, "The Sixth Pan-American Labor Congress, which was postponed in October, 1929, should take place in January, 1931." We note there is some difference of opinion as to just when and where the Sixth Congress will be held. Only eight of the units have so far declared, six were definite, two were uncertain as to sending delegates. Opinions as expressed through the Executive Council, gleaned from its records, show that the pressing international economic problems which are facing all the peoples in the two Americas, and the need of uniting all of these forces and labor centers, are the most important matters to be considered in the Sixth Pan-American Labor Congress.

On the question of when and where the Sixth Pan-American Labor Congress shall be held, your committee recommends that because of the unsettled economic, social and political conditions practically prevailing in most units and the unrest that is prevalent everywhere, that the matter be referred to the Executive Council with authority to collaborate with the other units in selecting the time and place most convenient for holding the next Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and that the American Federation of Labor be properly represented by the usual number of delegates.

The report, as referred to your committee, concludes by saying:

"Our Pan-American Labor movement is important and influential in the world's affairs and every support should be given to the next gathering of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for the purpose of assuring the defense

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

and protection of sacred human interests that should prevail throughout all nations."

Your committee finds itself in full accord with all statements herein referred to and made under this caption and recommends their approval.

Your committee expresses the opinion that among the surest ways to stabilize economic working and living conditions, is through our labor organizations. While the units in South America and Mexico have their social and political problems which require settlement, the methods to be employed are within the province, the declaration and the wishes of those directly concerned. The economic problem in its final analysis is universal and must be handled through organization in our trade unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman
 MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary
 JAMES WILSON
 ANDREW FURUSETH
 JAMES O'CONNELL
 MARTIN LAWLOR
 D. J. TOBIN
 GEORGE L. BERRY
 C. L. BAINE
 W. D. MAHON
 J. A. FRANKLIN
 J. J. HYNES
 WM. L. HUTCHESON
 JOHN COEFIELD
 EDWARD J. GAINOR
 ALBERT D. ADAMSKI
 MICHAEL GREENE
 BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER
 WILLIAM P. CLARKE
 WM. J. ROONEY
 WM. J. BOWEN
 JOHN J. MANNING
 THOMAS MALOY
 WM. GREEN

Committee on International Labor Relations.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: Before the convention adjourns we are to announce the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Parlor E or D on the mezzanine floor of this hotel at 11:00 o'clock tomorrow forenoon.

Delegate Beauregard: I move that the delegates to this convention give a rising vote of thanks to our sterling President, to the other officers and to the committees that have worked so faithfully to make this fiftieth convention so successful.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous rising vote.

President Green

Now, fellow delegates and officers, it becomes my duty to declare this convention adjourned, but before doing so may I express to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention my very sincere appreciation of the cooperation and the fine support which you have given to the presiding officers and to all the committees during the entire proceedings of this convention. I can conceive of no greater honor that can come to any officer or delegate in attendance at one of these great congresses of labor than to be permitted to preside over such a splendid delegation as has come to this convention. Our proceedings have been carried on in a dignified and most intelligent way.

I wish that some of those on the outside who may claim to possess superiority in education, and in training, could come to our conventions and see this great congress of labor in action. I am one of those who believe that an American Federation of Labor convention is one of the best conventions and one of the greatest conventions held upon the American continent. Men who attend this convention are men of training and experience, willing to consider and analyze and examine all proposals presented, but they are unwilling to commit this great movement to some policy that could be challenged by any one as economically unsound. We will not be carried away by the voices of those who present some visionary, vaporous, academic proposal as a remedy for economic ills. We are practical men, dealing with practical questions, keeping in mind practical solutions for our economic problems. And, furthermore, there are no demagogues attending these conventions. We will not deceive our workers; we feel under great obligations to them; we will submit to them the facts; we will tell them the truth, and it is for that reason our great movement has commanded and secured the cooperation and the loyalty of many millions of working men and women; and it is because of that fact

that the great American Federation of Labor exerts a greater influence than ever in the councils of the nation and in the community and civic life of our country.

I am proud of our movement; it is a great movement, composed of earnest working men and women, and here we have adopted a new slogan, another brilliant page has been written into the records of the American Federation of Labor. We have met every question fearlessly and courageously, and we have presented our remedies and our views. There is the record, and we challenge any man to refute the remedies we have offered as a cure for our economic ills. We will go out into the South, into the West, the East and the North, carrying the message of trade unionism, obeying the instructions of this convention,

endeavoring with all the force at our command to make our constructive program a complete success.

Men and women, I have been made happy during this convention because I have been privileged to preside and to meet and greet you. You are now about to separate and return to your homes. I wish you a safe return to your loved ones. Carry to our people in the cities, the towns and villages the greetings of this great convention.

It now becomes my duty to declare the Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

The convention was adjourned sine die at 5 o'clock p. m., Friday October 17, 1930.



Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.



Assistant Secretary of Convention.

INDEX.

	<i>A</i>	<i>Page</i>
Actors and Musicians' appeal for support of popular movement against mechanizing of cultural arts, Resolution No. 33.....	132, 376	132, 376
Addresses of welcome.....	1-8	1-8
Alien workmen upon construction of ships built by U. S., to prevent employment, Resolution No. 99.....	290, 392	290, 392
Alifas, N. P.....	281, 375, 385, 389	281, 375, 385, 389
Allen, Frank G., Governor of Massachusetts, address.....	3-5	3-5
American Federation of Labor Building, Trustees' financial report.....	46, 169	46, 169
American Federation of Labor, historical outline of movement inaugurating.....	31-33, 252, 253	31-33, 252, 253
American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service.....	92, 125, 283	92, 125, 283
American Federationist.....	91, 125, 283	91, 125, 283
American Legion, Commander Ralph T. O'Neill, address.....	216	216
American Legion convention, question of A. F. of L. convention being held at same time and place.....	227-229	227-229
American Legion, greetings.....	27	27
Anderson, Albert M.....	270, 271	270, 271
Anderson, Mary, Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, address.....	148	148
Arment, adequate for national defense.....	373-375	373-375
Army and Navy, urging employment of civilian workers on mechanical work, Resolution No. 37.....	133, 379	133, 379
Ashlar cutters, dispute of Paving Cutters—Granite Cutters, Resolution No. 70.....	156, 269-271	156, 269-271
Artificial silk production, England.....	196	196
Assistant Secretary of Convention, Leo F. Greene, appointment.....	14	14
Atlantic City, N. J., invitation for 1931 convention.....	27	27
B		
Bakers' Union, Hebrew, No. 45, Boston, Mass., greetings.....	166, 167	166, 167
Baldwin, Edward D., contribution to Textile Workers' strike, Danville, Va.....	337	337
Bannister, Thos. A.....	351	351
Battleships, endorsing bill providing for modernization of, Resolution No. 24.....	127, 128, 240	127, 128, 240
Beaudry, L. A.....	344	344
Beauregard, Arthur J.....	328, 343, 354	328, 343, 354
Beet Workers' Association, Denver, Colo., greetings.....	238	238
Beisel, Peter.....	231, 232	231, 232
Benefit services of national and international unions.....	67-71, 125, 253	67-71, 125, 253
Birthright, Wm. C.....	336, 342	336, 342
Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, New York City, urging support of organizing campaign, Resolution No. 6.....	20, 21, 208	20, 21, 208
Border patrols, proposed unification.....	105, 125, 334	105, 125, 334
Boulder dam work, communication from Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	166	166
Boulder dam work, to protect interests of union labor, Resolution No. 41.....	134, 379	134, 379
Boyer, Dave, Columbus, Ohio, telegram of greetings.....	276	276
British trade union movement, addresses of British fraternal delegates, A. A. H. Findlay and Arthur Shaw.....	189-198	189-198
Broach, H. H.....	344	344
Bryan, W. E., correction of omission of name on committee list.....	125	125
Bugniatz, G. M.....	282	282
Bugniatz, G. M., elected to office of Eighth Vice-President.....	122, 255, 344	122, 255, 344
Building contracts, Federal Government, effort to have provision made for proper labor standards.....	104, 126, 256	104, 126, 256
Business depression, causes.....	47, 48, 51, 303-309	47, 48, 51, 303-309

C	Page
Camden, N. J., for 1931 convention, proposing selection, Resolution No. 36....	133, 140, 377-379
Canada for purposes of employment, proposing abolition of commuting privileges from,	
Canada, report of A. F. of L. fraternal delegate.....	Resolution No. 84....161, 334
Canada, labor movement, address of fraternal delegate Wm. E. Stephenson.....	198-200
Canada, report of A. F. of L. fraternal delegate.....	235-237
Canavan, Wm. F.....	347
Carpenters—Building Trades, Resolution No. 39.....	133, 134, 268, 269
Carver, Eugene P., Jr., Veterans of Foreign Wars.....	151
Case, Chas. J., elected fraternal delegate to Canada.....	347
Censorship legislation, opposing.....	286
Central and state bodies, affiliation of local unions, Resolution No. 14.....	23, 272, 273
Central bodies, affiliation of local unions, Resolution No. 3.....	19, 20, 351, 352
Central and state bodies, affiliation of local unions, recommending that international unions adopt constitutional provision.....	273
Chain stores labor policy, protesting, Resolution No. 5.....	20, 256
Chemical materials used in industry, urging establishment of federal bureau to test effect upon health of workers, Resolution No. 20.....	26, 373
Child Health Day.....	121, 122, 125, 287
Childs, Bonny, Fort Worth, Texas, communication.....	166
Christian Science Church, invitation to delegates to attend service.....	237
Church pulpits, arrangements for A. F. of L. delegates to occupy.....	237, 287
Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers, to continue efforts to bring about amalgamation....	73, 125, 254
Clarke, Wm. P.....	345, 387
Coal, bill to prohibit importation from Russia.....	106, 126, 245
Coefield, John, elected to the office of Fifth Vice-President.....	343
Colleran, M. J.....	306
Columbus Day, convention observes holiday.....	226, 227
Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor invitation for 1931 convention.....	320
Columbus, Ohio, for 1931 convention, proposing selection, Resolution No. 83....	161, 378, 379
Columbus, Ohio, for 1931 convention, proposing, Resolution No. 97.....	165, 378, 379
Columbus, Ohio, invitations for 1931 convention.....	27, 140, 182, 183, 239, 276, 320
Committees:	
Adjustment.....	15, 268
Auditing.....	167-170
Building Trades.....	15, 256
Credentials.....	8-14, 15, 126, 167, 182, 201, 232, 238, 276, 337
Education.....	15, 282
Executive Council's Report.....	15, 252
Industrial Relations.....	15, 125, 290, 296
International Labor Relations.....	15, 16, 395
Labels.....	15, 229
Laws.....	15, 351
Legislation.....	15, 232, 240
Local and Federated Bodies.....	15, 302
Organization.....	15, 203, 208, 225
Resolutions.....	15, 302, 321, 354, 369
Rules and Order of Business.....	15, 18, 19
Shorter Workday.....	15, 260
State organizations.....	15, 271
Congressmen, labor records, relative to compiling, Resolution No. 77....	158, 159, 384-390
Connors, James B.....	344, 347, 348
Conscription, legislation providing for commission to study proposal of constitutional amendment.....	101, 102, 125, 325
Convention, 1931, invitations from cities seeking....	27, 140, 166, 182, 183, 201, 239, 240, 276, 320

INDEX

401

	Page
Convention sessions to be held in Bradford Hotel, announcement.....	217
Convict labor, Hawes-Cooper Act, state federations of labor urged to secure state enforcement acts.....	111, 112, 126, 234, 257
Convict labor in cutting granite for state office building, Madison, Wis., protesting employment, Resolution No. 13.....	23, 257, 258, 290
Convict labor on construction work for federal government, protesting employment, Resolution No. 31....131, 375, 376	
Convict labor on federal penitentiary construction work, protesting employment, Resolution No. 73....157, 158, 244	
Convict labor products, foreign, legislation sought to prohibit importation.....	112, 126, 235
Convict labor, federal, legislation regulating employment.....	101, 105, 126, 233
Convict made goods into U. S., proposing endorsement of provision of Tariff Act prohibiting importation, Resolution No. 60.....	153, 154, 383
Corrigan, Rev. Jones I., Professor of Sociology, Boston College, sermon delivered at Cathedral.....	274, 275
Coxey, General Jacob S., addresses convention.....	302
Cuba, Resolution No. 96.....	165, 391
Curley, James N., Mayor of Boston, address.....	5-7

D

D'Alessandro, Dominick, delegates invited to unveiling of monument erected to memory of	216
Davis, James J., Secretary of Labor, address.....	167, 174-177
Davis, J. N.....	282, 290, 388
Deceased members, memorial tribute.....	180, 181
Defective delinquents, legislation providing hospital.....	101
Disabled American Veterans of the World War, greetings.....	238
Donnelly, Thomas J.....	216, 227, 347
Duffy, Frank.....	277, 278
Duffy, Frank, elected to the office of First Vice-President.....	341, 342

E

Early, Idabel Hall.....	377
Education, A. F. of L. Committee.....	99, 125, 285
Education committees including representatives of teachers' unions, urging state and central bodies to maintain.....	283
Educational courses, British trade unions.....	198
Education in control of states and communities, favoring.....	283
Education, National Advisory Committee, A. F. of L. represented.....	99
Egan, John J.....	218
Election of convention city.....	267, 347-349, 351
fraternal delegates.....	267, 345-347
officers.....	267, 340-345
Enlisted men in Navy in competition with civilian workers, favoring bill restricting employment of, Resolution No. 27.....	128, 129, 241
Equity courts' abuse of jurisdiction, favoring repeal of acts, Resolution No. 55....151, 152, 369-371	
Executive Council meeting, announcement.....	396
Executive Council vacancy, G. M. Bugnajetz selected.....	122, 125, 255
Executive Council's report.....	28-30, 46-124, 352
A. F. of L. Building, Trustees' financial report.....	46, 169
A. F. of L. educational and service work.....	91
American Federationist.....	91, 125, 283
Legal information bureau, court decisions of importance to labor....95-99, 125, 284, 285	
Library, affiliated unions requested to contribute reports and publications....94, 125, 284	
Monthly survey of business.....	93, 125, 283

INDEX

	Page
Executive Council's report—Continued.	
Notes for speakers.....	94, 95, 125, 284
Organizing literature.....	95, 125, 284
Unemployment statistics.....	93, 94, 283
Weekly News Service.....	92, 125, 283
American Federation of Labor, historical outline of movement inaugurating	
Benefit services of national and international unions.....	31-33, 252, 253
Border patrols, proposed unification.....	67-71, 125, 253
Building contracts, Federal Government, effort to have provision made for proper labor standards.....	105, 125, 334
Business depression, causes.....	104, 126, 256
Business depression, causes.....	47, 48, 51, 303-309
Bugnizet, G. M., selected to fill vacancy on Executive Council.....	122, 255
Child Health Day.....	121, 122, 125, 287
Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers, to continue efforts to bring about amalgamation	
Coal, bill to prohibit importation of anthracite coal from Russia.....	73, 125, 254
Conscription, legislation providing for commission to study proposal of constitutional amendment.....	106, 126, 245
Convict labor, Federal, legislation regulating employment.....	101, 105, 126, 233
Convict labor products, foreign, legislation sought to prohibit importation.....	112, 126, 235
Convict labor, Hawes-Cooper Act, state federations of labor urged to secure state enforcement acts.....	111, 112, 126, 234, 257
Defective delinquents, legislation providing hospital.....	101
Education, A. F. of L. committee.....	99, 125, 285
Education, National Advisory Committee, A. F. of L. represented.....	99
Executive Council vacancy, G. M. Bugnizet selected.....	122, 125, 255
Federal employees, low paid, bill passed providing wage increase.....	101
Federal employees, forty-four hour work week bill.....	101, 260
Financial report.....	34-44, 167-170
Five-day week, progress of movement.....	64-66, 126, 260, 305
Flag fund.....	37, 169
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers, jurisdiction dispute relative to Neon Gas signs.....	73, 125, 254
Flint Glass Workers—Machinists, jurisdiction dispute.....	77, 125, 254
Gompers Memorial fund.....	36, 169
Gompers Memorial, sculptor chosen.....	122, 125, 287
Hod Carriers secure affiliation of independent Bricklayers' Helpers, New York City.....	74, 125, 254, 349
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, change in title.....	77, 125, 254, 255
Immigration, activity of Federation against bills designed to break down restrictions, 102-104, 125, 325, 326	
Injunction abuse, pamphlet explaining A. F. of L. attitude.....	98, 285
Injunction relief measure, approved by A. F. of L.....	80, 101, 107-111, 125, 355-364
Jurisdictional problems.....	73-77, 125, 253
Labels, union.....	44, 230-232
Labor Day, urging special celebration commemorating A. F. of L. 50th Anniversary	
Labor Memorial Sunday.....	121, 125, 287
Labor Sunday.....	121, 125, 287
"Same ducks," bill changing dates of inauguration of terms of President and Congressmen.....	107, 126, 234
Legal Information Bureau.....	95-99, 284, 285
Legislation, national, summary.....	100-112, 125, 232
Legislation, labor, methods of House of Representatives to defeat.....	101, 232
Library, A. F. of L., unions requested to contribute reports and publications....	94, 125, 284
Longshoremen's compensation law, passage of favorable amendment obstructed by House Judiciary Committee.....	104, 125, 255

INDEX

403

	Page
Executive Council's report—Continued.	
Management responsibility in business depression and unemployment.....	47, 48
Mass production industries, proposing survey looking to inaugurating organizing campaigns.....	81, 82, 203
Maternity and infancy bill.....	105, 125, 286
Membership report.....	40, 41, 170
Mexican immigration restriction.....	103, 325, 326
Monthly survey of business.....	93, 125, 283
Musicians and artists, effort to extend protection of alien contract labor law.....	103, 326
Notes for speakers.....	94, 95, 284
Old age pensions, A. F. of L. studying question looking to drafting constructive legislation.....	115, 116, 125, 338
Older workers, discrimination.....	89, 125, 271, 272
Older workers, discrimination, state federations of labor should urge state labor bureaus to study problem.....	91, 125, 271, 272
Organizing expenses.....	43
Organization work.....	77-89, 125, 203
Organizing literature.....	95, 284
Organizing methods.....	82, 83, 125, 203
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	122, 123, 126, 395
Parker, Judge John J., defeat of confirmation of appointment to U. S. Supreme Court.....	101, 324, 325
Plate Printers, change of title.....	77, 125, 254, 255
Political campaign, A. F. of L. non-partisan, activities.....	112-114, 125, 371, 372
Porto Rico, report upon industrial and economic conditions.....	119, 120, 125, 272
Post Office Laborers, wage increase defeated.....	105, 125, 334
Prisoners' parole, bill passed.....	101
Prohibition, favoring modification of the Volstead Act.....	114, 115, 354
Railroad consolidation, bill endorsed by railroad workers' unions.....	116-119, 125, 338
Retirement Act, Canal Zone employees.....	104, 126, 232
Retirement Act, liberalization.....	101, 106, 126, 233
Right to organize.....	77, 78, 125, 203, 356, 357
Road building, state federations urged to assist in having proper labor conditions enforced.....	106, 126, 233
Safety bureau, Department of Labor, bill.....	106, 126, 233, 234
Saturday shorter workday for government employees, bills.....	101, 105, 126, 260
Secretary's report.....	34-44, 167-170
Southern organizing campaign.....	83-89, 125, 203
Stationary Firemen—Engineers' agreement.....	73, 125, 253, 254
Teachers, District of Columbia, gag law.....	107, 126, 234
Teamsters—Railway Clerks, jurisdictional dispute.....	74-76, 125, 254
Text books, free, District of Columbia.....	101, 107, 125, 286
Textile Workers' appeal fund.....	37, 169
Theatrical Stage Employes—Building trades jurisdictional dispute.....	73, 74, 125, 254
Theatrical Stage Employees, change of title.....	77, 125, 254, 255
Treasurer's report.....	45, 167-170
Unemployment.....	47-64, 125, 303-309
Unemployment bills.....	101, 104, 125, 305
Unemployment statistics.....	93, 94, 125, 321
Vocational education and rehabilitation act, extending.....	101, 107, 125, 287
Volstead act, favoring modification.....	114, 115, 125, 353-355
Wage scales prevailing, on government work, failure of bills providing for payment	104, 126, 232
Washington's birthday, celebration of two hundredth anniversary endorsed.....	122, 125, 288
Wilson, Woodrow, memorial building fund.....	37, 169
Women's equal rights amendment, opposed.....	106, 107, 126, 234
Workers Education Bureau, activities.....	99, 100, 125, 285, 286
"Yellow dog" contracts.....	113, 125, 324, 325

INDEX

	Page
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, arrangement to have A. F. of L. delegates occupy pulpits.....	237, 392
Federal employees, forty-four hour week bill.....	101, 240, 241, 260
Federal employees, low paid, bill passed providing wage increase.....	101
Federal government construction work, protesting employment of convicts, Resolution No. 31.....	131, 375, 376
Federal government service, favoring extending age limit for applicants for employment Resolution No. 2.....	19, 240
Feeley, James.....	278
Filipino immigration, urging enactment of legislation restricting, Resolution No. 49.....	137, 333
Filipino immigration, urging immediate enactment of Welch bill regulating, Resolution No. 59.....	153, 243
Financial report.....	34-44, 167-170
Findlay, A. A. H., fraternal delegate, British Trades Union Congress, address.....	189-193, 330
Fire Fighters' Association of Ohio, joins in convention invitation for Columbus.....	239
Fire fighters, eight-hour day, Resolution No. 40.....	134, 260
Fire fighters, New York City, eight-hour day, Resolution No. 43.....	135, 260, 261
Fitzgerald, Anna, fraternal delegate, Women's International Union Label League, address.....	150, 151
Five day week, proposing demonstration, Resolution No. 86.....	161, 162, 261
Five day week, progress of movement.....	29, 64-66, 126, 260
Five hour workday, proposing declaration favoring, Resolution No. 21.....	126, 127, 262-266
Flag fund.....	37, 169
Flint Glass Workers—Machinists, jurisdiction dispute.....	77, 125, 254
Flore, Edward.....	226, 292-294, 348, 354, 355
Florida Normal and Industrial Institute, quartet entertains convention.....	245
Flynn, Michael J.....	227, 258, 259
Forty-eight hour work week law for women and minors in all states, urging action to secure, Resolution No. 66.....	155, 261
Fox theatres, protesting labor policy in wardrobe department, Resolution No. 34.....	132, 377
Francis, Charles, address.....	267, 268
Franklin, J. A.....	279, 280, 349
Fraternal delegates, addresses:	
British Trades Union Congress.....	125, 189-198, 201-203
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	125, 198-200, 201-203
Presentation of gifts.....	330-332
Frey, John P.....	141-147, 328
Furuseth, Andrew.....	227, 266, 267, 277, 290, 322, 323, 326, 327, 329, 330, 357-360, 364, 369-371, 385
G	
Gavel used by Boston Central Labor Union in 1878 presented to President Green.....	8
Gilreath, Mrs. Della, statement in regard to Textile Workers' strike, Danville, Va.....	335
Gompers Memorial fund.....	36, 169
Gompers Memorial, sculptor chosen.....	122, 125, 287
Gompers, Samuel, and other deceased leaders, proposing convention memorial tribute, Resolution No. 61.....	154, 383, 384
Gorman, Francis J., United Textile Workers.....	211, 212
Goverment contracts should provide for prevailing wage scales, Resolution No. 63.....	154, 297
Government employment standards, improved, Resolution No. 80.....	160, 244
Granite Cutters protest employment of convict labor in cutting granite for State Office Building, Madison, Wisconsin, Resolution No. 13.....	23, 257, 258, 290
Granite in new post office buildings, proposing use, Resolution No. 78.....	159, 390
Green, President.....	2, 3, 7, 16, 141, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 170, 171, 174, 179, 180, 181, 184, 185, 188, 189, 201-203, 212, 216, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 248, 249, 258, 259, 277, 299, 308, 309, 314-317, 323, 324, 330, 335, 336, 337, 341, 345, 347, 368, 386, 388, 396

INDEX

405

	Page
Green, President, church address.....	258, 259, 393, 394
Green, President, Mine Workers present piece of carved coal to.....	364, 365
Green, President, selected by Roosevelt Memorial Association for award for distinguished service.....	338
Green, William, elected to the office of President.....	340, 341
Grigsby-Grunow Company, Chicago, Ill., protesting labor policy, Resolution No. 23.....	127, 291
H	
Hatters protest attitude of Sarnoff Irving Hat Co., Resolution No. 56.....	152, 296, 297
Hebrew Trades, United, New York, greetings.....	167
Henning, R. A.....	327, 328, 343
Hesketh, Robert B.....	342
Histadruth, Federation of Jewish Workers of Palestine, greetings.....	238, 239, 296
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' International Union executives extend invitation to delegates to attend unveiling of memorial to Dominick D'Alessandro.....	216
Hod Carriers secure affiliation of independent Bricklayers' Helpers, New York City.....	74, 125, 254, 349
Hoover, Herbert, President of the United States, address.....	8, 16-18, 303, 304, 392
Committees appointed to receive.....	8
Hoover, Mrs. Herbert, presented with flowers.....	16
Horn, Roy.....	281, 344
Hosiery industry, urging patronage of fair concerns, Resolution No. 47.....	136, 380, 381
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, change in title.....	77, 125, 254, 255
Hotel Managers' Association, Cleveland, Ohio, protesting unfair attitude, Resolution No. 28.....	129, 291-295
Howard, Chas. P.....	333, 340, 344, 348, 386
Humble, Mrs. Lucile, statement relative to Textile Workers' strike at Danville, Va.....	334, 335
Hurley, Patrick J., Secretary of War, address.....	149
Houston, Clint C., announcement of death.....	347, 349, 350
I	
Idaho State Federation of Labor, greetings.....	239
Illiteracy, proposing higher standard literacy test be adopted by Government, Resolution No. 88.....	162, 288, 289
Immigration, activity of Federation against bills designed to break down restrictions.....	102-104, 125, 325, 326
Immigration regulations, statement of Secretary of Labor Davis.....	175
Immigrant, smuggling by shipping interests, protest.....	326-330
Injunction abuse, pamphlet explaining A. F. of L. attitude.....	98, 285
Injunction relief legislation, to promote enactment, Resolution No. 94.....	164, 371
Injunction relief measure, approved by A. F. of L.....	80, 101, 107-111, 125, 355-364
Iron Workers' Local No. 27, Salt Lake City, Utah, greetings.....	166
Israel, Rabbi Edward L., Chairman, Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, address.....	183, 184
J	
Jewell, B. M.....	344, 387, 388
Jewish Workers of Palestine, Federation of, Histadruth, greetings.....	238, 239, 296
Joyce, Martin T.....	344
Jurisdictional problems.....	29, 73-77, 125, 253
K	
Kelso, Alex.....	341, 342
Kennedy, Thomas.....	278, 364, 365

	Page
Keough, M. J.....	280, 281, 282
Koveleski, Emanuel.....	346, 347, 355
Kummer, Adolf, A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, report.....	235-237

L

Label, union, urging activity in interest of.....	230-232
Labels and cards, union, list.....	44, 230-232
Lables, union, proposing protective legislation in District of Columbia,.....	Resolution No. 35....132, 377
Labor Day, urging special celebration commemorating A. F. of L. fiftieth anniversary.....121,	125, 287
Labor Memorial Sunday.....	121, 125, 287
Labor party, Great Britain, remarks of British fraternal delegate A. A. H. Findlay.....189-193	
Labor standards throughout New England, to encourage equalization,.....	Resolution No. 81....160, 218
Labor Sunday.....	121, 125, 287
Ladies_Garment Workers, to assist organizing campaign, Resolution No. 1.....	19, 208
"Lame ducks" bill, changing dates of inauguration of terms of President and Con- gressmen.....	107, 126, 234
Lathrop, Rev. Charles N., National Secretary, Department of Social Service of the Episcopal Church.....	223, 224
Legal information bureau, A. F. of L.....	95-99, 125, 284, 285
Legislation, labor, obstructive tactics used in House of Representatives.....	101, 232
Legislative measures passed, supported by A. F. of L., summary.....	100-112, 125, 232
Lewis, John L.....	340
Library, A. F. of L., unions requested to contribute reports and publications.....	94, 125, 284
Lindsay, Matilda, fraternal delegate, National Women's Trade Union League.....	170, 171
Longshoremen's compensation law, passage of favorable amendment obstructed by House Judiciary Committee.....	104, 125, 255
Los Angeles, Calif., invitation for 1931 convention.....	140
Luggage factory in Missouri penitentiary, protesting establishment,.....	Resolution No. 18....24, 339, 340
Lynching, denouncing, Resolution No. 71.....	157, 384

M

Machinery, displacement of labor.....	175, 176
Machinists—Theatrical Stage Employees, agreement.....	353, 354
Mahon, W. D.....	276, 277, 341, 344, 346, 347
Maloney, James.....	267, 270, 342, 343
Maloy, Thomas E., report of A. F. of L. delegate to British Trades Union Congress....352, 353	
Management responsibility in business depression and unemployment.....	47, 48, 303-309
Manion, E. J.....	226, 227
Manning, John J.....	231, 342
Manning, John J., report of A. F. of L. delegate to British Trades Union Congress....352, 353	
Marion, Ohio, Central Labor Union requests Columbus be selected for 1931 convention....	320
Martel, Frank X.....	328, 329
Martin, Hugh I., address.....	182, 183
Mass production industries, proposing survey looking to inaugurate organizing campaign....81,	82, 203
Maternity and infancy bill.....	105, 125, 286
Membership report.....	40, 41, 170
Messenger of Convention, Thomas F. Powers, appointment.....	14
Mexican immigration, urging enactment of legislation restricting, Resolution No. 49....137, 333	

INDEX

407

Page

Mexican immigration, urging passage of King bill, providing for appropriation for border patrol to enforce restrictions, Resolution No. 45.....	135, 136, 326-330
Mexican immigration restriction.....	103, 325, 326
Military training in high schools, Resolution No. 90.....	162, 163, 289, 290
Miller, Spencer, Jr., address.....	299-302
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union requests selection of Salt Lake City for 1931 convention.....	276
Monthly survey of business, A. F. of L.....	93, 125, 283
Mooney, Thos. J., and Warren K. Billings, urging pardons for, Resolution No. 87.....	162, 390
Moreschi, Joseph V.....	216, 349
Moreschi, Joseph V., elected fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	346
Moriarty, James T., President, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, address.....	2
Morrison, Frank.....	227, 228, 237, 344, 345
Morrison, Frank, elected to office of Secretary.....	344, 345
Morse, Francis F.....	307
Moving Picture Machine Operators' Local No. 250, Salt Lake City, Utah, invitation for 1931 convention.....	320
Murphy, Frank, Mayor of Detroit, Mich., address.....	165, 170, 178
Muscle Shoals project, urging legislation, Resolution No. 53.....	138, 382, 383
Muscle Shoals project, urging legislation, Resolution No. 64.....	154, 155, 382, 383
Musicians and artists, effort to extend protection of alien contract labor law.....	103, 326

Mc

Macfarland, Dr. Charles S., Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, address.....	221-223
Maguire, Rev. J. W., President, St. Viator's College, Bourbonnais, Ill., address.....	185-188
MacNider, J. Hanford, U. S. Minister to Canada, address.....	149, 150
McDonald, D. J.....	344
McDonnell, James, telegram urging endorsement of unemployment insurance.....	27
McDonough, M. J.....	258
McInnis, Agnes.....	295, 346
McInroy, R. R.....	258, 259
McMahon, Thomas F.....	209, 210, 276, 277, 278
McSorley, Wm. J.....	307, 347

N

Naval treaty, London, urging United States building full limit of armament allowed, Resolution No. 32.....	131, 132, 374, 375
Navy, U. S., build in conformity with maximum provisions of London Naval Treaty, proposing, Resolution No. 26.....	128, 374, 375
Navy Yard employees, wage reductions, protesting policy of U. S. Government.....	279-282
Navy Yards and arsenals for adequate national defense, favoring maintenance of efficiently manned, Resolution No. 22.....	127, 373-375
Nebraska, Governor Arthur J. Weaver, sends greetings.....	182
Nevada State Federation of Labor, greetings.....	166
Newark, Ohio, Federation of Labor, joins invitation for selection of Columbus, Ohio, for 1931 convention.....	276
North Carolina State Federation of Labor, communication from President R. R. Lawrence 166 "Notes for speakers," A. F. of L. publication.....	94, 95, 284

O

Obergfell, Joseph.....	226, 233
O'Connell, Cardinal, delivers invocation.....	1
O'Connell, Cardinal, invites delegates to attend mass at Cathedral.....	184, 185, 237, 258, 259, 273, 274

	Page
O'Connell, James.....	265, 266, 277, 343
O'Connell, John P., address.....	249-252
O'Neill, Ralph T., Commander, American Legion, address.....	216, 221
Ohl, Henry, Jr.....	257, 258, 290, 312, 313, 321
Olander, Victor.....	333, 338, 342, 389
Old age pensions, A. F. of L. studying question looking to drafting constructive legislation.....	115, 116, 125, 338
Older workers, discrimination.....	89, 125, 271, 272
Older workers, discrimination, state federations of labor should urge state labor bureaus to study problem.....	91, 125, 271, 272
Omaha, Nebr., as city for 1931 convention, Resolution No. 79.....	159, 160, 378, 379
Oregon State Federation of Labor, greetings.....	27
Organization work.....	77-89, 125, 203
Organizing expenses.....	43
Organizing literature.....	95, 125, 284
Organizing methods.....	82, 83, 125, 203
P	
Packers Consent Decree, protesting modification, Resolution No. 52.....	138, 381, 382
Painters request extension of jurisdiction, Resolution No. 69.....	156, 255
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	122, 123, 126, 395
Pan-American Institute of Reciprocal Trade Relations, Resolution No. 12.....	22, 23, 339
Pan-American Reciprocal Trade Conference, greetings from President Simon J. Lubin....	27
Parent teachers' associations.....	288
Parker, Judge John J., defeat of confirmation of appointment to U. S. Supreme Court.....	101, 324, 325
Patent laws, proposing adjustment to offset destructive effects of automatic machinery, Resolution No. 46.....	136, 322-324
Pavers protest infringement upon jurisdiction by Hod Carriers, Resolution No. 50.....	137, 269
Paving Cutters—Granite Cutters, Resolution No. 70.....	156, 269-271
Penal, Federal, institutions, construction work, urging law providing for employment of civilian mechanics, Resolution No. 73.....	157, 158, 244
Pensions for crews of transportation vessels used in U. S. military service, endorsing bill, Resolution No. 42.....	134, 135, 242, 243
Pequot products, urging patronage, Resolution No. 48.....	136, 137, 381
Pequot Mills, union management cooperation.....	245-248, 249-252
Perkins, George W.....	394, 395
Philadelphia, Pa., invitation for 1931 convention.....	27
Philippine Islands, reaffirming declarations favoring independence, Resolution No. 58.....	152, 153, 383
Pittsburgh, Pa., invitation for 1931 convention.....	167, 239, 240, 320
Pittsburgh, Pa., Union Label Trades invitation for 1931 convention.....	320
Plate Printers, change of title.....	77, 125, 254, 255
Political, A. F. of L. non-partisan activities.....	112-114, 125, 371, 372
Polston, W. Thomas.....	297
Porto Rico, report upon industrial and economic conditions.....	119, 120, 125, 272
Porto Rico, urging adoption of legislative program for relief of people of, Resolution No. 19.....	25, 26, 372, 373
Posschl, John.....	294, 295
Post Office laborers, wage increase defeated.....	105, 125, 334
Postal laborers in securing wage increase, to assist, Resolution No. 85.....	161, 245
Postal service, shorter work week, Resolution No. 72.....	157, 243, 244
Potters' delegates, explanation relative to failure to introduce resolution.....	237
Practitioners of healing arts, examination, Resolution No. 93.....	164, 390, 391
Prisoners' parole bill passed.....	101

INDEX

409

Page

Prohibition, declaring for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.	
	Resolution No. 29....129, 130, 354, 355
Prohibition, favoring modification of the Volstead Act.....	114, 115, 354
Prohibition, favoring modification of the Volstead Act, Resolution No. 4.....	20, 354
Pryor, Percy J., illness announced.....	282, 351

R

Rabbis, American Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference, address of Rabbi Edward L. Israel.....	183, 184
Racketeers, attitude of A. F. of L. outlined in remarks of President Green.....	188, 189
Radio art, proposing endorsement of bill designed to correct abuse of patents.....	282, 351
	Resolution No. 9....21, 22, 235
Radio broadcasting rights for Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior, for apportionment to stations of most representative groups, Resolution No. 30....130, 131, 241,	242
Radio broadcasting rights for Departments of Agriculture, Labor and Interior, for apportionment to stations of most representative groups, Resolution No. 44....135, 379, 380	
Railroad consolidation, bill endorsed by railroad workers' unions.....	116-119, 125, 338
Randolph, A. Philip, address.....	219, 220
"Rationalization" defined by Fraternal Delegate Arthur Shaw.....	196, 197
Rau, Charles M.....	343
Retail stores employing union clerks, urging patronage, Resolution No. 15.....	23, 229, 230
Retirement Act, Canal Zone employees.....	104, 126, 232
Retirement Act, liberalization.....	101, 106, 126, 233
Richardson and Boynton Co., Dover, N. J., Resolution No. 75.....	158, 298
Rickert, Thomas A., elected to the office of Second Vice-President.....	342
Right to organize.....	77, 78, 125, 203, 356, 357
Rivers, Herbert.....	346
Road building, state federations urged to assist in having proper labor conditions enforced.....	106,
	126, 233
Roosevelt Memorial Association, award to President Green.....	338
Ross, Holt E. J.....	203-208, 336, 337
Ross, John W.....	217, 282
Russia, lumber, protest against importation, reprint of newspaper article.....	259
Ryan, Joseph A., elected fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	345, 346
Ryan, Martin F.....	277
Ryan, Martin F., elected to office of Treasurer.....	344

S

Safety bureau, Department of Labor, bill.....	106, 126, 233, 234
Salt Lake City, Utah, Building Trades Council, greetings.....	140
Salt Lake City, Utah, invitation for 1931 convention, Resolution No. 98.....	201
Salt Lake City, Utah, invitation for 1931 convention.....	140, 166, 201, 239, 276, 320
San Francisco, Calif., invitation for 1931 convention.....	27, 167
Saturday shorter workday for Federal employees, bills.....	101, 105, 126, 260
Saturday shorter workday for Federal employees, favoring legislative measure, Resolution No. 25....128, 240, 241	
Secretary's report.....	34-44, 167-170
Sergeant-at-Arms of convention, G. Harry Dunderdale, appointment.....	14
Shaw, Arthur, fraternal delegate, British Trades Union Congress, address.....	193-198, 331
Shaw, Mrs. Arthur.....	331
Shorter working hours, report of Committee on shorter workday.....	262-266
Slavens, Thos. A.....	261, 262, 282, 313, 314
Sidd, Nathan, President, Boston Central Labor Union.....	1, 2
Sleeping Car Porters' Unions, Hotel and Restaurant Employees request transfer, Resolution No. 57....152, 255	

	Page
Sleeping Car Porters' Unions, to assist, Resolution No. 82.....	160, 161, 218, 219
Smith, J. Foster, Pequot Mills, union management cooperation, address.....	246-248
Smith, John T., Kansas City, Mo., announcing death of.....	140
Smith, William.....	231, 380, 381
Southern organizing campaign.....	83-89, 125, 203
Southern organizing campaign, Resolution No. 62.....	154, 203-208, 209
Southern organizing campaign, proposing increase in per capita tax to promote, Resolution No. 67.....	155, 156, 276, 352
Squibb, Samuel.....	257, 258, 270
St. Petersburg, Florida, invitation for 1931 convention.....	140
State federations of labor, announcement of meeting of representatives.....	216
Stationary Firemen—Engineers, agreement.....	73, 125, 253, 254
Stephenson, Wm. E., fraternal delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, address.....	198-200
Sullivan, John.....	147, 273, 345, 346
Supervisors and inspectors, municipal, favoring formation of separate unions, Resolution No. 68.....	156, 302
T	
Tailors request assistance to secure adjustment of dispute with Levy Bros., Louisville, Ky., Resolution No. 74.....	158, 297, 298
Tax increase for creation of defense fund to promote southern organizing campaign, proposing.....	155-156, 276-279
Teacher tenure, Resolution No. 89.....	162, 289
Teachers, advocating application workmen's compensation laws.....	287
Teachers, District of Columbia, gas law.....	107, 126, 234
Teachers, organization of, Resolution No. 91.....	163, 225
Teamsters—Railway Clerks, jurisdictional dispute.....	74-76, 125, 254
Technical Engineers and Draftsmen vs. Federal Employees, Resolution No. 11.....	22, 268
Textile industry, England, statement of British fraternal delegate Arthur Shaw.....	195, 196
Text books, free, District of Columbia.....	101, 107, 125, 286
Textile Workers' appeal fund.....	37, 169
Textile Workers' strike, Danville, Va.....	172, 173, 210, 211, 212, 334, 335, 350
Textile Workers' strike, Danville, Va., appeal for support, Resolution No. 65.....	155, 209, 217
Thanks expressed for hospitality and courtesies extended to the officers, delegates and guests, Resolution No. 100.....	392
Theatrical Stage Employees—Building Trades, jurisdictional dispute.....	73, 74, 125, 254
Theatrical Stage Employees, change of title.....	77, 125, 254, 255
Theatrical Stage Employees—Machinists, agreement.....	353, 354
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants protest labor policy of Fox theatres in wardrobe department, Resolution No. 34.....	132, 377
Thomas, Percy.....	328, 342
Thompson, M. I.....	348
Thompson, Mrs. Mary Gordon, address.....	337
Tighe, M. F.....	343
Tobin, D. J.....	227, 228, 229, 346, 348, 368
Transportation vessels used in U. S. military service, endorsing bill providing pension for crews, Resolution No. 42.....	134, 135, 242, 243
Treasurer's report.....	45, 167-170
Trotter, George M., Chamber of Commerce, Columbus, Ohio.....	226, 276
Trotter, William R.....	226
U	
Unemployment.....	28, 47-64, 125, 284, 303-309
Adequate government appropriation for statistical work.....	62
Business depression, causes.....	47, 48, 51
Coordinated industrial information required for proper business planning.....	48, 60

INDEX

411

Page

Dependence on charity.....	57
Depressions of 1921, 1924 and 1930, comparisons.....	53, 54
Economic Council, national, proposed.....	61
Educational courses should include study of industrial trends and developments.....	63
Employment and unemployment records should be made available by federal and state governments to assist stable business planning.....	59, 60, 62
Executive Council to study practical method of relief.....	63, 305, 312
Foreign countries, percentage of unemployed.....	49-51
Government should operate nation-wide system of employment exchanges for information and advisory service.....	59, 60, 62
Labor's unemployment program.....	59
Management responsibility.....	47, 48, 60
Moral and spiritual consequences.....	56, 57
Nations' interdependence.....	48, 49
Part time work.....	56, 93
Public works to meet cyclical unemployment.....	62
Seasonal unemployment.....	52, 53, 63
Shorter workday and work week.....	60
Stabilization of production.....	60, 61
Stabilization of wage workers' employment and incomes essential to business security.....	48, 57, 58
Technological unemployment, President of United States to be requested to arrange for special study.....	54, 55, 62, 63
United States and Canada, percentage of unemployed.....	51
Vacations with pay.....	53, 60
Vocational guidance and retraining.....	62
Wage required for minimum living standards for family.....	52
Wage workers' welfare dependent upon group activity.....	48
White House conferences.....	58, 59
Yearly wage basis aid to industrial stabilization.....	53, 60
Unemployment, Executive Council to study practical method of relief.....	63, 305, 312
Unemployment, method of coping with problem in Detroit, statement of Mayor Frank Murphy.....	178, 179
Unemployment, National Advisory Commission, urging cooperation with, A. F. of L. representatives.....	284
Unemployment, program adopted by convention looking to immediate relief.....	305, 306
Unemployment, proposing study of remedial legislation, Resolution No. 38.....	133, 305, 310-319
Unemployment, to request President of the United States to create a planning committee of public works to avert, Resolution No. 54.....	138, 139, 321, 322
Unemployment and social insurance, Resolution No. 17.....	24, 309-319
Unemployment bills.....	101, 104, 125, 305
Unemployment in England, statement of British Fraternal Delegate Arthur Shaw.....	194, 195
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 16.....	23, 24, 309-319
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 51.....	137, 309-319
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 70.....	158, 310-319
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 92.....	163, 164, 310-319
Unemployment statistics.....	93, 94, 305, 321
Union-management cooperation, Pequot mills plan, address of J. Foster Smith.....	246-248
Union Pacific Railroad, protesting labor policy, Resolution No. 7.....	21, 291
 V	
Veterans of Foreign Wars, address of Dr. Lucas.....	332, 333
Vocational education and rehabilitation act, extending.....	101, 107, 125, 287
Volstead Act, favoring modification, Resolution No. 4.....	20, 354
Volstead Act, favoring modification, Executive Council report.....	114, 115, 125, 354-355

W	Page
Wage rates, prevailing, Government work, failure of bills providing for payment....	104, 126, 232
Wagner, Robert F., U. S. Senator, address.....	201, 213-216
Walsh, David I., U. S. Senator, address.....	365-368
Washington's birthday, celebration of 200th anniversary, Resolution No. 95....	164, 165, 391
Washington's birthday, celebration of 200th anniversary, Executive Council recommends endorsement.....	122, 125, 288
Weaver, Chauncey A.....	226, 227, 343
Weber, Joseph N., elected to office of Seventh Vice-President.....	344
West Point construction work, protesting labor policy of War Department,	
Resolution No. 8....	21, 256, 257
Wharton, A. O.....	278, 280, 388, 389
Wharton, A. O., elected to the office of Sixth Vice-President.....	343
Wilson, James.....	281
Wilson, James, elected to the office of Fourth Vice-President.....	342, 343
Women's Auxiliaries Joint Councils, favoring representation in A. F. of L. conventions,	
Resolution No. 10....	22, 338, 339
Women's "equal rights" amendment, opposed.....	106, 107, 126, 234
Women's International Union Label League, address of fraternal delegate Anna Fitzgerald.....	150, 151
Women's Trade Union League, National, address of fraternal delegate Matilda Lindsay.....	171-174
Women's Trade Union League, Boston, address of Mrs. Mary Gordon Thompson....	337, 338
Woods, C. J.....	343
Woll, Matthew.....	302, 360-364, 385
Woll, Matthew, elected to the office of Third Vice-President.....	342
Workers Education Bureau, activities.....	99, 100, 125, 285, 286
Workers Education Bureau, address of Spencer Miller, Jr.....	299-302
Y	
"Yellow dog" contract, Massachusetts Supreme Court decision prevents legislature considering remedial legislation.....	142
"Yellow dog" contract, quotations from legal decisions.....	144-146
"Yellow dog" contracts, address of John P. Frey.....	141-147
"Yellow dog" contracts.....	113, 125, 324, 325
Y. W. C. A. Industrial Department, address of Elizabeth Nord.....	298, 299
Y. W. C. A., invitation to tea.....	276
Z	
Zaritsky, Max.....	317-319

